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THE

TRAVELS

OF

MARCO POLO.

Published according to Act of Parliament by Wm. Marsden 15th April 1818.

THE

TRAVELS

OF

MARCO POLO,

A VENETIAN,

IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY:

BEING A

DESCRIPTION, BY THAT EARLY TRAVELLER,

OF

REMARKABLE PLACES AND THINGS,

IN

THE EASTERN PARTS OF THE WORLD.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN,

WITH

NOTES,

BY WILLIAM MARSDEN, F.R.S. &c.

WITH A MAP.

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MDCCCXVIII.

1818

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INTRODUCTION.

Life of Marco Polo.

PREVIOUSLY to entering upon a consideration of the particular motives that have led to the publication of a new English version of the Travels of MARCO POLO, it may prove satisfactory to the reader that he should be furnished with such information as the existing materials will allow, of the distinguished person by whom, and the circumstances under which they were achieved and afterwards communicated to the world. It is true that for the most interesting portion of his life, or that which passed abroad, in the service of the Tartar conqueror of China, reference might be made to the account which he himself has given of it, in the preliminary chapter of his work; but as some few facts have been recorded of him and his family, subsequent to his return to his own country, and as the travels themselves, by separating them from the descriptions of places and narrative of public events, may be rendered more properly the subject of biography, the whole of what is known to us respecting the house of POLO shall here be succinctly stated in that form.

We are told that Andrea Polo da S. Felice, a patrician or nobleman of Venice,* but of Dalmatian extraction, had three sons, who were named Marco, Maffio, and Nicolo; of whom the second, who was the

a uncle,

* The members of this family are repeatedly styled "nobiles viri," which might be understood to mean "eminent persons," rather than as belonging to the class of hereditary nobility; but in the Annotazioni of Apostolo Zeno (t. ii, p. 186) I find mention of a manuscript work by Marco Barbaro, intitled "Alberi delle Famiglie *patrizie* Veneziane," which includes the Polo family.

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uncle, and the third, who was the father of our author,* were merchants of that wealthy and proud city, where commerce was held in the highest estimation, and pursued on an extensive scale by its first dignitaries. These brothers, who appear to have been in partnership, being actuated by the adventurous spirit for which their countrymen were remarkable and which was encouraged by the state, embarked together on a trading voyage to Constantinople; between which city and Venice the most intimate connexion subsisted at the period of which we are speaking. It had been conquered from the Greek emperors by the joint arms of France and of the Republic, and the representative of the latter held, in conjunction with Baldwin II, a considerable share in the imperial government. With respect to the time at which our two merchants arrived there, much difference prevails. The greater number of manuscripts and printed editions place it in the year 1250, some in 1252, and others, absurdly, in 1269;† but collateral circumstances shew that their departure at least, from Constantinople (and it is not said that they met with detention) could not have been earlier than 1254 or 1255.

Having disposed of their Italian merchandise, they deliberated on the manner in which their capital could be made productive of further profit, when it came to their knowledge that a market for certain costly articles was to be found amongst the Western Tartars, who after devastating many provinces of Asia and of Europe, had settled in the vicinity of the Wolga, built cities, and assumed the forms of a regular government. They accordingly made purchases of a valuable stock of ornamental

* In the course of the Travels, wherever the names of these latter occur, that of Nicolo is made to precede the name of Maffio, who is, notwithstanding, asserted by Ramusio, and from apparently good authority, to have been the elder brother. This distinction he owes to the circumstance of his being a married man and the father of the person by whom the work was written, and who, in speaking of them, would naturally mention his father's name first.

† Baldwin II. was expelled from the throne of Constantinople by the arms of the Greek emperor Michael Palæologus, in the year 1261.

ornamental jewels, proceeded with it across the Euxine to a port in the Crimea, and travelling from thence by land and water, reached at length the court or camp of *Barkah*, the brother or the son of *Batti*, grandson of *Jengiz-khan*, whose places of residence were *Sarai* and *Bolghar*, well known to the geographers of the middle ages. This prince we find highly praised by oriental writers for his urbanity and liberal disposition, and the traditional fame of his virtues is said still to exist in that quarter. They wisely shewed their confidence in his justice by placing all their rich commodities in his hands; and this he repaid with princely munificence. At the end of twelve months, when they were preparing for their return, an interruption was occasioned to their plans by the breaking out of hostilities between their protector and *Hulagu*, his cousin, the chief of another horde or army of Tartars, who in consequence of their approach from the eastern side of the Caspian, were then denominated Eastern Tartars, but were principally Moghuls, as the former were Turki or natives of Turkistan. They are said to have crossed the Oxus, on their march from the head quarters of *Mangu-kaan*, in the year 1255. By the defeat of *Barkah's* army which ensued, and the advance of his opponents, the road to Constantinople was cut off from our travellers, and they were compelled to seek their safety in a circuitous route, which led them round the head of the Caspian, across the Jaik and Jaxartes rivers (the latter of which they supposed to be one of the four rivers of Paradise), and through the deserts of Transoxiana till they arrived at the great city of *Bokhara*.

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During their stay there it happened that a Tartar nobleman, sent by *Hulagu* to *Kublai* his brother, made that city his halting place. From motives of curiosity he desired an interview with the Italians, was gratified with hearing them converse in his native language, derived pleasure from their intelligent communications, and proposed to them that they should accompany him to the emperor's court, where he

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assured them of meeting a favourable reception and an ample compensation for the trouble of their journey. To a compliance with this they were decided as much by the difficulties that presented themselves in their means of returning, as by the spirit of enterprise, or the prospect of wealth. Recommending themselves therefore to the divine protection, they prosecuted their journey towards what they considered to be the extremity of the East, and after travelling twelve months reached the imperial residence. The manner in which they were received by the Grand khan was gracious and encouraging. He made various inquiries respecting the state of affairs in the western world, the relative consequence of the several Christian powers, and particularly concerning the Pope, whose influence in promoting the crusades must have given importance to his political character. To these questions our discreet and well-informed travellers gave appropriate answers, in the language of the court, and in terms suited to the personage to whom they were addressed. Satisfied with the correctness of their statements and of their sufficiency as men of business, he determined upon sending them back to Italy, accompanied by one of his own officers, as his ambassadors to the see of Rome: professedly with the view of persuading his Holiness to supply him with a number of preachers of the Gospel, who should communicate religious instruction to the unenlightened people of his dominions. That such might have been in part the subject of his mission, is probable from the known latitude of his opinions with regard to modes of faith; but there is reason to suppose that the encouragement of a hostile spirit amongst the princes of Christendom against the soldan of Egypt and the Saracens, the natural enemies of his family, was the predominant object. They accordingly set out on their return; but in the early part of their journey, their Tartar companion fell sick, and was left behind. With the assistance, however,

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of the imperial tablet or passport with which they were provided, and which commanded respect and insured them accommodation in all the places through which their route lay, they proceeded towards the shores of the Mediterranean, and at the expiration of three years reached the port of *Giazza* or Ayas, in the kingdom of the Lesser Armenia. At this place they embarked for Acre, then in the possession of the Christians, where they arrived in the month of April 1269.

Upon landing there they received the first intelligence of the death of Pope Clement IV. which happened in November 1268, and it was recommended to them by the Legate on the spot to take no further steps in the business of their embassy until the election of a new Pope. This interval they thought would be most properly employed in a visit to their family, and for that purpose they engaged a passage on a ship bound to Negropont and Venice. Upon their arrival Nicolo Polo found that his wife, whom he had left with child, was dead, after producing a son, to whom she had given the name of Marco, in respect for the memory of her husband's eldest brother, and who was now advancing towards the age of manhood.* Such were the circumstances under which the author of the Travels first makes his appearance.

In consequence of the factions that prevailed in the Sacred College, the election was so much protracted, that our Venetian travellers became impatient of the delay and apprehensive of incurring the displeasure of their august benefactor and employer. After having resided two years in Italy they adopted therefore the resolution of returning directly to the Legate in Palestine; and on this occasion they were accompanied by young Marco, then in his seventeenth or eighteenth year. Having upon their arrival at Acre prevailed on his Eminence to furnish

* In different versions his age is stated at fifteen, seventeen, and nineteen years. It has elsewhere been shewn to be probable that his birth did not take place at an earlier period than the year 1254, and consequently about the latter part of 1269 he was in his sixteenth year.

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furnish them with letters to the Tartar emperor, they embarked for Ayas; but scarcely had they got under weigh, when advice was received at the former place of the choice of the Cardinals having at length fallen upon the Legate himself, M. Tebaldo di Vicenza, who assumed the name of Gregory X.* He lost no time in recalling our Venetians, and in preparing for them letters papal in a more ample and dignified form, to which he added his benediction, and once more dispatched them, along with two friars of the order of Preachers, who were to be the bearers of his presents.

These transactions took place about the end of the year 1271, at which period the northern parts of Syria were invaded by the soldan of Egypt, and such was the alarm caused by his approach to the borders of Armenia minor, that the two friars were deterred from proceeding, and returned for safety to the coast. The Polo family in the mean time prosecuted their journey to the interior of Asia, in a north-easterly direction, undismayed by the prospect of dangers they might have to encounter. Their difficulties appear to have been only such as arose from natural causes, and no mention is made of their being exposed to any hostile attack. It may indeed be presumed that they availed themselves of the protection of the first caravan that presented itself in their route. Of their particular course few indications are given, but it must evidently have been through the Greater Armenia, Persian Irak, Khorasan and by the city of Balkh into the country of *Badakhshan*, amongst the sources of the Oxus, where they remained twelve months. This long detention might have been occasioned by the necessity of waiting for a large assemblage of travelling merchants, under an adequate escort, preparatory to crossing the great ranges of mountains called in our maps the *Belut-tag* and *Muz-tag*; but it may also be accounted for by the circumstance

* See Note 35, p. 21

circumstance of Marco's illness at this place, which, he tells us, was cured by removing his residence from the valley to the summit of an adjoining hill. They here acquired a knowledge of *Kashmir* and other countries on the borders of India, but they did not themselves proceed in that direction. Their road now lay through the valley named *Vokhan*, from whence they ascended to the elevated and wild regions of *Pamer* and *Belôr*, on their way to the city of *Kashghar*, which belonged to the extensive dominions of the Grand khan, and is known to have been a principal place of resort for caravans. After speaking incidently of Samarkand, which lay far to the westward of their route, mention is also made of *Yerken*; but they proceeded directly to *Khoten*, a town of much celebrity, and afterwards through places little known to geographers till they reached the desert of *Lop* or *Kobi*, which is circumstantially described. This being traversed in a tedious journey of thirty days, they entered the comprehensive district of Tangut, and passed through the country of those whom the Chinese call *Si-fan* or *Tu-fan*, as well as the strong place named *Sha-cheu* or the town of the sands. From thence the direct road is to *So-cheu*, at the western extremity of the province of *Shen-si*. This place is within the boundary of what is now China proper, but was then, as well as the city of *Kan-cheu*, considered as belonging to Tangut.

At *Kan-cheu* they experienced another long delay, which our author briefly says, was occasioned by the state of their concerns; and such may have truly been the case; but it must be observed that this is one of the established halting places for strangers from the western countries, from whence it was then, and is now, the usage to transmit information to the court, and to require its instructions with respect to their further progress. It might indeed have been expected that the advance of these peculiar travellers, who were to be regarded as the servants of the emperor, would have been facilitated by every possible means, and

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that no pretence for delay would have been allowed, however convenient to their health or to their mercantile interests, which it is to be presumed they had not neglected; but it must be considered that the importance or the reality of their mission, after a lapse of so many years, might not have been at all understood by the mandarins of a frontier station, and that at the time of their arrival, if in summer, the emperor might have been engaged on one of his periodical hunting expeditions in the north-eastern part of Tartary. From *Kan-cheu* it would seem that they took the road of *Si-ning* (just within the nominal line of the Great Wall, which on that side was built of sandy earth, and had mostly fallen to decay) leading through the heart of the province of *Shen-si*, and directly into that of *Shan-si*. In the capital city of this latter, named *Tai-yuen-fu*, it was that the Grand khan, who in the early part of his reign is known to have made it his winter residence, received notice of their arrival in his dominions; and as their account says, that at the distance of forty days journey from that place, he sent forward directions for preparing every thing necessary for their accommodation, we may understand this to mean, that upon his coming to the western part of China, and hearing of the detention of his Italian messengers at *Kan-cheu*, he commanded that they should be immediately forwarded to his presence, at his expense, and with the attentions usually shewn to foreign ambassadors.

The reception given to them by the emperor was as favourable as they were justified in expecting. After the customary prostrations and delivery of the letters, they were desired to relate all the circumstances that had taken place in the business of their mission, to which he condescendingly listened. He commended their zeal, and accepted with complacency the presents from the Pope, and with reverence, a vessel of the holy oil from the sepulchre of Our Lord, that had been brought from Jerusalem at his desire, and which he concluded, from the value set

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upon it by Christians, might possess extraordinary properties. Observing young Marco in the assemblage, he made inquiries respecting him, and being informed that he was the son of Nicolo, he honoured him with his particular notice, took him under his protection, and gave him an appointment in his household.* In this situation he soon became distinguished for his talents and respected by the court. He adopted the manners of the country, and acquired a competent knowledge of the four languages most in use; which might probably have been the *Mungal*,† that of Turkistan (including the *Ighúr*), the *Manchú* of eastern Tartary, and the Chinese. Thus accomplished he became a favourite with and highly useful to his master, who employed him on services of importance in various parts of the empire, even to the distance of six months journey. On these missions he availed himself of every opportunity of examining into the circumstances of the countries he visited and the customs of their inhabitants, and made notes of what he observed, for the information of the Grand khan, whose curiosity on such subjects appears to have been insatiable: and to these notes it is that we are indebted for the substance of that account of his Travels which, after his return, he was induced to give to the world, but which was certainly not in his contemplation at the time. It cannot be doubted that in recompense for these exertions he experienced many flattering marks of royal favour, but the most distinguished, or rather the only one of his honours that is recorded, arose out of the occasion of a member of one of the great tribunals being nominated *fu-yuen* or governor of the city of *Yang-cheu-fu*, in the province of *Kiang-nan*, who not being able to

* It is impossible for those who have read the account of Lord Macartney's Embassy not to be struck with the resemblance between this scene and that which passed at *Johol* in 1793, when Sir George Staunton presented his son, the present Sir George Thomas Staunton, to the venerable *Kien Long*.

† The name which the Persians write *Moghul* is by the more eastern people of Asia pronounced *Mungal* or *Mongal*. In the writings of the early travellers, Rubruquis and Carpini, we find the guttural or the nasal omitted, and the word softened to *Moal*.

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proceed to his charge, our young Venetian was appointed to act as his deputy, and held this high office during the usual period of three years. Of the correctness of this fact, in which there is nothing improbable, as *Kublaï* is known to have made use of Arabians, Persians, and many other foreigners as his political instruments, no stronger evidence is necessary than the modest, incidental manner in which he connects it with his description of the place.

That his father and uncle were also partakers of the monarch's regards is shewn by his subsequent unwillingness to be deprived of their services. In one instance at least, and that immediately after their arrival at his court, they were eminently useful to him, in suggesting to his officers the employment of certain projectile machines or *catapultæ*, and superintending their construction; thereby contributing in an essential manner to the fall of the strong and important Chinese city of *Siang-yang-fu*, which had resisted the efforts of his besieging army for upwards of three years. It is true that by some of the native historians, the merit of this military expedient is attributed to an *Ighûr* officer who had served in the western parts of Asia, but the reader will find, in Note 970, strong reasons, grounded on the ignorance as well as the illiberality of the Chinese with respect to foreigners, for giving credit, in preference, to the story as told by the Venetians, who must at all events have been on the spot about the time; as our author could not otherwise have been acquainted with the circumstance. It may further be observed, that if the *Ighûrs* were, as is generally asserted, Nestorian Christians, the Chinese writers might be led to confound all Christians with *Ighûrs*.

When about seventeen years had elapsed since the arrival of our travellers within the territories of the Grand khan, the natural desire of revisiting their native land, notwithstanding the splendid advantages of their situation, began to work upon their minds with considerable force; and the great age and precarious life of their protector, weighed strongly

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strongly in determining them to effect their purpose with as little delay as possible, being well aware that in the event of his death, their difficulties might become insurmountable. Their endeavours, however, to prevail on the emperor to consent to their separating themselves from him were ineffectual, and drew from him some expressions of reproach. "If the motive of their projected journey," he concluded with saying, "was the pursuit of gain, he was ready to gratify them to the utmost "extent of their wishes; but with the subject of their request he could "not comply." From this state of impatience and disappointment it was their good fortune to be relieved in a manner wholly unexpected, which shall here be explained. An embassy happened about that time to arrive at the court of *Kublai*, from a Moghul-Tartar prince named *Arghun*, the grandson of *Hulagu* (and consequently the grand-nephew of the emperor) who ruled in Persia. Having lost his principal wife, who was a princess of the imperial stock, and who on her death-bed had entreated that he would not disgrace her memory by forming an alliance with any inferior house, he sent this deputation to his sovereign and the head of his family, to solicit from him a wife of their own lineage. The request was readily complied with, and a princess was selected from amongst his grandchildren, who had attained her seventeenth year. The ambassadors being satisfied as to her beauty and accomplishments, set out with her on their journey to Persia, with a numerous suite to do honour to the betrothed queen; but after several months travelling, found themselves obstructed from proceeding, by the disturbed state of the country through which their route lay, and were under the necessity of returning to the capital. Whilst they were in this embarrassed situation, Marco Polo, who had been on a voyage to some of the East Indian islands, came into port, and laid before his master the observations he had made respecting the safe navigation of those seas; circumstances which reaching their ears, induced them to have a com-

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munication with the Venetian family. Upon its being understood that they had all a common interest, each party being anxiously desirous of effecting their return to their own country, it was arranged between them that the Persians should urgently represent to the Grand khan the expediency of their availing themselves of the experience of the Christians in maritime affairs, to convey their precious charge by sea, to the gulf of Persia; as they were debarred from returning thither by land. Dissatisfactory as we may suppose the proposition to have been to him, he could not, in such a dilemma, refuse to give his consent. Preparations were accordingly made on a grand scale for this important expedition. Fourteen ships of four masts, and some of them with crews of two hundred and fifty men, were equipped and provisioned for two years. When the period of their departure was at hand, the benevolent monarch addressed the Polo family in terms of kind regard, and required from them a promise that after having visited their own country and kindred they would return to his service. He, at the same time gave them authority to act as his ambassadors to the principal courts of Europe, furnished them with the passports necessary for their protection and accommodation in the countries acknowledging his sovereignty, and made them presents of many valuable jewels. Thus honourably dismissed they embarked, together with the Persian noblemen and the young queen, with her attendants, in the *Pe-ho* river, as may be presumed from its vicinity to the capital, in order to proceed to the place of their remote destination.

In the details that are given of the voyage, there is but little that personally regards our author, and the relation shall here be stated as succinctly as possible. The first place at which they appear to have touched (if the expedition did not in fact proceed from thence in the first instance) was the port of *Zaitun*, in the province of *Fo-kien*, supposed to be either *Tsuen-cheu* or the neighbouring port of *Hia-muen*,

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by us called *Amoy*. Passing by the island of *Hai-nan*, they kept along the coast of *Anan* or Kochin-china, to the adjoining country of *Tsiampa*, which Marco Polo informs us he had previously visited in the year 1280. Mention is next made of the island of *Java*, although it is evident from the circumstances, that they did not touch there, and also of two uninhabited islands near the coast of *Kamboja*. From the latter they steered for the island of *Bintan*, near the eastern entrance of the straits of Malacca. From this place, where they seem to have acquired some knowledge of the kingdom of the Malays, at the extremity of the peninsula, they made a short run to the north-eastern coast of *Java minor*, by which is meant Sumatra. This island becomes the subject of more particular description than almost any other place visited. In one of its ports they are stated to have been detained five months, waiting for a favourable season to pursue their voyage across the bay of Bengal; and on this occasion we have an indirect proof of the influence which Marco's superior talents gave him amongst those to whom the conduct of the expedition was entrusted, as he informs us of his having established himself on shore with a body of two thousand men, and constructed defences to secure them against any hostile attempts on the part of the savage inhabitants; whom at the same time he so much conciliated as to ensure from them regular supplies of provisions. He tells us that he visited six out of the eight kingdoms (as they are termed) into which the country is divided. Upon leaving this port, mention is made of one of the Nicobar islands, and of those called the Andamans, the natives of which are represented as brutish in their manners and in their appearance scarcely human.

The fine island of Ceylon is next visited, and its celebrated peak particularly noticed. From thence they cross the narrow strait, to the southern part of the coast of the peninsula, called by our author, in imitation of the Arabian and Persian writers, the country of *Maabar*; which

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which must not be confounded with *Malabar*. On this occasion he gives a circumstantial account of the famous pearl-fishery. He also relates the traditions of the people respecting the martyrdom of St. Thomas the Apostle, and the miracles wrought at his tomb. Other places within the ancient kingdom of *Narsinga*, although perhaps not actually visited by himself, and particularly Masulipatam, with the diamond mines of *Golconda*, are then mentioned. Of these last, on the faith of the natives, some extraordinary tales are related. Cape Comorin and several towns and districts on the south-western coast are then spoken of; the produce of pepper is noticed, and also the natural strength of the country from its mountainous barrier. The pirate coast, which he calls by the name of Malabar, although that belongs in strictness to the more southern part, is next described, and afterwards, in succession, Guzzerat, Kambaia, Sumenat, and the country of Makran, which he terms the last, as being the most western province of his greater division of India, beginning with Maabar already mentioned. Which of these places they really touched at, and which of them were known only by the accounts received from the Arabian and other navigators of the Indian seas, does not distinctly appear, and can only be inferred from the greater or less degree of precision with which they are noticed. Of the islands of Socotra, Madagascar, and Zenzibar, or the southern part of the *peninsula* of Africa, he professedly speaks upon the authority of persons with whom he had conversed and who had shewn him maps of those parts. The same may be said of Abyssinia and the cities of Aden, Sheher, Dafar, and Kelhat, on the Arabian coast. At Ormuz, in the Persian gulf, the course of his description (for after the first long chapter of the work, the form of a narrative is not observed) may be considered as brought to a close; and there is every reason to infer that the Chinese expedition, after a navigation of eighteen months in the Indian seas, terminated at that place. Of the

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return of the ships and surviving part of the crews (six hundred of whom, with two of the Persian noblemen, having died on the passage) we have not any record whatever; and it is most probable that, deprived of the energy of the Europeans, the fleet never found its way back to China, although many of the individuals may have effected their passage by the trading ships. An event, however, had in the mean time occurred, which rendered the fate of this hazardous undertaking a subject of less interest at the court of Peking than it would otherwise have been. This was the death of the venerable emperor *Kublai*, which took place in the beginning of the year 1294.

Upon the arrival of the expedition in Persia, information was received by our travellers that the Moghul king *Arghun*, for whose consort the princess had been intended, had died some time before (1291); that the country was then governed by a regent or protector who was supposed to have views to the sovereignty; and that the son of the late king, named *Ghazan*, who afterwards became much celebrated, was encamped, with a large army under his command, on the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom, towards *Khorasan*; waiting, as it appeared, for a favourable opportunity of asserting his rights to the throne, for which his extremely diminutive figure was thought to have rendered him unfit. To this prince they were directed to deliver their royal charge. Of her reception and subsequent fortunes we know nothing; but as *Ghazan* distinguished himself so much by his virtues as to make the world forget the defects of his person, we may presume that she was treated with the respect and kindness that belong to the character of a brave man. This object of their mission being accomplished, they repaired to the court of the protector, at Tauris, where for nine months they reposed themselves from the fatigue of their long travels, and perhaps employed themselves in realising or investing more conveniently some part of the property they had

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had brought with them. Having received from him the customary passports, which they found the more necessary, as the unpopularity of his government occasioned tumults in the country and rendered strong escorts indispensable, they proceeded on their journey homewards, taking the road of *Arjis* on the lake of Van, *Arzerrûm*, and the castle of *Baiburt*, and reached the city of Trebizond on the coast of the Euxine; from whence, by the way of Constantinople and of Negropont or Eubœa, they finally by the blessing of God (as they piously acknowledged), in the full possession of health and riches, arrived safely in their native city of Venice. This consummation of their memorable labours took place in 1295 (a date in which all the copies agree), after an absence of twenty-four years.

Up to this period our narrative of the adventures of the Polo family has been framed from the materials, however scanty, which Marco himself had directly or indirectly furnished. For what is to follow, we must principally rely upon the traditionary stories prevalent amongst his fellow citizens, and collected by his industrious editor Ramusio, who wrote nearly two centuries and a half after his time. Upon their first arrival, he says, they experienced the reception that attended Ulysses when he returned to Ithaca. They were not recognised even by their nearest relations; and especially as rumours of their death had been current and were confidently believed. By the length of time they had been absent, the fatigues they had undergone in journies of such extent, and the anxieties of mind they had suffered, their appearance was quite changed, and they seemed to have acquired something of the Tartar both in countenance and speech, their native language being mixed with foreign idioms and barbarous terms. In their garments also, which were mean and of coarse texture, there was nothing that resembled those of Italians. The situation of their family dwelling house, a handsome and lofty palace, was in the street of S. Giovanni Chrisostomo, and still

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still existed in the days of Ramusio, when, for a reason that will hereafter appear, it went by the appellation of "*la corte del Millioni.*" Of this house possession had been taken by some persons of their kindred, and when our travellers demanded admittance, it was with much difficulty that they could obtain it by making the occupiers comprehend who they were, or persuading them that persons so changed and disfigured by their dress, could really be those members of the house of Polo who for so many years had been numbered with the dead. In order therefore to render themselves generally known to their connexions, and at the same time to impress the whole city of Venice with an adequate idea of their importance, they devised a singular expedient, the circumstances of which, Ramusio says, had been repeatedly told to him when a youth, by his friend M. Gasparo Malipiero, an elderly senator of unimpeachable veracity, whose house stood near that of the Polo family, and who had himself heard them from his father and his grandfather, as well as from other ancient persons of that neighbourhood.

With these objects in view, they caused a magnificent entertainment to be prepared, in their own house, to which their numerous relatives were invited. When the hour for assembling at table was arrived, the three travellers came forth from an inner apartment, clothed in long robes of crimson satin reaching to the floor; such as it was customary to wear upon occasions of ceremony in those days. When water had been carried round for washing hands and the guests desired to take their places, they stripped themselves of these vestments, and putting on similar dresses of crimson damask, the former were taken to pieces and divided amongst the attendants. Again when the first course of victuals had been removed, they put on robes of crimson velvet, and seated themselves at table, when the preceding dresses were in like manner distributed; and at the conclusion of the feast, those of velvet were disposed of in the same way, and the hosts then appeared in plain suits resembling such as were

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worn by the rest of the company. All were astonished at what they saw, and curious to know what was to follow this scene. As soon, however, as the cloth was removed and the domestics had been ordered to withdraw, Marco Polo, as being the youngest, rose from table, went into an adjoining room, and presently returned with the three coarse, threadbare garments in which they had first made their appearance at the house. With the assistance of knives they proceeded to rip the seams and to strip off the linings and patches with which these rags were doubled, and by this operation brought to view a large quantity of most costly jewels, such as rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, diamonds, and emeralds,* which had been sewn into them, and with so much art and contrivance, as not to be at all liable to the suspicion of containing such treasures. At the time of their taking their departure from the court of the Grand khan, all the riches that his bounty had bestowed upon them were by them converted into the most valuable precious stones, for the facility of conveyance; being well aware that in a journey of extraordinary length and difficulty, it would have been impossible to transport a sum of that magnitude, in gold. The display of wealth, so incalculable in its amount, which then lay exposed on the table before them, appeared something miraculous, and filled the minds of all who were spectators of it with such wonder, that for a time they remained motionless; but upon recovering from their ecstacy, they felt entirely convinced that these were in truth the honourable and valiant gentlemen of the house of Polo, of which at first they had entertained doubts, and they accordingly exhibited every mark of profound respect for their hosts.

Of

* Our modern scientific lapidaries assert that all true emeralds come from South America, and that oriental emeralds are things unknown to the trade, or should bear another name. What then were the *zamrúd* of the Persians, the *smaragdoi* of the Greeks, and the *smeraldi* of our author? It is remarkable that pearls, although so easily concealed, are not amongst the costly jewels here enumerated.

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Of the degree of credit due to this anecdote, vouched as it is, the reader will form his own judgment; but as it betrays a mixture of vanity and folly quite inconsistent with the character of grave and prudent men, which in the preceding part of their lives they appear to have uniformly sustained, I am disposed to be incredulous, and to attribute the story to the fertile invention of their cotemporaries or perhaps the succeeding generation, who seem to have regarded our travellers as heroes of romance, and not unfrequently made them the subject of ridicule.* Be this as it may, Ramusio proceeds to acquaint us, that as soon as an account of the scene just described was spread about the city of Venice, great numbers of the inhabitants of all ranks, from the nobles down to the mechanics, hastened to their dwelling, in order to have an opportunity of embracing them and of testifying their good will. Maffio, the elder brother, was honoured with an office of much importance in the magistracy. To Marco the young men resorted, to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation. Finding him polite and communicative, they paid him daily visits, making inquiries respecting Kataia and the Grand khan; and to all of them his answers were so courteous, that each considered himself as personally obliged. In consequence, however, of their persevering curiosity, which occasioned frequent repetitions of the amount of the imperial revenues, estimated at ten or fifteen millions of gold ducats, as well as of other computations regarding the wealth and population of the empire, which were necessarily expressed in millions also, he at length acquired amongst them the surname of Messer Marco *Millioni* or, in the modern orthography, *Milione*.

* "Après sa mort" says C. Amoretti, on the authority of F. Jacopo de Aqui "on se moqua encore "de lui, de manière que dans les masquerades il y "avoit toujours quelqu'un qui prenoit son nom et le "représentoit pour amuser le peuple, en racontant "tout ce qui lui venoit dans la tête de plus extravagant. Ensuite on en usa de même envers Pigafetta (Pignoria Prefaz. all'Opera degli Dei Antichi); mais les voyages faits après eux les ont assez "justifiés." Voyage de la mer Atlantique à l'Océan Pacifique par le Capitain Maldonado, traduit d'un manuscrit Espagnol; note, p. 67.

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"By this appellation" Ramusio (who was himself high in office) adds, "I have seen him mentioned in the public records of this republic, and "the house in which he lived, has, from that time to the present, been "commonly termed "*la corte del Millioni.*" It must at the same time be remarked that Sansovino, in his "Venetia descritta," attributes the popular application of this surname, to the immense riches possessed by the Polo family at the period of their return to their own country. In this sense the French apply the term "millionnaire" to a great capitalist.

Not many months after their arrival in Venice, intelligence was received that a Genoese fleet, commanded by Lampa Doria, had made its appearance off the island of Curzola, on the coast of Dalmatia; in consequence of which a Venetian fleet, consisting of a superior number of gallies, immediately put to sea under the orders of Andrea Dandolo. To the command of one of these, Marco Polo, as an experienced sea-officer was appointed. The fleets soon came in sight of each other, and an engagement ensued, in which the latter were defeated with great loss.* Amongst the prisoners taken by the Genoese, besides Dandolo himself, was our traveller, who belonged to the advanced division, and bravely pushing forward to attack the enemy, but not being properly supported, was compelled to surrender, after receiving a wound. From the scene of action he was conveyed to a prison in Genoa, where his personal qualities and his surprising history becoming soon known, he was visited by all the principal inhabitants, who did every thing in their power to soften the rigours of his captivity; treating him with kindness as

* This event is said by some writers to have happened on the 8th of September 1296. The following extract from the "Cronico Veneto" of Sansovino, annexed to his "Venetia descritta," will shew the strange uncertainty of the Venetian annals. "1295. Giornata à *Curzola* co Genovesi, con perdita "dell'armata Veneta e con la presa d'Andrea Dan- "dolo, il quale per non esser condotto à Genova "prigione s'occide per via. Altri scrivono 1298."

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as a friend, and liberally supplying him with every thing necessary for his subsistence and accommodation. His rare adventures were, as in his own country, the subject of general curiosity, and the accounts he gave, especially of Kataia, and its sovereign, the Grand khan, were listened to with eager attention. The frequent necessity he was under of repeating the same story, unavoidably became irksome to him; and (fortunately for the promotion of geographical science, to which it gave the first impulse) he was at length induced to follow the advice of those who recommended his committing it to writing. With this view he procured from Venice the original notes he had made in the course of his travels, and had left in the hands of his father. Assisted by these documents (of which he speaks on more than one occasion) and from his verbal communications, the narrative is said to have been drawn up, in the prison, by a person named Rustighello, or Rustigielo, who, according to Ramusio, was a Genoese gentleman with whom he had formed an intimacy, and who, from an ardent desire to obtain information respecting distant parts of the world, was in the daily habit of passing many hours with him, in his place of confinement; or according to the Sorenzo manuscript, of which Apostolo Zeno has given some extracts, a native of Pisa and his fellow prisoner.* This work is said to have been accomplished, and the manuscript circulated, in 1298.

The imprisonment of Marco was the occasion of much affliction to his father and his uncle, and the more particularly as it had long been their

* The former of these two accounts is supported by the authority of a manuscript in the Ambrosian library at Milan, referred to by C. Amoretti, in his translation of Maldonado's voyage, mentioned in a preceding note, where he says: "Tout ce que nous "dit Ramusio du lieu, de la circonstance et de la ma- "nière dont ce célèbre voyageur, Marc Pole, écrivit "son histoire et ses observations, se trouve à quel- "ques différences près, dans la Part. II. de la Chro- "nique manuscrite de F. Jacopo de Aqui, que nous "avons dans notre Bibliothèque." P. 67. It may indeed have happened that this chronicle of Aqui was one of the sources from whence Ramusio drew his information.

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their intention that he should form a suitable matrimonial alliance, upon their return to Venice. Their plans were now frustrated, and it became daily more uncertain what the duration of his captivity might prove, as all attempts to procure his liberation by the offer of money had failed, and even doubtful whether it might not terminate only with his life. Under these circumstances, finding themselves cut off from the prospect of having heirs to their vast wealth, they deliberated upon what was most proper to be done for the establishment of the family, and it was agreed that Nicolo, although an old man, but of a hale constitution, should take to himself a second wife.

It happened at length, after a lapse of four years, that Marco, in consequence of the interest taken in his favour amongst the leading people in Genoa, and indeed by the whole city, was released from his captivity. Upon returning home he found that his father had by that time added three sons to the family, whose names were Stefano, Maffio, and Giovanni. Being a man of good sense and discretion, he did not take umbrage at this change of circumstances, but resolved upon marrying also, and effected it as soon as he found a suitable match. By his marriage, however, he had not any male descendant, but only two daughters; one of whom is said to have been called Moretta, and the other Fantina; which, from their signification, may be thought to have been rather familiar terms of endearment, than baptismal names. Upon the death of his father, as became an affectionate and pious son, he erected a monument to his memory of hewn stone; which Ramusio says, was still to be seen, in his days, under the portico in front of the church of St. Lorenzo, upon the right hand side as you enter; with an inscription denoting it to be the tomb of Nicolo Polo, who resided in the street beforementioned. Respecting the age to which our author himself attained, or the year in which his death took place, his countrymen have not given us any information, nor, as it would seem, was

any

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any endeavour made at an early period, to ascertain the facts. Sansovino, the most elaborate historian of their city, observes only, that "under the passage to the church of S. Lorenzo, which stands on one "of the islets named Gemelle, lies buried Marco Polo, surnamed "Milione, who wrote the account of *travels in the new world*, and was "the first, before Colombus, who discovered new countries." * On which expressions we may remark, that independently of the geographical ignorance displayed, there is room to conjecture (if Ramusio be correct) that he has confounded the tomb of the father with that of the son. At all events, the indifference he has shewn, as an antiquary, to the investigation of circumstances connected with the life of a man of whom his country has so much reason to be proud, cannot be too strongly reprehended. In the chronicle of Jacopo de Aqui it is reported that when upon his death-bed he was exhorted by his friends, as matter of conscience, to retract what he had published, or at least to disavow those parts which the world regarded as fictious, he scorned their advice, declaring at the same time, that so far from having exaggerated, he had not told one half of the extraordinary things of which he had been an eye-witness. His Will is said to have been dated in the year 1323; in which case his life may be supposed (without pretending to accuracy, but also without the chance of material error) to have embraced the period between 1254 and 1324, or about seventy years.†

With

* "Sotto l'angiporto è sepolto quel Marco Polo "cognominato Milione, il quale scrisse i viaggi del "mondo nuovo, e che fù il primo avanti Christoforo "Colombo, che ritrovasse nuovi paesi: al quale non "si dando fede per le cose stravaganti che egli rac- "conta, il Colombo aggiunse credulità ne tempi de' "nostri padri, con lo haver ritrovata quella parte, per "inanzi giudicata da huomini singolari non punto "habitata." Venetia descritta, p. 80, ed. 1663.

† In order to convey more distinctly to the mind of the reader, the historical period at which Marco Polo flourished, the reigns of cotemporary kings, and lives of some other eminent persons, shall here be noticed. Edward I. of England reigned from 1272 to 1307: Philip III. and Philip IV. of France, from 1270 to 1314: Alphonso X., Sancho IV., and Ferdinand IV. of Spain, from 1252 to 1312: Affonso III. and Diniz or Dionis, of Portugal, from 1246 to 1325: Pope Gregory X. was chosen in 1271, and Clement V. died in 1314: Rodolphus, Count of Hapsburg, ancestor of the present house of Austria, was, under the influence of Gregory, elected king of the Romans

in

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With regard to the other members of the family, Marco, the eldest of the three brothers, appears to have died before the departure of Nicolo and Maffio for Constantinople; and it was with the intention of doing honour to his memory, that the wife of the former, in the absence of her husband, gave to her son, our author, the name of his deceased uncle. Of the three children of Nicolo by the second marriage, one only, Maffio, lived to have a family. This consisted of five sons and one daughter, named Maria; and as all the sons died without leaving issue, she, upon the death of her last surviving brother, who likewise bore the name of Marco, inherited all the possessions of their father. With this event, which took place in 1417, the family became extinct in the male line, and the illustrious name of Polo was lost. The heiress married into the noble house of Trivisino, eminently distinguished in the *fasti* of the Venetian republic.

The arms borne by the Polo family, as Ramusio found them blazoned in ancient books of heraldry, were azure; on a bend, argent, three *poles* (graculi or jackdaws), sable.

General view of the work.

It is well known that for a long period after the close of the thirteenth century, when an account of the Travels of Marco Polo of Venice first made its appearance and was circulated, in manuscript, the information it gave of countries till that time unheard of, and manners incompatible with every idea that had been entertained of the barbarians of Tartary,

in 1273, and died in 1291: Baldwin II. Latin emperor of Constantinople, was driven from thence in 1261, by Michael Palæologus, the Greek emperor, who died in 1284, as did Andronicus II. in 1332. Matthew Paris, the historian, died in 1259; Thomas Aquinas in 1274; the massacre called the Sicilian Vespers took place in 1282; Acre was finally conquered by the Saracens in 1291; Roger Bacon died in 1292; Duns Scotus in 1308; and Dante Alighieri, in 1321; the mariner's compass is said to have been invented in 1303, (on which subject see an able dissertation by Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, t. iv, p. 180-190, where he endeavours to shew that it was not introduced from China by the Polo family); and cannon, not until the year 1380.

Tartary, was treated with levity or ridicule by the generality of his countrymen, and read with suspicion by the best instructed persons in every part of Europe. It was thought by them a paradox, that whilst the western world was overrun and desolated by tribes whom animosity and terror painted as still more savage than they actually were, other tribes of the same nomadic race, and professing submission to one common head, should be found not only to live under a regular government, but to have become the constituent part of a splendid and highly civilised empire, filled with magnificent cities, abounding in rich manufactures, and the scene of a commerce of such magnitude as rendered that of Venice trifling in comparison. But in the general advancement of knowledge, and in proportion to the opportunities afforded of ascertaining the real state of society and of physical circumstances in remote countries, and to the exercise of rational inquiry, which whilst it detects imposture, serves to rescue merit from neglect, the authenticity and importance of these travels have found enlightened advocates, and in modern times have been generally acknowledged by the most eminent historical and geographical writers. Of those who at the present day declare their want of faith, and make the character of Marco Polo the subject of pleasantry, it is probable that the greater proportion have but superficially read his work; and there is reason to believe that the number of those, who, having deliberately perused it, continue to think the narrative fictitious, is very inconsiderable. The opinion, however, of these latter, small as their number may be, is intitled to the utmost respect, and it is more particularly with the view of removing from such candid and reflecting minds, any doubts of the honest spirit in which the original was composed, that this translation and commentary are undertaken.

General view of the work.

It might have been expected that in ages past a less tardy progress would have been made in doing justice to the intrinsic merits of a

General view of the work.

work (whatever were its defects as a composition) that first conveyed to Europeans a distinct idea of the empire of China,* and by shewing its situation, together with that of Japan (before entirely unknown) in respect to the great Eastern ocean, which was supposed to meet and form one body of water with the Atlantic, eventfully led to the important discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese.† In accounting for this neglect we must allow that it may have been occasioned in the first instance, by a deficiency of skill in literary composition on the part of the author, who probably laboured under the disadvantage of not possessing a ready command either of his own or any other language current in Europe, and was therefore obliged to have recourse to the assistance of others in the preparation of his materials; but more particularly is it to be attributed to the want of requisite talent or care in the early translators and copiers of his manuscript, during the period of a century and half that intervened between its appearance and the use of printing. By their misconceptions his sense is often obscured, whilst their inaccuracies of orthography render it, in many instances, a matter of the utmost difficulty to recognise the proper names of persons and places. Nor do the first editors in print appear to have been more free from blame than the transcribers, as the endless variety of modes in which these names are presented to us, prove how indifferent they were

* Amongst the Cottonian manuscripts of the British Museum, notice has been taken of one in the Latin and Saxon languages, referred to the beginning of the eleventh century, which speaks of certain "reges Cattinorum," supposed to mean kings of *Cathay*: from whence an inference might be drawn, that the writer had, at that early period, some knowledge of northern China. But it is obvious that these kings, who are stated to have had an interview with Alexander of Macedon, must be intended for those of the people called *Cathei* by Arrian and *Catheri* by Diodorus, whose country lay between the Hydraotes and the Hyphasis, in the neighbourhood of the *Malli* and *Oxydracæ*; and by no means for inhabitants of Kataia or *Khataï*. Their European crowns, indeed, shew that they were depicted without any knowledge of eastern costume.

† Ramusio, speaking of the sources from whence king John II. of Portugal derived his information respecting India, says: "E massimamente da quello "(libro) del magnifico Messer Marco Polo il qual fu "portato in Lisbona dall' illustre Infante Don Pietro "fino all' hora che egli fu nella città di Venetia l'an- "no 1428....E dicono l'historie Portoghesi che fu "presentato in Venetia per un singular dono, e che 'l "detto libro dapoi tradotto nella lor lingua fu gran "causa che tutti quelli serenissimi Re s'infiammassero "a voler scoprir l'India orientale, e sopra tutti il Re "Don Giovanni secondo." Vol. I. Discorso sopra le lettere di Andrea Corsali, fol. 176.

were to correctness. In general also they have used considerable license in abridging passages and even omitting chapters of their original, in order, as it would seem, by concentrating what they regarded as the most interesting matter, to adapt their publication to the taste of that class of readers which was most gratified with whatever had least the quality of plain matter of fact. In this view of the state in which the text is handed down to us, I am justified by the opinion of a distinguished Italian scholar of the present day, to whom the care of the Library of St. Mark at Venice is worthily entrusted. "It is incredible "(says Sign. Morelli in a letter to a mutual friend) how much this "work of the travels of Marco Polo was altered and disfigured during "the long period of its circulating in manuscript amongst so many "curious readers. To produce a complete edition, that should be "worthy of the public attention, must be regarded as an effort of "*extreme labour and difficulty, on account of the scarcity of genuine* "documents, and the pains necessary for ascertaining the degree of "credit belonging to each. The undertaking demands a full and pre-"cise acquaintance with the geography of the middle ages; with the "travels of those days; with oriental history; with the languages pre-"vailing *in early and modern times amongst the Tartars, the Indians,* "and other eastern people; with the manners, the natural history, "and the rare productions of those countries; and at the same time "with the Venetian dialect of Italian, as well as with the particular "usages of the city of Venice; all of which acquirements should be "brought into use, under the guidance of just criticism and nice dis-"cernment: advantages which it is nearly impossible to find united in "one and the same person, however learned and indefatigable he may "be." *

General view of the work.

* "E incredibile quanto sia stato alterata e sfigurata quest' opera dei Viaggi del Polo, la quale andò "per lungo tempo in giro scritta per li mani di tanti "curiosi lettori. Una editione, la quale sia compi-"uta

General view of the work.

In the face of so formidable and discouraging a statement of the qualifications requisite for the undertaking, it might be deemed a presumptuous and at the same time a hopeless attempt in any individual, if the expectation should be entertained of his being able to furnish a satisfactory solution of every difficulty, to detect all the errors of geography, history, and language that have found their way into the text, or to reconcile to one authentic and correct standard all the differences known to exist amongst preceding copies. Such are not my vain pretensions: but although every thing that scrupulous criticism demands should not be effected, a confidence might still be felt of the practicability of doing much towards rescuing an early and curious work from the imputations under which it has laboured, and vindicating the moral integrity of its ingenuous, but perhaps, in some cases too credulous author. A strong persuasion of the fundamental merit and genuine character of the relation had impressed itself upon my mind from the time when I first had occasion (about the year 1780) to examine its details on the subject of the island of Sumatra, which it terms Java minor; and it has since been my unceasing wish that the elucidation of its obscurities should engage the attention of some person competent to the task of preparing a new edition from the best existing materials, and of illustrating it with Notes calculated to bring the matter of the text into comparison with the information contained in subsequent accounts of travels and other well-authenticated writings.* But this wish not having been hitherto fulfilled, nor

" uta e degna del pubblico, è una delle piu faticose " e piu difficili opere che posso farsi, per la grande " scarsezza di monumenti sinceri da aversi, e per- " che molti ve ne sono dei quali non bene si può " conoscere quale e quanta credenza meritino. Vi " varebbero studii e cognizioni esatte di geografia " del medio evo, d'istoria orientale, degli scrittori " di viaggi de' que' tempi, di lingue anticamente e " modernamente usate da Tartari, Indiani, ed altri " popoli, di costumi loro, d'istoria naturale e produ- " zioni poco note, ed anche del dialetto Veneziano, " e delle pratiche di questa città, e tutto poi dovrebbe " essere usato con buona critica e con fino discerni- " mento; le quali cose tute è quasi impossibile che " si trovino in una persona sola, per quanto erudita " e laboriosa sia."

* " Editio nova, eaque critica, hujus itinerarii " enixè petenda est a viris harum rerum peritis." Bibliotheca historica a Meuselio edita, Vol. I. P. II. p. 9.

nor any expectation (to my knowledge) held out to the public that such a work is likely to appear, I have been induced to venture upon the undertaking myself, although conscious that, notwithstanding some accidental advantages I may possess, there are many persons in different parts of Europe more fully qualified to do justice to the execution. General view of the work.

It remained then for consideration to which of the texts already known to us, in the Italian, the Latin, or other language, a preference should be given, for copiousness, purity, and consistency; from whence to make a new English version, that should become the subject of comment and illustration. The learned Andreas Müller, of Berlin, who published, in 1671, a respectable edition of the work (which will hereafter be more particularly noticed), adopted for his purpose and copied literally the text of the Latin version printed in the collection of Grynæus, at Basle and Paris, in 1532: but to this choice he may have been influenced, not only by his more familiar acquaintance with that language, but by the opportunity it afforded of collation with a celebrated manuscript in the library of the Elector of Brandenburg containing the more early Latin version of Pipino. With every deference to his authority (if in fact he exercised a discriminating judgment on the question), my opinion leads me to consider the Italian version furnished by Ramusio, in the second volume of his collection of travels, published in 1559 (but of which the preface is dated in 1553), as decidedly superior; and in this I am supported by that of our countryman, Samuel Purchas, likewise the compiler of a valuable collection of early voyages and travels, who says, in his quaint phraseology: "I found this "booke translated by Master Hakluyt out of the Latine; but where "the blind leade the blind, both fall; as here the corrupt Latine could "not but yeeld a corruption of truth in English. Ramusio, Secretarie "to the Decemviri in Venice, found a better copie and published the "same." To which he adds at the conclusion: "In this admirable Choice of text for translation.

"voyage

Choice of text for translation.

" voyage of Polo, I confesse *inopem me copia fecit;* the translation " which I had of Master Hakluyt from the corrupted Latine, being lesse " than nothing, did me no steed but losse, whiles I would compare it " with the Latine, and thought to amend it by the Italian; and was " forced at last to reject both Latine and English, and after much vex- " ation to present thee this, as it is, out of Ramusio." Vol. iii. p. 65, 107. Testimony to the same effect has also been given in more modern times, by Robertson, Gibbon, and Vincent, the last of whom says: " I have followed Ramusio, as I always do, in preference to other trans- " lators."

As it appears from the foregoing, that an English version from the Italian was made by Purchas, it may be asked why it should not have superseded the necessity for a new one in the present publication? To this it may be answered, that the language of that writer is uncouth, affected, and obsolete, that his translation is in many places deficient in correctness, and that he has paraphrased and abridged the text, as he himself acknowledges, according to his convenience or his fancy.* " I have indeavoured" he says " to give the truth, but have abridged " some things to prevent prolixitie and tautologie in this so voluminous " a worke, leaving out nothing of substance but what elsewhere is to be " found in this worke (meaning his Collection of Travels), and seeking " rather the sense, than a stricter verball following our authour's words " and sentence." P. 65. Yet this English version, notwithstanding the liberties

* Of incorrectness there is a striking example in the first sentence of the translation, where he renders the phrase, " *per nome di Messer lo Dose,*" which means, " in the name of " or " representing the " Doge," by the words, " called *Messer lo Dòse;*" implying that this was either the proper name or the title of the Venetian magistrate who resided at Constantinople. Of fanciful paraphrase an instance presents itself, where our author in describing the custom of tattowing or puncturing the skin, as prevailing amongst a certain people, observes that they have practitioners whose sole employment it is to perform the operation; but which plain and genuine account is disfigured by Purchas in the following ludicrous manner: " And there be professors of this foolish " art of flesh embroiderie, which use no other trade " but this needle-worke, and dying of fooles-skinnes." Vol. III, p. 94.

liberties avowed to have been taken by Purchas, and however exceptionable in various respects, has served as the basis of that given by Dr. Campbell, in his edition of the Collection of voyages and travels first published by Harris in 1704; for the use of which work the language was modernised and polished, with much general propriety, but without any reference to the Italian or the Latin for correction; so that all the faults above noticed, excepting those of style, were suffered to remain, whilst some mistakes imputable to the moderniser have been superadded.* Under circumstances of this nature it will be admitted, that independently of the collateral object of a commentary or a critical examination of the matter of the text, a new translation of Marco Polo's Travels was wanting to the literature of our own country.

Choice of text for translation.

As much has been said of a diversity prevailing amongst the several transcripts and printed editions of the work, it may be necessary before we proceed further, to apprize the reader of its extent, by observing, that although the orthography of names is found to vary in them considerably, that the dates are in some instances discordant, the division into books and chapters dissimilar, that chapters (for the sake of brevity) are occasionally omitted, and that the style is much more compressed and abrupt in some versions than in others; yet in substance they are all the same, in facts they rarely, if ever, contradict each other, the same general arrangement of the matter is observed in all, the same countries are more or less circumstantially or imperfectly described, the same personages are mentioned, and consequently no doubts can be entertained of the identity of the relation under all its disguises.

With respect to the language in which it was originally composed, there has existed a strong difference of opinion, but the preponderance of

Original language.

* Such as that in which it is said of a certain causeway in China, that "on both sides are great "*fences*," instead of "great *fennes*" (fens), as it stands in Purchas; being *palude* in the Italian. See Harris, vol. I, p. 615.

Original language.

of authority and argument is in favour of its having been a provincial, and probably the Venetian dialect of Italian. At the head of those who assert that it was first written in Latin, is Ramusio himself, whose preface (which has furnished most of the latter circumstances of our author's life) asserts that Rustigielo, the Genoese, who acted as his amanuensis, composed the work in Latin; and to account for his use of that language, observes that even so late as his time, the people of Genoa were accustomed to employ it in recording their transactions of business; as they found it difficult to express on paper the sounds of their native tongue. Copies, he adds, of this original Latin text, with a preface by the abovementioned Genoese, dated in the year 1298, were presently multiplied, and a translation was afterwards made into the common Italian or *lingua volgare*, with transcripts of which all Italy was soon filled. From that language, he proceeds to say, it was re-translated into Latin, in the year 1320, by Francisco Pipino of Bologna, who, he supposes, was unable to procure a copy of the original.

But however plausible this account of the original circumstances of the work may appear, there are strong grounds for questioning its accuracy on some material points. Not only is the supposition that an existing Latin original could have been unknown to Pipino, or that the numerous and widely dispersed order of friars Preachers to which he belonged and at whose desire he undertook to translate it from the Italian, could not have obtained a copy, in itself improbable, but in the preface written by this monk (which will be found in the sequel) he does not allude to any difficulty of such a nature. On the contrary his words imply that he was executing a new task, for the purpose of enabling persons of education in his own country, as well as foreigners, to read this author's interesting account of the people of the East with more gratification than they could derive from its perusal in the vulgar tongue, or that in which he states it to have been dictated and first given

to

to the world. Grynæus also, the learned editor of the Novus orbis, printed in 1532 (many years earlier than the appearance of Ramusio's collection), says, in his preface to a Latin version distinct from and superior to the version of Pipino: "Et utinam Marcus iste Venetus "commodiorem nactus fuit interpretem, aut ipse librum suum Latine "scripsisset...Sed multis concivibus suis Venetis gratificari maluit, quam "paucis Latine doctis:" evidently shewing his belief that it had first appeared in the native language of his fellow citizens. Original language.

In addition to these direct testimonies of the Latin translators, strong proof, although of a negative kind, is derived from the silence of the earliest Italian copies with respect to a Latin original, and especially of the Sorenzo manuscript (to be hereafter noticed more particularly) which is in the Venetian dialect, and bears the mark of considerable antiquity. In the preface to this it is simply mentioned that "at the "time when *Marco Polo* was detained in prison by the *Zenovessi* "(Genoese), he caused all these things to be written down by Misier "Rustigielo, a citizen of *Pixa* (Pisa), who was his *fellow*-prisoner." But had any other language than that in which these two persons usually conversed been employed for this purpose, it would obviously have been stated; and as the native of Pisa must be supposed, from the fact of his imprisonment, to have belonged to the Venetian service, it is fair to presume that he might have been capable of writing the narrative in the words of his brother officer by whom it was dictated, although differing in pronunciation from his vernacular tongue.* But however probable it may be that the dialect was the Venetian, it will not be thought necessary to contend for the particular idiom. It is sufficient

* The most striking peculiarities of the Venetian dialect, in pronunciation and orthography, seem to consist in the substitution of *z* for *g*, and for *c* before *e* and *i*, as in *zente* for *gente*, *zorno* for *giorno*, *zitadin* for *cittadino*, *zerchasse* for *cercasse*; and also of *ch* for the hard *c*, as in *chomo* for *como*, *chossa* for *cosa*, and *chavalchò* for *cavalcò*. The letter *x* also is not uncommonly used for *s*, *z*, and the soft *c*.

Original language.

sufficient to have shewn that the work was not originally composed in Latin, as Ramusio erroneously understood, but in a dialect of Italian; and in this conclusion I am warranted by the decided opinion of the celebrated Apostolo Zeno, whom his countrymen rank amongst the most diligent and judicious investigators of their early national literature, and who expresses himself in the following terms: "Io sono persuaso "che il *Polo* la scrivesse primieramente, non come vuole il Ramusio, in "lingua *latina*, ma nella *volgar* sua natia, e che poco dopo da altri, "come vedremo, fosse translatata in latino." Annotazioni sopra la Bibliot. dell' Eloquenza Italiana di Giusto Fontanini, Venezia 1753, p. 270. With respect to the term *volgare*, we may observe that it is sometimes employed in the sense of *national*, to distinguish the Italian language, generally, from the Latin; but often with a more restricted meaning, to denote the language of Tuscany, which had the good fortune to become predominant, as distinguished from the dialects spoken or written in the other parts of Italy, which (with the exception perhaps of the Roman) are considered as provincial.

Authenticity.

Whatever doubts may have existed with respect to the language in which the Travels were written, it is generally admitted that they were first given to the world about the year 1298, or three years after the return of the Polo family to Venice. Of their genuineness in that point of view no doubts have been entertained even by the most sceptical of his readers. That he travelled and that he gave publicity to his observations, are facts not controverted; but, as has already been stated, the credibility of various parts of his narrative was, from its first appearance, the subject of animadversion, whilst to the censure or the ridicule of his countrymen he had nothing to oppose but that which might not be sufficiently known and established, the integrity of his character. Nearly the whole of what he had to tell was new, and consequently strange, and no reference could then be made, as in later

later times, to the corroborating experience of others, nor could he venture to appeal to the internal evidence of truth and consistency, where there was no exercise of enlightened criticism. Yet it may with truth be insisted, that the least equivocal proofs of its being an honest, however incomplete account of what he actually saw or learned on the spot, are to be drawn from the relation itself, where numerous instances will present themselves of minute peculiarities noticed by him and confirmed by the testimony of modern travellers, which he could neither have invented nor borrowed from others; and certainly it is the evidence of these coincidences, rather than any force of argument, that is likely to produce conviction in the minds of those who are unwilling to be thought credulous. Instead therefore of entering upon a discussion in this place of the several objections that have been made to his credibility, and which may be distinguished into faults of commission and of omission, I shall endeavour to avoid unnecessary repetitions, by doing little more than enumerating them, and at the same time pointing out those Notes to the body of the work, in which the subjects are more particularly treated. Authenticity.

The most conspicuous amongst those of the former class are, the *relation of miracles pretended to have been performed* on various occasions, (Notes 119, 144, 1321); an apparent belief in the efficiency of magical arts, (382, 472, 1430); descriptions of animals out of the ordinary course of nature, (884, 1440); and exaggerated statements of the extent and population of cities in China, (556, 560, 1073), of the dimensions of palaces, (538, 542), of the magnificence and number of bridges, (746, 1008),* of the forces kept on foot, (1058), and of the amount of the imperial revenues, (1076, 1080); to which some have added (although the blame is obviously imputable in most instances

* In one account of Venice it is said that there are in that city fifteen hundred bridges; and in another, four hundred and fifty stone bridges. Churchill's Collection, vol. iv. p. 577. vol. vi. p. 532.

Authenticity.

to his transcribers) the barbarous and perverted orthography of proper names, and the want of correctness in dates.* On the first of these it shall briefly be observed that he by no means vouches for the miracles on his own knowledge, but only repeats what he had been told by the inhabitants of the places where the traditions were current; nor, were it otherwise, would it be fair to accuse him of any uncommon degree of credulity, as the belief in these manifestations of divine interference, was general and unquestioned at the period when he lived and for centuries after. Of this an instance particularly apposite presents itself in the legend of the House of our Lady of Loretto, which was piously believed to have removed itself from Palestine to the place in Italy where it now stands, and this at the precise time when the Polo family, in their return to Venice, were travelling from Persia to Trebisond. "Natalis Deiparæ domus" says Musantius in his chronological tables, of which the third edition was printed at Rome in 1750, "deficiente "cultu, ex Asia in Europam cœlestium ministerio transit, ac primò in "Dalmatia, mox in Italia considet, a loci domina Laureta, Lauretana "dicta, 1294." P. 175. A similar apology may be made for his implied belief in magic. It was the common weakness of the darker ages, and no classes of society were then exempt from its influence. The best and wisest persons did not question the power of enchanters, although they reprobated their practices, and punished them as malefactors. Even in the latter part of the seventeenth century we find an eminent English Judge strongly charging juries on the presumed guilt of

* Amongst the most striking objections to our author's chronological accuracy, is that which applies to the date of 1162, assigned in Ramusio's text to the elevation of *Jengiz khan* to the Tartar throne, which was, in fact, more nearly that of his birth. See B. I. chap. xliv. p. 194. But in addition to what will be found on the subject of that error in Note 367, it is of importance to observe, that in the manuscript of Pipino's translation, (of which there is a copy in the British Museum) as well as in the German edition of 1477, the date is 1200, and in the printed edition of the former (without date), 1201, which is nearly conformable to Abu'lghazi, who places the event in 1202. In the Italian epitomes of 1496 and 1500 it is 1287, and in the Basle edition, followed by Müller, 1187.

of persons tried for witchcraft,* and the Jesuit missionaries in China, who were in general men of learning and of superior talents, ascribing the enchantments of the *bonzes* and *lamas* to the agency of evil spirits, instead of exerting their sagacity and skill in physics, to detect the impostures. (See Notes 204, 282, 321, 372.) His prominent faults of omission (if really imputable to himself and not to the loss of a part of the work, or to the omissions of transcribers) are more important as objections and more difficult to excuse, than those of the former class. They are, his silence with respect to that stupendous fabric, the Great Wall of China; the cultivation and general use of tea; the preposterous fashion of bandaging the feet of female children in order to render them small and useless; and the employment (in some provinces) of wheel-carriages impelled by wind. The subject of the first and most important of these omissions will be found discussed at length in Note 446, where it is shewn that on the western frontier of China the Wall had not been built of masonry, but of the sandy earth of the country, and might, even so early as the thirteenth century, have fallen to that state of decay and insignificance in which it is described by P. Gerbillon in 1690. The ambassadors of *Shah Rokh*, the son of Tamerlane, in 1420, are equally silent as to any important barrier of this kind, although, like our author, they speak of strong fortified places in this frontier province. That he entered Kataia or Northern China from the side of Kashghar, Yerken, and the desert (as the ambassadors did, and as was done at a later period by B. Goez), and proceeded by the way of *So-cheu*, *Kan-cheu*, and *Si-ning*, can scarcely be doubted, and if the Wall did not ostensibly or effectively exist, or was not a conspicuous object, his omitting to notice it cannot be matter of surprise. But at the same time it must be admitted, that afterwards,

Authenticity.

* Sir Mathew Hale, who became Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1671.

Authenticity.

afterwards, in the course of his service, he had numberless opportunities of observing this extraordinary mass of building, on the northern frontier, and his not making it the subject of a chapter, or even adverting to it incidentally, justly affords ground for animadversion. Yet in the spirit of candid criticism it will not be argued that such omissions, reprehensible as they may seem, are proofs of a want of veracity on the part of the traveller or of authenticity in his work; for who can pretend to say that the whole of what Marco Polo wrote or dictated has been handed down to us? From various considerations, such as those of time and expense, or even from scruples of opinion as to credibility (for those who swallow the greater wonder will often strain at the lesser), the first transcribers of his *Meravegliose cose del mondo* may have been induced to shorten their labours by the suppression of passages that appeared to them tedious or exceptionable. Nor is this a gratuitous supposition; for some of the published versions are professedly, and others manifestly abridgments; and I am not aware of any edition in which there is not a deficiency of one or more chapters that are to be found in others.* It is also not only possible but nearly evident that some of his original notes, from which chiefly his work was composed, and of which he speaks on more than one occasion, were mislaid and lost.† Yet these imperfections, so far from being evidence of fraud, would not have place in a spurious composition, and are proofs, on the contrary, of the absence of all disingenuous art. Had the narrative indeed been the fabrication of one who

* Ramusio's version is the least defective in this way, and yet it became necessary in the present work, to supply chap. xxxviii. of the First Book from the Basle edition; in which, on the other hand, four chapters near the end of the Third Book have been omitted. The German edition of 1477 also, which in general is very full in the text, wants several chapters. See Notes 340 and 1497.

† See p. 25 and 508. That the work was principally composed from notes made whilst he was abroad, and not from subsequent recollection, is rendered evident by this circumstance: that he occasionally speaks of the Grand khan *now* reigning (p. 250); whereas he was made acquainted with the death of *Kublaï* in his way from Persia to Trebisond. His son also, who died before the departure of the Polo family from China, is spoken of (p. 290) as *inhabiting* one of the palaces in his father's court. The Notes must therefore have been made whilst these persons were living.

who only collected in his closet the accounts furnished by the Arabian geographers or by merchants who had visited the remoter parts of Tartary, and gave them to the world as the fruits of his own experience; such a compiler would probably have become acquainted with a fact of so much notoriety as the existence of this prodigious Chinese rampart; whilst in the work of an actual traveller, abounding with curious and authentic details, the mention of it or of any other object, however singular and striking, might through accident be omitted, without derogating from its authentic character. And here I am led to remark, that whilst so much ingenuity has been shewn, on the one side, in pointing out what wore the appearance of improbabilities, defects, and inconsistencies in his work, and, on the other, in defending it upon general principles, how little has been hitherto done by editors or commentators, towards an examination of the particular details, with the view of bringing them to the test of modern observation; and yet it is upon the unexceptionable evidence of their consistency with known facts, rather than the strength of any argument, that the reader is expected to ground his confidence in the intentional veracity of our author.* Authenticity.

What Ramusio has attempted to this effect, in his preliminary discourse, amounts to little, and in some instances his conjectures are erroneous.

* Amongst the numerous descriptions and incidents here alluded to, as affording unobtrusive proofs of genuineness, the reader's attention is called to the following: The state in which the bodies of persons destroyed by the hot wind of the desert are found, p. 96, n. 215; the manufacture of an inebriating liquor from the infusion of dates, p. 101, n. 220; tradition prevailing in *Badakhshan* of the descent of its princes from Alexander of Macedon, p. 129, n. 263; gigantic figures of idols in a recumbent posture, p. 181, n. 353; description of the *bos grunniens* or *yak* of Tartary, p. 224, n. 436; figures of dragons in Kataian or Chinese ornament, p. 251, n. 466; periodical residence of the emperors in Tartary, during the summer months, p. 251, n. 469, 536; commencement of the Kataian year in February, p. 328, n. 618; ceremony of prostration before the emperor or his tablet, by word of command, p. 330, n. 632; columns or pillars having a tortoise for their pedestal or base, p. 386, n. 744; jurisdiction of Chinese cities subordinate to each other, p. 467, 485, n. 918, 955; manufacture of ropes from the bamboo cane, p. 495, n. 980 and addition; lists of the inhabitants affixed to the doors of houses, in China, p. 542, n. 1074, and addition; mode of preparing sago in Java minor or Sumatra, p. 614, n. 1233; and lastly the ascent to the top of Adam's peak, in Ceylon, being effected by the assistance of iron chains, p. 756, addition to n. 1353.

Authenticity. erroneous. The other early editors have been contented with giving the text as they found it, and have not attempted to clear it from obscurities. J. Rh. Forster, in his "Voyages and discoveries in the North," has certainly thrown light upon the geography of our author, in that part of Tartary; although his inferences may not always be just. But the person to whom those who feel an interest in the Travels are most indebted (not excepting Dr. Campbell, who modernised the obsolete language of Purchas) is the editor of what are termed Astley's Voyages, who has not only given a judicious abstract of the work, but added several short explanatory notes, in which he displays much discernment and knowledge of his subject. On this occasion it would be unjust to omit noticing the learned and sensible remarks of the author of "Modern Geography," to be found in vol. 1, p. 485 to 499, ed. 1811. Had this successful investigator of the history of the middle ages directed any considerable portion of his labours to the illustration of Marco Polo's work, what is now offered to the public would, I am persuaded, have been rendered unnecessary.

Map. Regrets have often been expressed, and particularly by the late Dr. Vincent, in his "Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," vol. II, p. 666, that "we have no genuine Map that can be traced to Marco "Polo himself." It cannot be denied that such a document would be curious and interesting, as serving to mark the progress of science from its rudest beginnings; but the idea of its having existed, under all the circumstances of the times in which he lived and the nature of his education, appears chimerical. At the present day, a well-instructed traveller with the assistance of a compass and sextant, may be able to delineate his route through unknown countries, where he is suffered to pass unmolested, and does not experience many physical difficulties, or, to correct mistaken positions in former maps of countries imperfectly known; but how this was to be effected by a person who crossed the whole

whole continent of Asia, unprovided with any kind of instrument, and to whom even the terms latitude and longitude seem to have been by no means familiar, is not easily to be conceived. It is also to be considered that many of the places, especially in the northern parts of Tartary, of which he speaks, he does not pretend to have visited, and could only have known by reports much too vague to serve for the construction of a map; nor does he in any part of his writings allude to an undertaking of that kind. But whatever may now be thought the degree of improbability, Ramusio intimates his belief, upon the authority of an ancient tradition, that the celebrated map preserved in a monastery of Venice, and of which a splendid *fac simile* has now a place in the British Museum, was copied from an original brought by Marco Polo from Kataia. This story, however, which the internal evidence would be sufficient to confute, is positively contradicted in the minute and elaborate account of the map, published at Venice in the year 1806, under the title of "Il Mappamonda di Fra Mauro, Camaldolese, di San "Michele di Murano, descritto ed illustrato da D. Placido Zurla." By this writer we are informed that the map was planned, drawn, and magnificently illuminated by one of the lay-brethren of that community, an able cosmographer and ingenious artist, about the year 1450,* or a century and a half later than the appearance of our author's Travels. These, it is evident, he had studied with some attention and made the groundwork of his own performance, introducing into it all the places mentioned in Marco Polo's work, and assigning to them positions according to his ideas (by no means correct) of their relative distance and bearings. Much use is also made of information acquired respecting the marches of Tamerlane, the place of whose death is distinctly marked, Map.

* There are entries of charges for the cost of materials provided for the map, in the register of the monastery, during the years 1448 and 1449, and again in 1459, when the copy was prepared for the king of Portugal.

Map. and it likewise describes the southern termination of the continent of Africa, with other geographical matter of comparatively modern date. But upon these apparent anachronisms too much stress should not be laid, as the artist might be supposed to have engrafted on his original stock, the progressive knowledge acquired up to his own time. My objections apply to what may be considered as the fundamental part of the map, where situations are given to places that seem quite inconsistent with the descriptions in the Travels, and cannot be attributed to their author, although inserted on the supposed authority of his writings. But however questionable its pretensions may be to an antiquity beyond that of the middle of the fifteenth century, or whatever its defects, it is in itself an extremely curious monument of the state of geographical knowledge at that period, and much credit is due to the public spirit of those by whom a copy was procured (under the sanction of the governments of both countries) and lodged in our national repository, where justice has been done to its importance by the manner in which it is framed and its inspection facilitated.*

Of what has been said with regard to the originality of Fra Mauro's work, much will equally apply to another but less celebrated map, found also in Venice. "I have in my possession, by favour of Lord Macart-"ney" says Dr. Vincent "a copy of the map in the Doge's palace at "Venice, drawn up for the elucidation of Marco Polo's travels, or at "least certainly constructed before the discovery of America... I "cannot assert that this is the genuine production of Marco Polo: it "has

* The expense of copying this elaborate map, which is nearly circular and about six and a half English feet in diameter, was defrayed by a subscription of the East India Company, Earl Spencer, Earl Macartney, Lord Hobart, the Bishop of Durham, Mr. Strahan, and Dr. Vincent. The transaction is spoken of by D. Placido in the following terms: "S'aggiunga a maggior argomento di commendazione e lustro, la ministeriale ricerca fatta nel "1804 dalla Corte di Londra di lasciarne trar copia, "cui fu nostro onore di tosto acconsentire, e l'Inglese "Sig. Guglielmo Fraser con perfetta perizia ed elegenza adempì il commeso somigliantissimo lavoro "coll' indefessa applicazione di più mesi, e con giusto universale encomio." P. 153.

" has additions which belong not to his age, and contains much that he " did not know; but it is evidently adapted to his travels." Vol. ii, p. 617: and in another place he adds: " It is, by internal evidence, later " than 1550; it is not formed on Arabian principles, it has the peninsula " of India and that of Malacca, in conformity to the Portuguese discove- " ries; it has the eastern islands and the Moluccas almost correct; and " the only trace of its derivation from an ancient source or an age prior " to Gama, is, that the first country east of China is Spain; proving in " this one instance at least, that it was copied from some authority pre- " vious to the discovery of America." P. 666. This map also I have examined, and am satisfied that it has no pretensions to be considered as the work of Marco Polo, although its author may have acquired many ideas from the perusal of his book.* In more modern times likewise Map.

 attempts

* The Portuguese writers speak of two early maps grounded on the discoveries of Marco Polo, which their princes possessed at a period anterior to the voyage of Barthol. Diaz, by whom the Cape of Good hope was doubled in 1486. One of these the Infante Don Pedro is supposed to have received, along with a manuscript book of our author's travels, from the government of Venice, in the year 1428, and to have presented to his brother Don Henrique, who was ardently engaged in promoting maritime expeditions. The other is that which was for some time preserved in the abbey of Benedictins at Alcobaça, but being removed from thence was, in 1528, in the hands of the Infante Don Fernando, and then presumed to claim an antiquity of one hundred and twenty years; but with more probability it is thought by the judicious Foscarini to have been the copy of Fra Mauro's map prepared at Venice for Affonso king of Portugal and transmitted to him in 1459. Both of these are said to have contained the delineation of the southern extremity of Africa, and the latter also the straits of Magalhanes; but neither are at present known to exist. See " Memorias de Litteratura Portugueza," tomo viii. p. 275-304. Mention is there also made of a third map or planisphere, constructed by Andreas Biancho in the year 1436, and preserved in the library of St. Marc (or that belonging to the Doge's palace) *in Venice. It is admitted, notwithstanding,* that this contains the West Indian islands called the Antilles. " From the map of the world by Andrea Bian- " co the Venetian, 1440, it sufficiently appears " says Pinkerton " that the discoveries of Polo had, even " in his native country, been rather diminished than " encreased. See Formaleoni, Saggio sulla Nautica " antica dei Veneziani. Ven. 1783, 8vo. See also " description of Asia by Pope Pius II. who does not " appear even to have seen the travels of Polo." Modern Geogr. vol. i. p. 515. The planisphere of Marin Sanudo Torsello, which is referred to the year 1300 or thereabout, appears to be little else than a copy of the distorted map of Edrisi (preserved in the Bodleian library) of which we have an engraving in the " Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," vol. ii. if it be not rather taken from that of Ptolemy, the prototype of the Arabian geographer's. The work of Torsello, under the title of " Liber secretorum " Fidelium Crucis " will be found in the " Gesta " Dei per Francos " of Bongarsius.

It is remarked by Foscarini that this Marin Sanudo *detto* Torsello, a Venetian and cotemporary of our author, does not make any mention of his Travels, although he derives a large portion of his facts respecting the Tartars, from Haiton the Armenian, another cotemporary; which he, at the same time, accounts

Map. attempts have been made to form maps of Tartary from his relation and that of B. Goez; but in the "China illustrata." of Athanasius Kircher, where their respective routes are laid down, we have a striking instance of the errors into which a very learned man may be led, by misapprehending the information afforded by his well-intentioned but obscure guides. It must be observed that amongst the places in the vicinity of the great desert of *Kobi*, on the south-eastern side, there are none whose situations are so well ascertained as those of *So-cheu* and *Kan-cheu*, at the western extremity of the Chinese province of *Shen-si*, where it projects into the country of *Tangut* or that of the *Si-fan*. These two strong frontier towns are clearly spoken of by our author, by the ambassadors of *Shah Rokh*, and by the missionary Goez, under various corruptions of orthography it is true, but in such a way as to leave no doubt of their identity. Their distance from each other, measured on the Jesuits' map, is no more than forty-two French leagues of 25 to a degree; yet in that of Kircher, whilst we find *So-cheu* or *Sucieu* in nearly its proper situation, *Kan-cheu*, under the name of *Kampition*, one of its numerous corruptions, is placed at the distance of full three hundred and twenty-five such leagues from the former: the one in the route of Goez, and the other in that of Marco Polo.

Upon

counts for in a way that is quite satisfactory. It appears that from an early period and during the greatest part of his life, he was actively engaged in the political business of the Crusades, encouraging the coalesced powers to persevere in the cause, and pointing out to them the most plausible means of success. For these purposes he lived chiefly out of his own country, visiting many of the courts of Europe, but residing principally in Syria, employed in the collection of materials for his book. In Cyprus, which he is known to have frequented, he would naturally become acquainted with the work (if not with the person) of Haiton, who after serving in the armies of his relative the king of Armenia, relinquished his claim to the throne, and retired, in 1305, to the monastery of Piscopia in that island, and embraced the order of Præmonstratensian monks. In 1308 his history, written originally in French, was translated into Latin by order of Pope Clement V. Marco Polo's book, as we have seen, was composed about the year 1298, in a Genoese prison, and was not very likely to have come to the knowledge of Torsello. To these observations of the learned Ex-Doge we may add, that even if the manuscript had reached his hands, he might have held it as light as the rest of his countrymen of that day appear to have done, and regarded all that is said about the civilised state of *Kataia* and *Manji* (or northern and southern China) and the magnificence of their Grand khan, compared with what he had learned of the Western Tartars, as an improbable romance.

Upon the first view of the subject it might be presumed, that those persons who had opportunities of examining the work at periods the nearest to that in which our traveller lived, must have been the best qualified to form a judgment of his route and to delineate it upon paper; but upon due consideration it will be found that any advantage they might derive from proximity of time was more than counterbalanced by the ignorance and credulity of the age, so unfavourable to just investigation, as well as by the want of fixed points (to be obtained only by celestial observation) for correcting the vague and often inaccurately noted distances by days' journies. It is in fact only since the reign of *Kang-hi*, the Tartar emperor of China, or about the year 1717, when a survey of the country extending to the interior of Tibet was executed by his order, that the situation of places in that quarter has become known, otherwise than by uncertain report, and it is to the mathematical science transported to Pekin by the Jesuit missionaries and to their indefatigable exertions, that we are indebted for the surprisingly accurate information we possess with respect both to the exterior figure and internal details of the Chinese empire, which comprehends a great proportion of the tract described in our author's travels. In order therefore to shew their genuineness and consistency with truth, by referring the corrupted and disfigured names of places to what may be thought their probable originals, it seemed to be the rational mode of proceeding, to examine them by the standard of that knowledge to which we have attained by scientific improvements, and for this purpose to accompany the work with a map of the countries visited or described by him, constructed from the best existing materials (though still avowedly far from perfect in the central parts of Asia), rather than to exercise any degree of ingenuity in combining into a systematic form, the desultory notices in his travels, or in vindicating his dubious pretensions to the authorship of maps, which, with more zeal than judgment, has been attributed to him

Map.

Map. him by Ramusio and some modern writers: objects which, if to be accomplished by superior skill, would be little else in effect, than erecting a monument to error.

In regard to the Map prefixed to this publication, and which has been constructed and prepared for it by very competent persons (one of them the pupil of the late Alexander Dalrymple) under the eye of my estimable friend whose eminence in geography of the highest class is far beyond the reach of my praise, I am aware that the smallness of the comprehensive scale on which it is formed (for which I am myself wholly answerable) will be objected to by some as not giving facility to the means of tracing the particular routes with sufficient distinctness. To this I answer that the extent of our author's travels was so great, and the range of his descriptions so wide, both in latitude and longitude, that no single sheet of any convenient size would adequately serve the purpose; and that an atlas would be required. It is therefore meant that the map here given should be considered in the light of a general index, by which the reader is to be directed in ascertaining the various countries and principal places that successively become the subjects of remark, whilst for more particular details of the route, he will find it necessary to consult the best local maps and charts pertaining to each country; and amongst which I recommend in an especial manner, those of the Jesuits, both general and particular, revised and prepared by D'Anville for Duhalde's "Description de la Chine." In so doing I am persuaded that the more circumstantial they are, the more reason he will have to be satisfied with the correctness of our author's work. "This" says Robertson, speaking of the latter "was the most com-
"plete survey hitherto made of the East, and the most complete
"description of it ever given by any European; and in an age which
"had hardly any knowledge of those regions but what was derived from
"the geography of Ptolemy, not only the Venetians but all the people

"of

" of Europe were astonished at the discovery of immense countries " opened to their view beyond what had hitherto been reputed the ut- " most boundary of the earth in that quarter." Historical Disquisition, p. 122.* Map.

It will be observed by those who examine the composition of the Notes, that amongst the authorities introduced for the purpose of exemplifying the text, little reference is made to the works of ancient writers who have described some of the countries visited by our author, or have alluded to their physical circumstances or the customs of their inhabitants. Although fully aware that many striking coincidencies might have been pointed out, the insertion of which would have tended to embellish, and in the opinion of many respectable readers to give interest to the subject, I refrained from indulging in this species of illustration, because, whilst it added to the bulk of the Notes (already too great) it would not promote the essential object of establishing the authenticity of the travels. This, it is obvious, can only be done by bringing his assertions to the test of authorities which he could not possibly have consulted; whereas from ancient authors he might, however unlikely in point of fact, have derived a part of his materials, and consequently, to produce corresponding passages from Strabo, Arrian, Xenophon, or Herodotus, or even from the poets, would have the effect of weakening rather than of giving force to the proofs of his originality. To the relations of the Arabian travellers of the ninth century I make indeed a frequent appeal; but these, which were quite unknown in Europe till within a modern period, are not liable to the same objection, for Ancient authorities seldom referred to, and for what reason.

* I have lately had an opportunity of seeing an engraved Map, intitled " A copy of part of an an- " cient M.S. Map, in the British Museum: " with an observation by the late Mr. A. Dalrymple, that it appears to have been made early in the sixteenth century, because it has *Japan* only vaguely expressed, at a remote distance from the continent, under the name of *Zipangri*, from the report of *Marco Paulo*: also a copy of Martin Behaim's map, constructed at Nürnberg in 1492, and published by C. T. de Murr, 1778, in which is laid down the northern polar island mentioned by Marco Polo (B. I. ch. L. p. 221), about the situation assigned, in modern charts, to New Siberia.

for if it should be urged that Marco Polo might have seen them in the original, this would go far to establish the point contended for, as such an acquaintance with eastern writings must, in that age, have been the fruit of long residence amongst the people and of distant travels.

Excuse for quotations in the original languages.

Should it be made the subject of complaint that so large a proportion of the matter they contain is given in languages with which the English reader is not necessarily conversant, my apology is, that if translations were to be added, they would considerably burthen the page, and if to be substituted for the original passages, they would fail in some degree of their effect, as not being the best evidence that could be produced; because as the versions must be made for a particular object, there would be no security, even to the commentator himself, against the bias they might acquire from preconceived opinions, and their accuracy with regard to the particular circumstance of comparison might remain liable to doubt.

Objections to the use of the word Tartar, answered.

Objections will probably be made by some philologists to what may be deemed a want of correctness in the use of the word "Tartar," as a general appellation of the wandering tribes of central or upper Asia. It will be said that the name should be more accurately written *Tatar*, and also that the race properly so called should *not* be confounded, as it seems to be throughout the work, with that of the Moghuls or Mungals, who differ from them in language and other circumstances. "As a person "conversant with languages," says Klaproth, speaking of De Guignes, "his perpetually confounding the *Mongols* with the *Tatars* cannot be "excused. Tatars are those who speak the Turko-Tataric language, and "their original country is that which lies to the south and south-west "of the Altaï mountains; the *Mogol* nations, on the other hand, have "their own peculiar language, and previously to the tenth century of "our era, dwelt on the southern side of the Baikal lake."*

That

* Abhandlung über die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren, p. 8.

Objections to the use of the word Tartar, answered.

* That the Persians and Arabians pronounce the word *Tatar*, I am fully aware, and admit that the introduction of the letter *r* may have been an European corruption, proceeding from a fanciful analogy to the *Tartarus* of the ancients. For the employment therefore of the name of *Tartar*, in which I follow the example of my author, I can only plead custom and the uniform authority of all our historians, from William of Tyre and Matthew Paris, to Robertson and Gibbon. So firmly indeed is the orthography of this word (as well as that of Mahomet for *Muhammed*) established in our language, that a departure from it, unless perhaps in an etymological work or one specifically written on the subject of these tribes, might be thought to savour of pedantry; although in regard to many other names of places and persons less familiarly adopted, and found to vary in the writings of travellers, it may be justifiable to express them by such letters as best accord with the native pronunciation.

In answer to the latter and more consequential part of the charge, or that of having confounded the Tartars with the Moghuls, I feel myself warranted in taking a different line of defence, and questioning the validity of the objection, which seems to be founded on an arbitrary and modern appropriation of terms. *It is known that the widely extend-*

* It may be proper here to state that in adapting foreign words written by an Italian, to the powers of our own letters, I use *ch* for the Italian *c* before *e* and *i*, *j* for *g* before the same vowels, *sh* for *sc* or the French *ch*, *n* for the antiquated *m* final, as in *cham* for *kan* or *khan*, and *j* commonly for *z*, which is much affected in the Venetian dialect, particularly at the commencement of words. In all oriental words, the orthography of which is not fixed by custom, I prefer *k* to *c*, as an initial, not only as being a less ambiguous letter, but for the sake of uniformity, as every person who consults an index of the names of places in an Asiatic publication, must perceive that one half of those which in the original begin with the Persian or Arabic ك, are ranged under the letter C, and the other half under K, without an appearance of reason for the distinction. Nothing in this branch of literature is more to be desired than a standard of orthography, but nothing seems less likely to be established by common consent, as almost every new work diverges more widely than the preceding, from the models of Pococke, Golius, and Meninski. By one respectable modern traveller the tribe of Tartars so familiarly known to us as *Uzbeks*, are named *Oozbucks*, and by another writer the name of *Akbar*, the great and liberal emperor of Hindustan, is barbarously disguised in the orthography of *Uqbur*.

Objections to the use of the word Tartar, answered.

ed people to whom the designation of Tartars is commonly applied, are distinguished into three principal and comprehensive classes; each of them speaking a peculiar tongue. These are, first (beginning on the eastern side) the *Manchu* Tartars, who are identified with the far-spreading tribe of the *Tungusi*, and whose celebrity has arisen from their having placed a dynasty on the throne of China: secondly the Moghuls or *Mungals*, including *Kalkas*, *Kalmuks*, and *Burats*, whom we may consider as occupying a middle situation, whatever may have been their partial or temporary migrations: and thirdly the Turks, *Turki*, or original inhabitants of Turkistan, who, under the denominations of *Jagatai*, *Kapchak*, *Uzbek*, and many other, occupy generally the western portion of upper Asia.* To this latter class, or to some of its branches, and particularly, I believe, to that which occupies the Krimea, it has become a practice, in latter times, to give exclusively the name of *Tatars*; although not only the European writers of all nations, who have recorded the history of the crusades, but likewise the Mahometans and other orientals, employ it (or Tartar) in the more extensive acceptation. By Abu'lfeda, in his "Annales Muslemici," the subjects, or those who composed the armies of *Jenghiz-khan* and his successors, are, in every instance, mentioned by the name of *Tatars*, and although the words "*Tatari* vel *Mogoli*" are found in Adler's historical index to that work, the latter, I may venture to assert, does not occur in the text: yet it will not be contended that *Jengiz* was Grand khan of *Tatars* only, or of those who spoke dialects of the *Turki* language, and not of *Moghuls*.

* "They (the *Uzbeks*)" says Mr. Elphinstone "belong to that great division of the human race "which is known in Asia by the name of *Toork*, "and which, with the *Moguls* and *Manshoers*, com- "pose what we call the *Tartar* nation. Each of "these divisions has its separate language, and that "of the *Toorks* is widely diffused throughout the "west of Asia. The *Uzbeks*, the natives of Chinese "Tartary, as far at least as *Khoten*, and perhaps "as far as *Karrakoorrum*, the *Kuzzauks*, and other "tribes beyond the Jaxartes, most of the inhabi- "tants of *Kipchak* and *Crimea*, the *Toorcauns*, and "the ruling nations of the Persian and Turkish "empires, speak *Toorkee* as their vernacular lan- "guage.... It is thought to be spoken with most "purity at *Ferghauna*." Account of Caubul, p. 465.

Moghuls. The fair inference is, that Abu'lfeda considered the former as a general and not a specific appellation. Abu'lfaraj, on the other hand, in his "Historia dynastiorum," employs both terms convertibly and indiscriminately, in speaking of the same people.*

Objections to the use of the word Tartar, answered.

Those who maintain that the Moghuls (and of course the Manchûs) are not Tartars or Tatars, appear to rest the distinction chiefly on the genealogical work of Abu'lghazi, who informs us that a certain prince named *Alanza-khan*, fourth in descent from *Turk*, the son of *Japhis*, the son of *Noah*, had two sons, twins, of whom the one was called *Tatar* and the other *Mogull* or *Mung'l*; and that these twin brothers became the parents of the two races which bear their respective names. But even if a filiation so manifestly invented, and at the same time so improbable in itself, could be regarded as of any weight in establishing the propriety of restricting to one of the descendants of *Turk* or of *Alanza-khan* the appellation of *Tatar*, it would be counterbalanced, so far as the authority of this writer is concerned, by other passages in his book, where he treats of "the generations of the *Tatars* from *Mung'l-khan* to *Zingis-khan*;" and in fact although the work professes to be a genealogical history of the people so named, all the historical part, or that alone upon which any sort of reliance can be placed, is employed in recording the actions of the *Moghul* conqueror, his sons, and grandsons. Abu'lghazi, it should be observed, is an author of very modern date, having composed his book, as he acquaints us, in the year 1074, of the *hejrah*, answering to 1663 of our era, and consequently labours under a disadvantage in matters of tradition proportioned to the lapse of time.

* In describing the circumstances attending the surrender of the city of *Samarkand* (after a parley) to the forces of *Jengiz-khan*, he uses these expressions: "Aliis sibi securitatem polliceri non ausis, "etiamsi concessa foret, cùm Tartarorum fraudem "metuerent.... Illi ergò (sc. deputati) in urbem "reversi portas aperuerunt, ingressique Mogulenses," &c. P. 29.

Objections to the use of the word Tartar, answered.

It may be conjectured, indeed, that the change in the application of the names was occasioned by the circumstance of the Ottomans or *Osmanlis* of Brusa and afterwards of Constantinople, but originally from Turkistan, having acquired preeminently, with the historians of Europe, the name of *Turci* or *Turks*, it became necessary, in order to avoid confusion, to distinguish the original tribes, who spoke the same language, by some other appellation, and accordingly that of Tartar, which had been given to all the hordes from the eastern ocean to the Euxine sea, was gradually confined to them; and this has the more readily taken place, because these *Turki* tribes (Uzbeks, Krims, &c.) were the only description of Tartars with whom, from their western situation, the Christian powers have had any transactions since the close of the thirteenth century; with the exception of such as have arisen out of the Russian conquest of Siberia. From these considerations it will, I think, appear that the proper and original distinction of race and language was between Moghuls and Turks of Turkistan, not between the former and Tartars, and that the charge brought against our author of an erroneous employment of the latter term (and which has also been objected to the celebrated historian of the Huns) rests only upon a modern usage, and is not applicable to the period of which we are treating.

Portraits of Marco Polo, imaginary.

It would have been highly gratifying to me as an editor, to have been enabled to accompany the work with a portrait of my author, could any well authenticated original have been discovered; but my inquiries to that effect have not been attended with success. In a modern publication at Milan, giving an account of the lives of eminent Italians, we find, it is true, an engraving that professes to be a likeness of Marco Polo. It exhibits a strongly marked character, and is executed in a manner so creditable to the artist, that I should gladly have persuaded myself of its genuineness and employed it for my purpose. It was

necessary,

necessary, however, to investigate the authority for its pretensions, and from Signor Morelli of Venice, the correctness of whose information is unquestionable, the following history of its origin has been communicated. Portraits of Marco Polo, imaginary.

In the year 1762, the grand hall of the Ducal Palace of that city, which had been ornamented with paintings on canvas, representing the various countries and seas, that had been the scenes of Venetian enterprise, underwent a repair. The superintendence of this operation was committed to a person named Francisco Griselini, who stood high in reputation with his countrymen for his literary talents, but who on this occasion appears to have acted in contradiction to the principles of good sense and good taste. Instead of refreshing and restoring these venerable memorials of the ancient grandeur of the republic, he thought proper to replace them with ornamented charts of modern geography, and to add portraits of celebrated Venetian travellers and navigators, depicted from his own *imagination*. Amongst these the *effigy* of our author has a place, with the name annexed; and from thence the Milanese engraving has been copied, without any scrupulous examination of its authenticity. It is further stated by the same learned person, that there does not exist in Venice any representation of this celebrated traveller, that can lay claim to originality or antiquity; their ancestors having been indifferent to memorials of this nature, so interesting to the moderns: nor does the art of portrait-painting, he observes, date its commencement earlier than the fourteenth century. It should at the same time be noticed that we find a portrait prefixed to the second edition of the German version of the work; although not to the first. There is little probability, however, that an original painting of our author, unknown to his own countrymen, should have existed amongst foreigners, or that the professed portrait should be any other than a fabrication.

Account of versions and editions.

It now remains to give an account of the several manuscripts and printed editions of Marco Polo's Travels that have come to my knowledge. To collate and critically compare the numerous texts would be a work of immense, if not impracticable labour, so various are the languages, and so little do they correspond in form, division, and quantity of matter, although by no means discordant in substance; but such peculiarities shall be adverted to as distinguish them from, or serve to mark their connexion with each other.

The subject of the language in which the work originally appeared, has already been discussed, and sufficient evidence has been adduced to establish the probability, at least, of its being the Venetian dialect of Italian or native tongue of the author;* yet as the oldest existing manuscripts of which the antiquity is well ascertained, are in Latin (into which language the Venetian was translated at an early period), it shall have precedence in the enumeration, to which, on other accounts also, it has a just claim.

Latin manuscripts.

The first Latin translation appears to have been made about the year 1320, by a monk of the order of Preachers, named Francesco Pipino of Bologna, said to have belonged to the house of *Pepuri*, or *Pepoli*. To the performance of this task he was invited by the Superiors of his Order, in a chapter held by them in the year 1215;† which invitation or command, and the motives that led to it, are fully stated in the preface to his work, which commences in the following manner: "Incipit liber domini Marci Pauli de Veneciis, de divisionibus et consuetudinibus "orientalium regionum. *Librum prudentis honorabilis ac fidelissimi (viri)* domini "Marci Pauli de Veneciis, de condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regio- "num, ab eo in vulgari fideliter editum et conscriptum: compellor ego frater "Franciscus Pipinus de Bononia, ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum a plerisque fra- "tribus, patribus et dominis meis veridica et fideli translatione de vulgari ad "Latinum reducere. Ut qui amplius Latino quam vulgari delectantur eloquio, "necnon et hii qui propter linguarum varietatem omnimodam aut propter diversi- "tatem ideomatum alterius intelligere omnino aut faciliter nequeant, aut delecta- "bilius legant seu liberius capiant.... Ego autem eorum obtemperans jussioni "libri ipsius continenciam fideliter et integraliter ad Latinum planum et aptum "transtuli

* P. xxxii. † Or 1302, according to the opinion of Apostolo Zeno. In either case it was during the lifetime of our author.

" transtuli quem stylus hujusmodi libri materia requirebat.... Liber autem iste in " tres libros dividitur, qui per propria capitula distinguuntur." Latin manuscripts.

Of this manuscript, which is without date, a few copies are preserved in the public libraries of different parts of Europe. That one which belongs to the royal Berlin library has been circumstantially noticed by Andreas Müller, who made its readings the subject of comparison with another Latin text which he republished. It is on vellum and bound up along with other tracts, which appear to him to have been all written in France, at a very early period. A second copy, upon vellum also, is in the British Museum. Its three books contain respectively, 67, 70, and 50 chapters, comprised in 45 leaves or 90 pages, and are immediately followed, in the same codex, by the work of Hayton the Armenian. The first chapter commences with the words: " Tempore quo Balduinus princeps sceptrum " Constantinopolis imperii gubernebat, anno s. ab incarnatione Domini millessimo " cc^mo lii^o nobiles et honorabiles prudentesque germani inclitæ civitatis Vene- " ciarum incolæ navem propriam diversis opibus et mercimoniis oneratam com- " muni concordia in portu Veneto conscendentes, prospero vento flante, Deo duce, " Constantinopolim perrexerunt." The work concludes with: " Explicit liber " domini Marci Pauli de divisionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum." From an examination of the character and other *criteria*, Mr. Ellis of the British Museum, one of the Secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries, pronounces it to have been written about the year 1400. It appears also in the grand Catalogue of *manuscripts belonging to the Royal library of Paris*. A copy is mentioned by Philippus Tomasinus, in his account of the Paduan manuscripts, as being at that time in the library of the Canons Lateran of S. John *de près*. Another, on vellum, is in that of the house of Este *(libraria Estense)* at Milan. Another, that had belonged to Lilius Geraldus, was formerly in the Bentivoglio library at Ferrara. G. E. Lessing, who has described the treasures of the Ducal library at Wolfenbüttel,* speaks of two copies there, of Pipino's version, besides a third Latin manuscript of the Travels, entirely distinct from it, as well as from the translation published by Grynæus. Of the former, the one is on vellum, and is conjectured by him to have been written about the middle of the fourteenth century; the other on

* Zur Geschichte und Litteratur Aus den Schätzen der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel. Berlin, 1793, 8vo.

Latin manuscripts.

on paper, and supposed to be a century later, but preferable, he thinks, in many respects, and particularly as containing a chapter that describes the constitution of the Tartar armies (chap xlviii. of Book I. in this edition) which is wanting in the copy on vellum. In Müller's edition also, as he observes, this chapter is wanting; but it has a place in the manuscript of Pipino in the British Museum, as well as in the printed copies of that library and of the library belonging to Trin. Coll. Dublin, and also in the Italian version of Ramusio. The omission of it by some transcribers and editors, has proceeded, I have little doubt, from its being thought too circumstantial and (erroneously I trust) uninteresting.

With regard to the third Wolfenbüttel manuscript, which Lessings pronounces to be still more recent than the second, it appears from the extracts he has furnished, to be rather an abstract or sketch of the work, than a copy from any original; and although in some few instances the proper names are more correct (or, perhaps, only more modern, as *Layas* for *Giazza* and *Acry* for *Ancon*), they are, in general, at least as much corrupted as in the preceding texts. It happens indeed that one of the examples given of additional information derived from this manuscript, is peculiarly unfortunate; namely, that the emperor *Kublaï* had a *brother* named *Ambaga*, who ruled over the eastern Tartars; this being meant for *Abaka* or *Abagà*, the son and successor of *Hulagu*, and who was consequently, not the brother but the nephew of *Kublaï*. The words with which it commences are: "Nobiles et discretus vir Dm. Marcus Paulo de Venetiis cum XXVI. annis con-" tinuis in partibus majoris Asiæ permanisset, &c." Lessings supposes this to have been one of the manuscripts employed by Ramusio in perfecting the text of his translation. An abstract of a similar nature is found in Dublin College library, many portions of which have been obligingly copied for me by the learned Dr. Barrett, the Vice Provost of the University. It begins with the words: "Nobiles duo germani, civitatis Venetiarum, Nicholaus et Matthæus, " navem ascendentes, &c." and adheres more closely to the text than the manuscript described by Lessings. An anonymous Latin version, distinct from Pipino's, is also mentioned by Apostolo Zeno, from the "Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum" of Echard, t. i. p. 540.*

Amongst

* "Quanto all'altro interprete Latino, l'unica " notizia che se ne abbia, ci viene del Padre *Echard*, " nella cui Biblioteca degli scrittori del suo ordine " leggesi la prefazione di quel *anonimo* traduttore, " indirittà

Amongst the books which made their appearance in the period between the invention of the art of printing and the close of the fifteenth century, was one, in small quarto, containing the Latin text of Pipino's version. Of this there is a copy in the British Museum, and another in the Dublin College library. It is without date, place, or name of the printer, but in the opinion of persons conversant with early typography, it was printed in Rome or Venice between the years 1484 and 1490. It commences with the words: "In nomine domini nostri Ihsu Christi "filii Dei vivi et veri Amen: Incipit prologus in libro domini Marci Pauli de Ve- "neciis de consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum;" and then proceeds, as in the manuscript, with: "Librum prudentis, honorabilis, ac fide- "lissimi viri, &c." but styling himself "ego frater Franciscus *Pepuri*," instead of Pipino. Both have the same number of books and chapters, and the texts in general run parallel, although with some occasional differences in the position of words in the Latin construction, as well as in the orthography of proper names. At the conclusion we find the words: "Explicit liber domini Marci de Venecii. "Deo gracias." The copy in the British Museum is followed by a work intitled; "Johannis de Monte villa (Mandeville) Itinerarius in partes Iherosolimitanas, et "in ulteriores transmarinas." In the unprinted leaf appears an accidental date of ownership, "25 Octobris 1503." The copy preserved in the library of T. C. D. is the last of a miscellaneous collection of tracts, marked Bonaventuræ Dialogus, but containing also amongst others, the travels of John de Mandeville. They are all without date, and appear to Dr. Barrett to have been printed at the same period and previously to the year 1500. At the end of the tract containing our author's travels, is written: "Iste liber constat Thomæ Hackett vicario de Work- "sopp;" but the collection belonged to the library of the venerable Archbishop Ussher. From the bibliographical catalogues it appears that the book is also found in the Imperial library of Vienna, the Royal library of Paris, and in some other great collections; but that it is extremely rare may be inferred from the circumstance of its being unknown, not only to Müller, who, speaking of Pipino's manuscript, says:

Latin editions.

"indiritta ai Principi e gran signori del mondo, ed "è affato diversa da quella di *Fra Pipino*, e più "conforme al codice *Soranzo*, anzi nel fine del terzo "e ultimo libro si stende sino al numero di lxiv "capitoli, là dove i comuni volgarizzamenti non ce "ne danno più che liv." Annotazioni, p. 272. The preface here spoken of is that of the *Sorenzo* manuscript, from which it is likely this Latin version was made.

Latin editions.

says: "Hæc ergò prima versio erat, sed nunquam typis publicis edita;" but also to Lessing, who tells us it is "noch ungedruckt, und nur aus den Lesarten des "Andr. Müller bekannt ist," "still unedited, and known to us only by the read- "ings of Müller."* On the subject of this edition it is proper to notice a mistake of Meuselius, who in his Bibliotheca Historica (Vol. i, P. ii, p. 9.) says: "Latinè "Pauli nostri opus, primùm, quantum scio, prodiit sine loco et anno, sæculo "forte decimo *quarto*," obviously for decimo *quinto*.†

The next Latin version, made with better taste and more knowledge of the language than was possessed by the monk of Bologna, is that which appears in the *Novus Orbis*, of Simon Grynæus, but which is said by Müller to have been published separately (at Basle) before the appearance of the latter work. It was probably executed by a person named Joannes Hutichius, whom Grynæus employed to prepare the matter for the *Novus Orbis*; the expence of which was defrayed by Joannes Herwagius. Its title in this collection is: "Marci Pauli Veneti "de regionibus orientalibus, libri III." and its first chapter commences with the words: "Balduino principe inclyto regni Constantinopolitani sceptra tenente, "anno scilicet ab incarnatione Domini MCCLXIX. duo viri nobiles et prudentes, "&c."‡ This celebrated collection of travels was printed at Basle and at Paris, in 1532, and again at Basle in 1537 and 1555. According to Foscarini the work was not published at Basle until five years after the appearance of the Paris edition; but this (which is improbable in itself), is disproved by the fact: for although the copy in my own possession professes to be printed at Paris, my friend Mr. Musgrave,

* Even the diligent and well-informed Apostolo Zeno speaks of it as known to him only from the Annotazioni of the Abate Salvini. P. 273.

† In the Bibliotheca Beauclerkiana or Sale-catalogue of the books of Topham Beauclerck's library, London 1781, P. ii, p. 15, No. 430, we find "Jo. de "Mandeville itineraria: Dom. Ludolph. de itinere "ad Terram Sanctam; M. Paul. Venet. de regioni- "bus orientalibus. Liber rariss. Zwollis 1483, 4to." This obviously refers to the first Latin edition, abovementioned; but how the learned collector was enabled to ascertain the place of printing and the date, does not appear. I have in vain endeavoured to trace the purchaser or present possessor of the book. For the notice, I am indebted to Sig. Morelli.

‡ The preface is pedantic; beginning with the words: "Præter Quintum Curtium, qui gesta con- "scripsit Alexandri Magni, &c." More to the purpose is that which follows the last chapter of Marco Polo, on the same leaf, and belongs to the History of Haithon the Armenian: "Idem accidit Hay- "thono quod Marco Paulo Veneto: uterque enim "primo librum suum vernacula scripsit lingua, ille "in Italica, iste vero in Gallica, deinde ut seculum "illud nihil præter barbariem coluit, uterque infe- "licem et incultum nactus interpretem, rudiori "stylo Latinis legendi traditi sunt, quàm ut teneo- "ribus auribus simplicitas illa arridere possit. Sed "veritatis simplex est oratio."

Musgrave, at Lisbon, gives me information of a copy in the Jesus Convent of that city, dated Basiliæ, apud Io. Hervagium, anno MDXXXII. As Grynæus, the learned editor, was Greek professor at Heidelberg in 1523, it may indeed be presumed that the Novus Orbis was actually printed at Basle, in his vicinity, and that for the purpose of ostensible publication at Paris also, an alteration was made in the title. In the orthography of proper names this version is not more correct than the text of Pipino; the date of 1269 is stated as that of the commencement of the first journey, when in reality it was the year in which the elder Poli returned to the coast of the Mediterranean; and the chapter on the subject of constituting the Tartar armies is here omitted. The text throughout is, with very few exceptions, much less circumstantial than that of Ramusio—— "Marci Pauli Veneti Itinerari- "um, seu de rebus orientalibus libri iii" (Chronico Hierosolymitano, t. ii.) Reineri Reineccii. Helmæstadii 1585, 4to. 1602, 4to. This is little else than a re-impression of the Basle edition in a different form; the three books containing the same number of chapters, and each beginning and ending with the same words. In a marginal note, however, the date of 1269, at the commencement, is conjectured to be a mistake for 1259—— "Marci Pauli Veneti, historici fidelissimi juxta ac præstan- "tissimi, de Regionibus Orientalibus libri iii. Cum codice manuscripto bibliothecæ "Electoralis Brandenburgicæ collati, exque eo adjectis Notis plurimùm tum sup- "pleti tum illustrati." Cura Andreæ Mulleri. Coloniæ Brand. (Berlini) 1671, 4to. In this edition likewise, the Basil text is strictly followed, the different numeration of the chapters of the first Book being merely a typographical error in the latter. The editor, who was himself an oriental scholar, has added to his work (which contains also "Haithoni Armeni historiam orientalem") some instructive, although pedantic, dissertations and elaborate indexes, and we are indebted to him for the collation of the Berlin manuscript; whilst at the same time the existence of a printed edition of the same text was unknown to him. He seems to have been unacquainted also with any other Italian version than that of Ramusio; and if in fact he had read the work, he has not availed himself of the help he might have derived from a comparison throughout with the more circumstantial text of that industrious collector.* In the orthography of proper names his edition, likewise, is not more

Latin editions.

* Lessing is of opinion that Müller's knowledge of Ramusio's text was only through the medium of Purchas, his translator: but in his preface, he quotes a part of the first chapter of the Italian version.

Latin editions.

more correct than the earlier Latin, and in other respects also, he has done little or nothing towards clearing up obscurities, by applying to them the lights of modern knowledge. But such was not his object: what he undertook he executed in a respectable manner, and this, the latest of the Latin editions, has been deservedly held in much estimation.

Italian manuscripts.

Of Italian manuscripts, whether in the *lingua volgare* or less cultivated dialects, the one which lays claim to the first degree of antiquity, is, without question, that which in the last century was preserved in the collection of the noble Roman family of *Sorenzo*, and of which the learned Apostolo Zeno has given an account. He informs us that at the time when he composed his *Annotazioni*, or about 1750, the manuscript was at least three hundred years old, which would carry it back to something before the middle of the fifteenth century, or to a period about fifty years later than the age assigned to the Latin manuscripts that have been described. It is written in the old Venetian dialect; is divided into chapters, but not into Books; and is partially defective at the end, wanting the last short chapter on the subject of Russia, and a small part of that on the Region of Obscurity. The specimens he has given of its *prologo* or preface (supposed to have been written by *Rustigielo*), and of the commencement of the work, are curious, and will be found in the subjoined note.* In the latter we find the name of the Podestà, who, jointly with

* " Qui comenza il prologo del libro chiamado de " la instizione del mondo." " Vui signori impera- " dori, duchi, marchesi, chonti, e kavalieri, e tuta " zente quale volete intender e chonosser le diverse " gienerazione de li homeni e del mondo, lezete " questo libro, in lo qual troverete de grandissimi " miracholi e diversità, de l'Armenia mazore, de " Persia, e de Tartaria, e de molte altre provinzie, " segondo chomo nara, e avertamente ve chonterà, " chomo misier Marcho Polo zitadin de Venexia " queste tutte chosse, che con li suo ochi ed orechie " vete ed aldì da homeni degni di fede. Si che in " questo quele chosse chel dito vete, meterem chomo " chosse vedude, e quele che lui aldì, chomo chosse " aldide, adcio chel *nostro* libro sia chonsonante ad " zaschuno che aldirà, hover lezerà, siche ognuno li " dara fede; e sapiè che dal tempo che Dio chreà " Adam ed Eva, qual fo el primo homo al mondo " fine al prezente, non fo mai algun christian, sa- " raxino, tartaro, indian, over homo de alguna giene- " razione, el qual chotanto tempo zerchasse le diverse " parte del mondo, e vedesse tante chosse, chomo " fexe missier Marcho Polo predito, onde el dito " determinò di meter tuto quelo che havea visto ed " aldido in scritura, adcioche la zente, che non a " vezudo nè sapudo, per questo libro possa saver; " e dicho chel dito missier Marcho Polo stete in " questè diverse parte e provinzie *ventisie ani*, e " questo per poter saver queste tal chosse, le qual " siando destegnudo in charzere de Zenovessi, tute " ste chosse feze schriver per misier *Rustigielo* ci- " tadin de *Pixa*, lo qual era ne la dicta prixone con " el dito missier Marcho Polo, e fo schrito le dite " chosse nel ano del nostro Signor Jesu Christo " mille duxento e nonanta nuove." " Nel tempo " de Baldoin imperador de Chonstantinopoli e di " misie *Ponte* de Veniexia, el qualle in quel tempo " rezeva Chonstantinopoli per nome de la duchal " signoria de Veniexia nel ano mile duxento cin- " quanta, misie Nicholo Polo, el qual fo padre de " Marcho,

with Baldwin, governed Constantinople on the part of the Republic, and which does not elsewhere appear. Italian manuscripts.

In the library of the British Museum, amongst the Sloane manuscripts, there is one of Marco Polo, bearing the date of 1457, which may be thought an abbreviated transcript of the preceding. It contains thirty-nine folio leaves, closely written on both sides of the paper, in double columns, and is in perfect condition, but written in a hand so extremely difficult to read, that the deciphering a portion of it for my use, by a gentleman at the Museum to whom ancient characters are familiar, was attended with much trouble and some uncertainty in a few of the words.* Many other Italian manuscript copies are known to exist in different public and private collections. That which belongs to the Accademici della Crusca, and is said to be described in some of the latter editions of their dictionary, professes to be more copious and complete than the copies used by Ramusio;

" Marcho, e sier Mafio Polo suo fratello, chon le " lor merchadantie iera vegnudi da Veniexia a " Chonstantinopoli, ed era *nobilissimi merchadanti* " e *omeni de sotil inzegni*, onde li vene in la dita " zitade, e stando li alguni zorni li vene in chuor di " voler andar nel mar mazore per dispensar le lor " merchadantie e comprar molti zoieli, e fato che " iebe el pensamento se partirono da Chonstantino- " poli chon una nave, ed andar nel mar mazore, ed " in pochi zorni zonsse a *Soldaria* e dismontò dela " *nave, e stete molti zorni in quela tera*, e vezando " che in quela non nera alguna chossa per loro, de- " terminò di andar piu avanti, e partisse dela dita " *Soldaria* e chavalchò molte zornade, che lor non " trovò chossa alguna, e finalmente li vene a cha- " pitar a *Brachanchan* una zitade, la qual signori- " zava una parte de Tartari, &c." It is evident that the name of the prince, *Barkah-khan*, is here mistaken for that of the city.

* The following specimens of the commencement and of the concluding words will give an idea of the text of this copy. " Marco Polo, Veneto, digli " Regioni Orientali. Quelli che desiderano de inten- " der le meravigliose chosse de la grande armenia " perssia e tartaria ed indie e diversse parte del mon- " do, legerano questo libro ed intenderano quello " che il nobel zitadino viniziano messer Marcho Pollo " avendo zerchato tute le dite provinzie vollse tute " meravigliose (chosse) in quello trovate a deletto " dei lettori in questo libro scriver, ed azo che " questo libro sia deletevolle e veritavolle, nui dire- " *mo le chosse vezude* per vezude e le *aldide* per le " *aldide*, e azo chel non se perdi errore e che le " chosse se diranno non sia reputade favolle, e da " intender che messer Marcho Pollo fo in tute so- " pradite provinzie, ne mai per presento fo trovato " homo Latino che in tante e ssi diverse parte del " mondo fosse chomo lui, ne tanta abillita avesse di " vedere ed intender ed ancho, per i prozessi de la " *vita soa* pore intender ed judicare quel nobel zi- " *tadino* per stato de.... inzegno per o che si.... " signori prinzipe dove el capito e fo appressi ato ne " i qual diti luogi el stete anj xxv.... chome per il " dito messer Marcho nele prisone de Zenoa fo no- " tade e sscritti nei anni del nostro Signor Ihsu " Christo MCCLXXXVIII:" (for 1298). " Nel tempo " che Baldouino era imperadore de Chostantinopolli " nel 1250 due nobel zitadini Veneziani, zoe messer " Mafio e messer Nicolo Polo fratelli chapitono nel " dito luogo de Costantinopolli con le lor marcha- " dantie, e erano homeni sapientissimi et deliberono " de andare con le lor marchadantie in mar mazore " per guadagnare, e con quello montono sopra una " nave e chapitano in *Saldadia*." " Esplizizit liber " *Milionis* zivis Veneziarum. Questo libro scrisse " salvador paxuci del 1457. Aviazo de baruti patron " messer cabual volassero chapit. messer Polo bar- " barigo."

Italian manuscripts.

Ramusio; but these assertions of superiority often prove, upon examination, to be the effect of partiality to a supposed exclusive possession or discovery. Paul Colomiés, for instance, says: "M. Vossius m'a fait voir un exemplaire des "voyages de M. P. Venitien, in 8vo. d'ancienne edition, contenant plusieurs "particularitez, qui ne se trouvent point dans ceux que Ramnusio a mis dans "son recueil." Colomesii Opera, Hamburgi 1709, 4to. p. 323. But this boasted edition could be no other than that of Pipino's version (without date), which has generally been held in little esteem, excepting for its rarity.*

Italian editions.

The earliest printed edition in the Italian language is that of Venice, 1496, in small 8vo. the character of which is remarkably dictinct and purely Roman. The dialect is Venetian, but much more modern than that of the Sorenzo manuscript. The words of the title-page are: "Marco Polo da Veniesia de le meravegliose "cose del Mondo;" and at the conclusion: "Finisse lo libro de Marco Polo da "Veniesia de le meravegliose cose del mondo. Impresso in Venetia per Zoanne "Baptista da Sessa Milanese del MCCCCXCVI. a di XIII. del mese de Junio "regnando lo illustrissimo Principe Augustino Barbadico inclyto Duce di Vene-"tia." Its division is not into Books, but chapters only, of which the last is numbered CXLIIII. Immediately following the title is a preface or sort of preliminary chapter, but not included in the numeration, beginning with the words: "Incomenza el libro de le meravelose cose del mondo le quelle ho "trovato

* Some brief notice of such unedited manuscripts occurs in the following passage from the *Annotazioni* of Apostolo Zeno: "Il terzo volgarizzamento è scritto "in buona favella Toscana, allegato nella *Crusca* col "titolo di *Storia* di *Marco Polo* detto *Milione*; e a "parer del *Salviati* (Avvertim. vol. i, lib. ii, cap. "12.), fù dettato l'anno 1298. Ma quest' anno sa-"rebbe l'anno posteriore a quello in cui il Polo avea "scritto il suo libro: quest' epoca dell' autore può "essere, che sia passata dal testo Latino nel volga-"rizzamento Toscano, e abbia indotto il *Salviati* a "crederlo pari di antichità al testo originale. An-"tico certamente, ma non di tanto, convien sup-"porlo, non solo perchè il testo veduto dal *Salviati* "presso *Domenico Mazzuoli*, detto lo *Stradino*, vien "qualificato da lui per *oltre modo antico e corretto*, "benchè mancante il principio e la fine; ma perchè "il testo, che adducono gli Accademici nell'ultima "loro edizione, apparteneva già *tempo* a *Pietro del* "*Riccio*, che ne fu il primo possessore, e vi notò "sopra, che quel codice era stato scritto di mano di "*Michele Ormanni* suo bisavolo da lato di madre, "il quale era morto nel 1309." The reader will probably suspect with me that the extreme antiquity here boasted of, is a fallacious pretension. Foscarini also speaks of "Un Codice a penna del Sig. Marchese "Poleni, ornamento dello studio Padovano, e un "altro conservato nella libreria dei Padri Scalzi." Letterat. Venez. p. 415, n. 261. "Anche io" says Signor Morelli, in a letter to Mr. Grenville "nella "mia bibliotica privata posseggo un codice scritto al "principio del secola XVI°, trascritto da altro co-"dice manoscritto, ed esso contiene viaggi di varii, "e fra essi anche questi del Polo, con buone e varie "lezioni nel testo, ma con li suoi errori ancor "esso."

Italian editions.

' trovato mi Marco Polo da Veniesia e maximamente in le parte de Trabesonda " erali uno homo loqual conduceva quarantamilia pernise, &c." It then proceeds to relate a very childish story of this man and his partridges, that has no connexion whatever with the travels of our grave author, but is in fact the first chapter of those of Friar Oderic of Portenau. Then follows this short introduction to the book: " Qui comenza el libro de Marcho Polo da Veniesia como l'ando cerchan- " do tutto lo levante el mezo di e ponente e le condition de le provincie, el suo " vivere ei soi costumi de de grado in grado. Capitolo I. Quando lo grande chan " signor de tutti li Tartari e de tutte le sue provincie e regione e regni zoe de una " gran parte del mondo hebe inteso le conditione de li christiani, monstro in lo " viso che molto li piacessi, e disse contra a li soi baroni che ello voleva mandar " uno suo messo over ambasciador a miser lo Papa." In this abrupt commencement we perceive that all the matter relating to the early p rt of the journal of the elder Poli has been omitted, and that the subject opens with their audience of the Tartar emperor of China. The publication is in fact no more than a popular abridgment of the work, calculated to surprise and amuse an ignorant reader, whilst it had the effect of depreciating the travels in the opinion of the better informed. As it regards the history of early typography, the edition is highly curious. The copy now before me belongs to the collection of the R. H. Thomas Grenville, and was, with much difficulty, procured by him from Italy, for the purpose of rendering the present work, in which he has taken a friendly interest, more worthy of the attention of the literary world and more creditable to its author.* It will appear in the sequel that this is not the only valuable document with which his kindness has been the means of furnishing me.—— The next edition in the order of time has the same title, with a slight variation of orthography: " Marco Polo da Venesia de le maraveliose cose del Mondo;" (over a frontispiece

* The extreme rarity of this first Italian edition will appear from the following passage in a letter from the venerable Signor Morelli, dated Venice 26 Feb. 1817: " Tosto che mi pervenne la richiesta di ac- " quistarli li Viaggi di Marco Polo in volgare, di Ve- " nezia 1496, in 8vo., mi sono accorto che si cerca " un libro rarissimo, il quale mancò sempre anche in " questa Imperiale Biblioteca sino a questi ultimi " tempi, ne' quali ho potuto collocarvelo, avendolo " trovato in una biblioteca di Frati soppressi. E per " verità usata ora da me ogni diligenza, ho il dispia- " cere di doverle dire che il libro non si trova da ac- " quistare, ed anzi in tutta Venezia non se ne trova " altro esemplare che il suddetto. Tuttavia mi ven- " gono date speranze da alcuni che lo ricercano al- " trove a mia raccomandazione." Fortunately his zealous research was at length attended with success.

Italian editions.

frontispiece representing a pilgrim); and at the conclusion, the words: "Impressa "la presente opera per el venerabile miser pre Batista da Farfengo, nella magni- "fica cita de Bressa (Brescia) a di xx December MCCCCC." At the back of the title we read: "Tractato delle piu maraveliose cose e delle piu notabile che si ritrovano "nelle parte del mondo: *redutte e racolte sotto brevita* nel presente *compendio* dal "strenuo miser Marco Polo Veneto, &c." The first chapter then begins: "Io "Marco Polo Veneto havendo cerchato molte e diverse parte del mondo: ho deli- "berato per noticia e per declaracion de molte persone chi hano piacer de simel cosa "notar quelle in questo libro: e prima come fui conditto ne la Tartaria dove signore- "za el gran can. E quando lo grande Chan signor de tutti li Tartari...hebe inteso "&c." This edition also is so scarce as not to be mentioned in any of the great bibliographical catalogues. The copy which I have used belongs to the collection of Mr. Roger Wilbraham, by whom it has been obligingly communicated to me. With the exception of the introductory passages, it is almost literally the same as the preceding, of 1496;* but with more fairness professes itself to be (what the other actually is) an abbreviation or epitome, not a transcript or version of the work. In point of typography it is inferior. It equally contains one hundred and forty-four chapters.——Another edition in small 8vo., to which, being without date, its proper place connot be strictly assigned, has for its title: "Marco Polo Venetiano. In cui "si tratta le meravigliose cose del mondo per lui vedute, del costume di varii paesi, "&c." After an address from the printer to the reader, in which a declaration is made of the genuineness of the edition,† it proceeds in nearly the words of that of 1496,

* At the beginning of chap. cv, on the subject of reducing the city of *Siang-yang-fu*, after a long siege, by means of engines constructed by our Italians, we find a small immaterial diversity. In the first edition the words are: "Dapoi che lo gran chan "aquista la provincia de *Mangi*, certamente la fo "prisa per industria de miser Nicolo e Mafio "e Marco, como vediro. Lo capitanio del hoste "scrisse al gran chan che la cita non se posseva "pigliar: onde el se turbo molto forte." In the latter it is said, more briefly: "La cita de *Mangi* "fu acquistada per industria de miser N.e M.e M. "como vediro. Lo capitano de lhoste scrisse &c." In both, the name of the province or kingdom is substituted for that of the city; yet such were the documents upon which the readers of those days were to form an opinion of the authenticity of the work.

† "Al benigno lettore, Mathio Pagano. Io non ho "voluto discretto lettore, farvi leggere il presente "libro in lingua piu limata e tersa di quel che fece "l'istesso Auttore, si per farvi o dirle sue parole is- "tesse procedute dalla natia favella come per non "voler con altre parole forse men chiare che le sue, "disturbar l'auttorita di Marco Polo Venetiano, il- "quale nel descriver i paesi per lui veduti, e nel nar- "ravi sinceramente la verita non hebbe eguale al suo "tempo, pigliatelo per esser opra d'un tant'homo, "e poi per esser novamente revisto, corretto de suoi "errori espurgato, ed in miglior stampa di quanti "ne siano anchora stati impressi, dato in luce."

1496, gives the story of what passed at *Trabesonda* from the travels of Odericus, and enters upon the proper subject of the book, in the same abrupt manner. At the conclusion we find: "In Venetia per Mathio Pagan, in Frezaria, al segno della "Fede." It is printed in what we call the Italic character; and belongs also to Mr. Grenville's collection. Besides these, the following editions, equally epitomes, although in different forms, have come, more or less directly, to my knowledge: Venetia 1508, fo. (according to Muselius and Stuck, but 8vo. according to Zeno); *1553*, fo.: Treviso or Trevigi, 1590, fo. mentioned by Bergeron (Traité des Tartares, p. 53), and by Pinkerton, who says it is divided into one hundred and forty-six chapters, contained in fifty-seven leaves: Venetia, 1597, 8vo. per Marco Claseri: Venetia 1611, 8vo. noticed by Meuselius: a copy in the British Museum, with the title of "Marco Polo Venetiano delle Meraviglie del Mondo per lui "vedute; di nuovo ristampato, Venetie e poi en Trevigi, 1267" (for 1627), small 8vo. it has the address to the reader that appears in the Venice edition without date, and begins with the spurious chapter respecting *Trabesonda*: lastly, an edition printed at Trevigi, 1672, noticed by Foscarini.

Italian editions.

Whilst these abbreviated copies were circulating, and from time to time reprinted with all their imperfections, that valuable work, the "Raccolta di Navigationi et "Viaggi" of Ramusio (or Rannusio as the name is frequently written by his countrymen) made its appearance; in the second volume of which we find his version of our author's travels, under the title of "Viaggi di Messer Marco Polo, "*gentilhuomo Venetiano.*" It is preceded, in the first place, by his own preface, dated in *1553*, containing much useful information respecting the traveller and his work; secondly, by an "Espositione" or explanation of certain words at the commencement, that respect the political relations of Venice with Constantinople; thirdly, a "Dichiaratione" or discourse on the names of some places mentioned in the Travels, with an account of the rhubarb plant; fourthly, a table of latitudes and longitudes from Abu'lfeda; fifthly, an Index to the matter of his second volume; sixthly, an abbreviated translation into modern Italian, of the preface in the Venetian dialect, which is supposed to have been written by the person who assisted to compose the work, and is preserved in the *Soranzo* manuscript, with the date of 1298; and seventhly, a similar translation of the preface by Pipino to his Latin version, dated in 1320. This version of Ramusio is divided, as

in

Italian editions.

in the Latin copies, into three Books, which are subdivided into 55 (should be 56) 79, and 45 chapters; the first of which contains the whole narrative of the travels (the remainder of the work professing to be descriptive), and commences with the words: "Dovete adunque sapere, che nel tempo di Balduino imperatore di Con- "stantinopoli: dove all'hora soleva stare un Podestà di Venetia, per nome di "Messer lo Dose, correndo gli anni del N. S. 1250. M. Nicolo Polo padre di M. "Marco, &c."

We are not directly informed by Ramusio from what specific original he made his Italian version; but as he was persuaded (however erroneously) of the work having been at first composed in Latin, there can be no doubt of his having used a copy in that language as the basis of his performance. He only tells us that he availed himself of the aid of several manuscripts written more than two hundred years before his time, which he describes as being much more full and correct than the editions in circulation.* By the *Accademici della Crusca* it is indeed asserted that even his version is less full than an ancient manuscript in their possession: but had they thought proper to give the whole of their text to the public, it might perhaps be found that the merit of superior fulness belonged only to certain selected passages. Lessings is of opinion that one of the manuscripts alluded to by Ramusio was that which he particularly describes as the third of Marco Polo in the Wolfenbüttel collection. By this writer, who has shewn much acumen in his examination of several of the texts, a distinguished preference is given to the Italian of that venerable editor,† who was secretary to the council of the *Decemviri* of Venice; and I have therefore to add the sanction of his respectable authority to the motives assigned in a former part of this Introduction (p. xxix) for making it the subject of my own translation.‡

French version.

A manuscript copy in old French, belonging to the public library of Berne in Switzerland, has been circumstantially described in the following publication: "Catalogus

* "Hor veduto che tante particolarità al tempo "nostro di quella parte del mondo si scuoprono, del- "laqual ha scritto il predetto messer Marco, cosa "ragionevole hò giudicato, di far venir in luce il suo "libro col mezo di diversi esemplari scritti gia piu "di dugento anni (a mio giudicio) perfettamente cor- "retto, et di gran lunga, molto piu fidele di quello "che fin hora si è letto." Prefatione, p. 2. He wrote his preface in 1553, and died in 1557.

† See p. 288, 290, &c. of his Zweiter Beytrag.

‡ The following are the editions of the "Naviga- "tioni et Viaggi raccolte da Gio. Batt. Ramusio:" Vol. I. Venetia 1550, 1554, 1563 ed. 3, 1588 ed. 4. 1606, *1613 ed. 5. Vol. II. 1559, 1565? 1574, *1583, 1606. Vol. III. 1565, 1583, *1606, 1613? Those in my own possession are marked with an asterisk, and that of *1583 is the edition from which the translation is made.

" Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bernensis, annotationibus cri-
" ticis illustratus; addita sunt *Excerpta* quamplurima et Præfatio, curante I.R.
" Sinner, Bibliothecario." Bernæ 1770, 8vo. T. ii. p. 419. " Codex membran.
" olim Bongarsii : nitidissime scriptus, auro et picturis ornatus. Continet ver-
" sionem gallicam Itinerum variorum. Ordo autem operum iste :" " 1. ' Le Voi-
' age de Marc Pol de Venise.' " Præfatio operis sic habet." * " Totum Marci
" Pauli Itinerarium absolvitur, in nostro codice, capitibus 194, paginis vero 180,
" seu foliis 90. In fine legitur : ' Explicit le Roumman du Grant Kaan de la
" ' grant cité de Cambalut.' Postea hæc leguntur :"

French version.

* " Pour savoir la pure verité des diverses regions
" du monde si prennes cest livre si trouveres les
" grandes merveilles qui sont escriptes de la grant
" Ermenie et de Perse et des Tartas et de Ynde et
" de maintes autres provinces si comme notre livre
" vous contera tout par ordre desque Messire *Marc*
" *Pol* sages et nobles cytoiens de Venise raconte
" pour ce que il les vit. Mais anques il y a choses
" que il ne vit pas mais il entendy d'ommes certains
" par verité. Et pour ce mettrons nous les choses
" veues pour veues et les entendues pour entendues,
" a ce que nostre livre soit vraye et veritable sans
" nulle mensonge. Et chascun qui ce livre orra ou
" lira le doye croire pour ce que toutes sont choses
" veritables. Car je vous fais assavoir que puisque
" nostre sire deaux fist Adam le premier Pere ne fu
" onques homme de nulle generation qui tant sceut
" ne cerchat des diverses parties du monde comme
" cestui Messire Marc Pol en sot. Et pour ce pensa
" que ce seroit grant mauls se ce ne feist mettre en
" escript ce que il avoit veu et oy par verité. A ce
" que l'autre gent qui ne l'ont veu ne oy le sachent
" par cest livre, et si vous dis que il demoura a ce
" savoir en ces diverses parties bien xxvi ans. Le-
" quel livre puis demourant en la prison de Genes
" fist restraire par Messire *Rusca Pysain* qui en
" celle anciene prison estoit au tems qu'il couroit
" de Crist Mil cc et ivxxviii (for 1298) ans de
" l'incarnacion." Cap. I. " Comment les deux
" Freres se partirent de Constantinople pour en-
" cherchier du monde." " Il fu voirs que au temps
" que un Balduin fu Empereur de Constantinople
" ce fu a Mil cci. ans de Crist. Messire Nicolaus
" Pol qui pere Messire Marc estoit, et Messire Mafé
" qui frere Nicolaus estoit. Ces deux freres es-
" toient en la cité de Constantinople alé de Venise
" avec leur marchandise noble et sage et pour neant
" estoient sans faille. Ils orrent conseil entre eulx
" et issisrent daler au mar majour pour gaignier.
" Ils achesterent plusieurs joyaux et se partirent
" de Constantinople et alerent par mer en *Soldaye*."

† " Vèes ci le livre que Monsr. Thybault Cheva-
" lier Seigneur de Cepoy, que Dieux absoille, requist
" que il en eust la copie a Messire Marc Pol bour-
" geois et habitant en la cité de Venise; et le dit
" Sire Marc-Pol, comme très honnourable et bien
" acoustumé en plusieurs regions et bien moriginé,
" et lui desirans que ce qu'il avoit veu fust sceu par
" l'univers monde, et pour l'onneur et reverence de
" très excellent et puissant Prince Monseigneur
" Charles fils du Roy de France et Conte de Valois,
" bailla et donna au dessus dit Seigneur de Cepoy la
" premiere copie de son dit livre puis qu'il l'eut fait
" et moult lui estoit agreables, quant par si preudom-
" me estoit avanciés et portés es nobles parties de
" France. De laquelle copie que ledit Messire Thi-
" bault Sire de Cepoy apporta en France, Messire
" Jehan qui fut son ainsné fils et qui est Sire de
" Cepoy après son deces, bailla la premiere copie de
" ce livre que oncques fu faite puis que il fu aportés
" en royaume de France a son très chier et très
" redoubté Seigneur Monseigneur de Valois, et
" depuis en a il donné copie a ses amis qui l'en ont
" requis. Et fu celle coppie baillé du dit Sire Marc
" Pol au dit Seigneur de Cepoy quant il ala a Venise
" pour Monseigneur de Valois et pour Madame
" l'Empereris sa femme Vicaire General pour eulx
" deux en toutes les parties de l'empire de Constan-
" tinoble. Ce fut fait l'an de l'incarnation nostre
" Seigneur Jhesucrist 1307, au mois d'Aoust."

Catherine,

French version.

If it were an unquestionable fact that M. Thybault de Cepoy, about the year 1307, received this copy from the hands of Marco Polo himself, in order to its being presented to Prince Charles of Valois, it would indeed be a singular curiosity; but the evidences, or rather the assertions of such a transaction, are not strong enough in my judgment, to countervail its obvious improbability. Whether the language of the manuscript, although old, be really so ancient as the commencement of the fourteenth century, is a point to be determined by French antiquaries; but we may ask on what grounds it can be supposed that our Venetian should have had in his possesion a French copy of his own work, in which it is termed a *roumman*. It will not be contended that, instead of Italian or Latin, it was originally composed in that language, and yet we are not told, in the preface or the postcript, by whom, or under what circumstances, the translation was made.* Its pretentions to originality are sufficiently disproved by the manuscript's containing also the travels of Sir John Mandeville and others; and upon the whole we may pronounce it, in the words of Apostolo Zeno, "*antico certamente, ma non di tanto.*" By comparing the words of its preface with the specimen of the Italian manuscript in the British Museum, distinctly dated 1457, as well as with that of the *Soranzo* manuscript, supposed to have been written about 1450, the reader will perceive a resemblance between them so striking, as to warrant the conclusion that one of them must have been translated from the other; but whether the Italian was a version from the French or *vice versa*, is a question of probabilities. Sinner remarks a similarity between the text of the Berne copy and that of Ramusio. In the orthography of proper names, the former is in general more corrupt.

From M. Langlès, who has charge of the manuscripts in the Royal Library of Paris, I received information of one which contains Marco Polo's travels, found in

Catherine, the grandaughter of Baldwin II. who was dispossessed in 1261 and died in 1274, married Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair, King of France, and conveyed to him her hereditary rights. The Sieur Cepoy appears to have been the administrator of their ideal empire.

* It is stated, indeed, by M. Malte-Brun, "qu'il "s'en trouve dans la bibliothèque de Berne une "*traduction* française faite en 1307, par le che- "valier Theobald Cepoi." Précis de la Géographie Universelle, t. i, p. 444. But this intelligent writer appears to have assumed the probability for the fact; as the extracts furnished by Sinner do not any where assert that he translated the manuscript. The learned geographical work of M. Malte-Brun has but very lately reached my hands. Had I been so fortunate as to have become acquainted with his remarks upon the travels of Marco Polo at an earlier period, I should have derived much satisfaction from a liberal comparison of our respective ideas.

in that rich collection, written in old French, and bearing date about the year 1300; offering at the same time, in the most obliging manner (for which I take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments) to obtain for me every necessary facility for my becoming acquainted with its contents. Some untoward circumstances however, which I regret extremely, have prevented me from procuring a copy or any further knowledge of this interesting document, and I am therefore unable to ascertain whether it be a manuscript hitherto unknown; a duplicate of that described by Sinner, with which it agrees in such circumstances as have been mentioned to me; or, possibly (as it does not appear in the Paris Catalogue) the identical codex that, in the year 1770, belonged to the public library of Berne. French version.

The earliest edition in the French language is that which was printed at Paris in the year 1556, with the title of: "La Description géographique des provinces "et villes plus fameuses de l'Inde Orientale, meurs, loix, et coustumes des ha- "bitans d'icelles, mesement de ce qui est soubz la domination du grand Cham "empereur des Tartares. Par Marc Paule gentilhomme Venetien, et nouvelle- "ment reduict en vulgaire François." 4to. This translation appears to have been made from the Latin of the Novus Orbis, published at Basle and Paris in 1532, and is divided into the same number of Books and chapters, although with some mistakes in the numeration. The first chapter commences with the words: "Lorsque Bauldoyn prince Chrestien tant fameux et renommé tenoit l'empire de "Constantinople, assavoir en l'an de l'incarnation de nostre Saulveur mil deux "cens soixante et neuf, deux nobles et prudens citoyens de Venise, extraictz de "la noble et ancienne lignées des Paules, &c." The work is contained in 123 double pages, exclusively of an epistle dedicatory, a preface, and a concluding *advertissement*, in which the translator expresses his opinion that a part of the original work has been lost. The copy which I have examined belongs to the collection of Mr. Roger Wilbraham. It is also found in the British Museum, Bodleian, and other public libraries. French editions.

Its second appearance in French was in the Collection of "Voyages faits princi- "palement en Asie, par Pierre Bergeron;" à la Haye, 1735, 4to. where it is intitled: "Les Voiages très-curieux et fort remarquables, achevées par toute "l'Asie, Tartarie, &c. commencées l'an 1252. par Marc Paul, Venitien, historien

"recommandable

French editions.

" recommandable pour sa fidelité," &c. In this publication the Latin edition of Müller, in 1671, although not mentioned in the title, is strictly followed, and a translation is also given of the valuable preface of that writer. The words with which it commences are: " L'an de Jesus Christ 1269, sous l'empire du prince " Baudoin, empereur de Constantinople, deux gentilshommes de la très-illustre " famille des Pauls à Venise, &c." Upon this version Richarderie (Bibl. des Voyages) remarks: " La traduction Française du voyage de M. P. dans le re- " cueil de Bergeron, n'est rien moins qu'elégante, et quelquefois même manque de " fidelité." The abstract of the Travels which appears in " L'Histoire générale " de Voyages," together with the notes, (T. IX. of the Amsterdam edition), is translated from Astley's Collection of Voyages (Vol. iv).

German editions.

We are not informed of any early manuscripts of the work in the German language or other Teutonic dialects, although it is probable that such exist; but on the other hand the proud distinction of having given to the world the first printed edition, indisputably belongs to Germany. It came from the press of F. Creussner, at Nürmberg, in the year 1477, and begins with these words in place of a title: " Hie hebt sich an das puch des edeln Ritters und landtfarers Marcho Polo. In " dem er schreibt die grossen wunderlichen ding dieser welt. Sunderlichen von " den grossen künigen und keysern die da herschen in den selbigen landen, und " von irem volck und seiner gewonheit da selbs." At the conclusion it is said: " Hie endet sich das puch des edeln Ritters und landtfarersz Marcho Polo, das do " sagt von mangerley wunder der landt und lewt, und wie er die selbigen gesehen " und durch faren hat von dem auffgang piss zu dem niedergang der sunnen, " Seliglich. Diss hat gedruckt Fricz Creüssner zu Nürmberg nach Cristi gepurdt " Tausent vierhundert und im siben und sibenczigte iar." The preface is substantially the same as those which belong to the *Soranzo* manuscript and the Italian of the British Museum;* from which circumstance, as well as from the orthography

* The following are specimens of the preface and first chapter of the German version: " Allen edeln " und hochgeporn fursten freyen grafen rittern und " knechten zu lob und ern allen edeln und reynen " herczen die da willen haben zu versten die grossen " wunder dieser welt, die nemen für sich und lesen " das puch, dar innen ir vindt die grossen wunder " und wünderliche ding und werck des almechtigen " unsers schöpffers d'welt. Als uns dan schreibt " und offenbart der edel ritter herr Marcho Polo, " nach dem als er mit seynen augen gesehen hat. " Und auch mer andre ding die er nicht geschen " hat, abir die von erbern weyssen leuten und " wirdigen hern vernumen hat. Da mit unser puch " gerecht und von eynen iglichen ungestroft sey. " Dar umb nemet die gesehen für die gesehen, und " die

phy of proper names throughout, (corrupt as they are) it is evident that the translation was made from an Italian rather than from a Latin original. It is described as consisting of fifty-seven leaves, in fo. printed in whole lines, without pagination, catch-words, or typographical signatures. German editions.

The copies of this first edition are rare in the highest degree. The only one distinctly pointed out by bibliographers is that which has a place in the Imperial library at Vienna, and which, during the last occupation of the Austrian capital by a French army, had been conveyed to Paris, but in consequence of ulterior events, been since restored to its former situation. The impossibility of finding a copy for sale, after much research, induced Mr. Grenville (who was desirous of procuring one, for the most liberal purpose) to apply, through his Excellency Lord Stewart, the British ambassador, for permission to have a *fac simile* of the book, in manuscript; which was graciously accorded. A letter from the Chev. Scotti states the difficulty that attended the finding a person who was well acquainted with the ancient character, and otherwise qualified to make a copy, in which the same orthography and same abbreviations should be observed, "et qui ne différât absolument "ni d'une syllabe, ni d'une virgule de ce que contenoit l'original." The work, however, was ably and handsomely executed under the superintendence of Herr B. Kopitar, the Director of the library, and its accuracy is attested by him in the most authentic form, under the seal of the establishment.* This curious and interesting copy reached England and was deposited in my hands, in the month of October last;

"die gehorte für die gehorte. Aber sicher und warlich ich sprich und glaub, sider Adam unser ersten vater von unserm hern Jhesu Cristo beschaffen ward nye keyn man geporn ward, der in dyser welt mer gesehen und gesucht hab dan d'edel ritter Marcho Polo. Und dar umb das dy grossen wunder und gescheft des almechtigen gotz nich verswigen und verporgen pleyben, Er sie hat wollen offenbarn und kunt thun aller menig, und auch das schreyben und pringen zu eyner ewigen gedechtnusz." "Iey den zeite des hochgeborn hern und keysers genant Baldouino ein keyser der edeln stat Constantinopel in den iaren nach Cristi gepurdt tawsent zweyhundert und funfzig iar Als ausz furn zu Venedig Nicholo Polo des vorgenanten ritters Marcho Polo vater, und Maffeo Nicholo Polo prnder, die zwen prüder fürnem und weysz man warn in allen sachen, nit minder in kaufmanschacz dan in andern dingen, ausz zugen, nit kaufmanschacz zu treiben, sunder allein zu sehen, un fremd land zu suchen, &c." In the latter part of this sentence the word *allein*, only, seems to be misplaced, and the sense to be, that they travelled *not only* for the purposes of commerce, but for the sake of exploring foreign countries.

* "Apographum collatum cum prototypo, quod in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi adservatur: illo quidem qui descripsit, recitante ex prototypo, me vero hoc apographum inspectante. Respondet pagina paginæ, versui versus, et syllaba syllabæ. Vindobonæ die 29 Augusti 1817. B. Kopitar, Bibloth. Palatinæ Vindob. scriptor." L. S.

German editions.

last; at which time the greatest part of the present edition had been printed off. It is not divided into Books, nor are the chapters numbered, but they amount to eighty-one. Its text is in general more circumstantial than that of other versions, and even, in several instances, than Ramusio's; but there are occasional indications of the translator, or a preceding copyist, having introduced words of his own, without marking the distinction; whilst at the same time there are numerous instances of omission and curtailment.* It is not a little surprising that the existence of this German version should have escaped the research of so diligent an inquirer as Andreas Müller; which is clearly shewn by his preface.†——The second

* The following are amongst the passages that appear to have been interpolated: in the first chapter, where it is said, that "no persons have more ample opportunity of exploring distant countries than merchants, and especially the Venetians:" in the fourth, where *Giassa* is said "to lie between the Holy Land and *Turkey*; the greater part of the country, including Damasco, Jherusalem, Cayer, and Alexandria, being in possession of the Soldan of Babylonia;" and in the same chapter, that "Marcho was by the Grand Cham of Cathay, created a knight:" in the thirty-fourth, where he (or the German translator) says, in the first person, "I mean Italian miles, five of which are equal to one of *ours*:" and particularly at the conclusion of the last chapter, where these remarkable words are used: "I shall now say no more to you of foreign regions. Let those who are desirous of further information have recourse to that great instructor, the king of Egypt (Ptolemy), who has not only given a description of the Earth, but also of the Heavens, with their stars, and of the whole firmament."

† The text being less commonly known than that of any other version of equal importance, unless perhaps of the *Sorenzo* manuscript, the proper names shall here be given, as they occur in each chapter; which will enable the critical reader to make a comparison with the text and notes of the present edition.—Ch. I. *Soldania, Bochaam, Barcha, Elaw, Euciacha.* II. *Buchera, Barach, Alau.* III. *Ghalgathal, Giassa, Cremesu.* IV. *Balghana, Arghon, Jaua, Achatu.* V. *Erminia, Lagiassa.* VI. *S. Blasy, Giorghania, Navidamelech.* VII. *S. Linhart, Eufrates.* VIII. *Mosul, Chardi.* IX. *Baldracha, Barcha, Ghysa (Kis), Bastra.* X. *Elaw.* XI. *Toris.* XII. *Persia, Peristante.* XIV. *Chasum, Chutidistam Larabo, Cielstam, Istanich, Zerazi, Sunchara, Timocham.* XV. *Landi* or *Laudi, Grecinam, Grezia, Chamandi, Reobarle, Caraunos, Forinosa. Carinos, Amedam-Achomat.* XVI. *Crecia* or *Grezia,* XVII. *Cobinam, Chunathanaym.* XVIII. *Mulettia, Alaudi.* XIX. *Alanchera.* XX. *Sapurghan, Balach, Tanicham, Schasem, Balastina, Cultorue.* XXI. *Balastia* or *Balastina, Bastra, Cresymur, Belor, Chasor.* XXII. *Lamarthaw (Samarkand), Cagathay.* XXIII. *Charchan.* XXIV. *Camul* or *Chamul, Monguilhane.* XXV. *Chinugiatulas* or *Chuingatasal.* XXVI. *Caupion, Azina, Tanghut, Corothoan, Mechan (Unchan), An-chichius (Chingis).* XXVII. *Chuichan, Bachiuchan, Longiuchaan, Alchui, Patighay.* XXVIII. *Carathon, Dalchin, Barcha, Tenghut, Arghacul* or *Arghauil, Agrighaya, Tanghut, Tendut, Sindraw, Cianchannoi, Cianchay, Orchiach, Chiuchsthaan, Chublicham, Chunistaan, Naiam, Achaydu.* XXX. *Granbelu, Manghy, Transu, Pansu, Chaichui, Dos.* XXXI. *Chattamora, Chatcianeu.* XXXII. *Giansu, Mangialan, Archalechmongi, Mangi.* XXXIII. *Tenulo.* XXXIV. *Ghanbalu.* XXXV. *Echlubay, Chinchin, Temull.* XXXVII. *Dissidiffa, Sidiffa.* XXXVIII. *Manghathan, Tebbet.* XXXIX. *Gaudi* or *Ghamdi, Brius.* XLI. *Charaan, Sentenur, Chachatin.* XLII. *Ardanclan, Ichaan.* XLIII. *Charaiam, Vochoam, Neschardin.* XLIV. *Nuem (Mien).* XLV. *Balghana (Bangala).* XLVI. *Mangighu.* XLVII. *Amu.* XLVIII. *Tholoman.* XLIX. *Ginghui.* L. *Chatansu, Zianghu, Gattheyo, Chaam.* LI. *Tandiffa, Singhai, Chinchian, Chaichui.* LII. *Fachsur, Baiam, Charraghui, Chorghanghui, Panchin, Chauidole, Triede, Gianbai, Chinchui, Ciangui.* LIII. *Nanningiu, Saiansu, Baiam, Singionc, Quiam.* LIV. *Ziangui, Ghanbulu.*

second edition in the German language was printed in the year 1481, at Augsburg, in fo. likewise; not separately, but at the end of a romance or "history of Duke "Leuppold and his son Wilhalm, of Austria." The whole book consists of 133 leaves. On the reverse of the 74th is a portrait (wood-cut) of our author, which fills the page. At the bottom are the arms of Venice, and round the margin or border, the name and quality of the person depicted. On the first page of the 75th leaf, are the words: "Hie hebt sich an das buch des edlen ritters und landt-"farers Marcho Polo; &c." This is immediately followed by a short preface, and then by the Travels, which occupy the remaining leaves. At the conclusion are the words: "Hie endet sich herczog Wilhalm von Osterreich, und das buch "des edeln ritters und landtfarers Marcho Polo, das da sagt von mangerley wun-"der der land und leut, &c." "Diss hat gedruckt Anthonius Sorg zu Augspurg, "nach Christi gepurt tausend vier hundert und jm LXXXI jare." This information respecting a book which I have not had an opportunity of seeing, is derived from Panzers Annalen, where it is said that a complete copy is found in the "Eb-"nerische bibliothek," and one that contains the Travels only, in the "Solge-"rische."

German editions.

Another German version, in fo. was published at Strassburg, in 1534, by Michael Herr. This has no connexion with the preceding, but is a translation made from the Latin of the Novus Orbis, which had appeared two years before.—A version equally distinct from the others, was made from the Italian of Ramusio, by Hieron. Megiserus, and published at Altenburg in 1609, and Leipzig 1611, 8vo., with the following title: "Marcus Polus; wahrhafte Beschreibung seiner wun-"derlichen Reise in die Tartarey, zu den grossen Can von Chatai verrichtet. Aus

k "dem

LV. *Giansu, Warsachys, Cinghingui, Eluw (Alani).* LVI. *Singhui.* LVII. *Quisai, Chansu, Sinisu.* LIX. *Quinsisu.* LX. *Fiunghui, Choncha, Charzen, Tinghui.* LXI. *India.* LXII. *Conpangiu, Abatam, Vassamemi, Cin.* LXIII. *Zachon, Cianbay* or *Zianbai, Jaua, Schudar, Chondut, Lochay, Pentray, Maltium, Panthera, Jaua men, Bassina, Samaria, Draghaiam, Jambu, Sanfar.* LXIV. *Noziuarau, Anegaman.* LXV. *Zilanche.* LXVI. *Schudar, Churos, Dafar, Mabaar, Gioni, S. Thomas.* LXVII. *Murso, Mabar.* LXVIII. *Urbabar.* LXIX. *Larr, Abraiamin.* LXX. *Capperum, Mabar.* LXXI. *Cunan (Comar), Milibar.* LXXII. *Gaczurach, Channa, Kanbao, Semar, Resmachoram.* LXXIII. *Sinachoram.* LXXIV. *Schorra.* LXXV. *Madachaschar.* LXXVI. *Carabachar (Zanzibar), Mabar, Cesmatola, Cianbai, Muczifil.* LXXVII. *Bassia, Adamo (Adel).* LXXVIII. *Adama (Aden), Yseri.* LXXIX. *Natichan.* LXXX. *Tartarey.* LXXXI. *Reyssen.* It should be observed, that although the work is not in this version professedly divided into three books, the distinction is evidently marked, both at the end of the first, where the words, "An dem endt dieses puchs" occur, and also at the end of the second, where the subject changes to India.

German editions.

" dem Italianischen." Thus it appears that the most modern of the German editors who published in their own language, having the choice of two versions already made, so far preferred that of Ramusio to both, as to occasion his undertaking a new translation from the Italian.*

Portuguese edition.

The literature of Portugal boasts an edition so early as of the year 1502, published at Lisbon, in fo. gothic letter, by Valentim Fernandez Morano, a German of Moravia, who belonged to the household of Leonor or Eleanor, third wife of D. Manoel king of Portugal, to whom it is dedicated. In his preface he gives the reader to understand that it was translated from a copy of Marco Polo's book (if not the original itself) presented by the government of Venice to the Infante D. Henrique, when he visited that city in 1428. Along with the work of our author, he printed two others, as will appear in the following title summarily given in the " Catalogue de Santander:" " Marco Paulo de Veneza das condiçones e " custumes das gentes e das terras e provincias orientaes. Ho livro de Nycolao " Veneto. O trattado da carta de huũ genoves das ditas terras. Imprimido per " Valentym Fernandez Alemaão. Em a muy nobre çidade de Lyxboa. Era de " mil e quinhentos e dous annos. Aos quatro dias do mes de fevreyro." In the " Memorias de Litteratura Portugueza," t. viii. p. 26, it is termed *obra rarissima*, of which a copy is preserved in the Royal Library.† Instead, however, of its being translated, as Fernandez presumed, directly from the original, or at least from a copy of the original, it is clearly no other than a translation from the Latin version made by Pipino of Bologna, in the year 1320; and consequently D. Henrique himself must have been deceived with regard to the rarity, although not as to the intrinsic importance of the Venetian gift, which, as we have seen, was accompanied

* Müller, in reference to this edition, says: " Hieronymus Megiserus ex Italico, quem Ramu- " sius ediderat textu, Chorographiam Tartariæ fecit, " ediditque Lipsiæ anno 1611." This would seem to relate only to a map accompanying the work.

† The following titles to different parts of the work have been obligingly transcribed for me by Mr. Musgrave, at Lisbon. " Começa-se a epistola " sobre a trattadaçan do livro de Marco Paulo, feita " per Valentym Fernandez escudeyro dá Eccellen- " tissima Rainha Dona Lyanor, enderençada ao se- " renissimo e invictissimo Rey e Senhor Dom Ema- " nuel o Primeiro, rei de Portugal e dos Algarves, " &c." " Começa-se a introducçam em o livro de " Marco Paulo." " Seguese o prologo daquelle que " trattadon o Marco Paulo da lingoa Ytaliana em " Latim." This must refer to the prologue of Pipino's Latin version. " Este livro se parte em " tres partes, as quaes som repartidas pér seus pro- " prios capitalos." " Começa-se lo livro primeyro " de Marco Paulo de Veneza, dos condiçones e cus- " tumes, &c." I have also been furnished with the heads or titles of all the chapters.

companied with a map. This is to be inferred, not only from the prologue given by Fernandez as that "of the person by whom the work was translated from Italian into Latin" (which Pipino tells us he did), but also from the circumstance of its three Books being divided precisely into the same number (67, 70, and 50) of chapters; as well as from the agreement in the titles of the chapters respectively. It appears likewise to be extremely probable that the version in the Novus Orbis, upon the history of which Grynæus has observed a mysterious silence, and which differs in phraseology rather than in matter, from the earlier Latin, was in fact a re-translation in 1532, from this Portuguese edition of 1502, which, from its supposed connexion with the maritime discoveries of that nation, had acquired great celebrity. I am not informed of any subsequent edition of the Travels having made its appearance in Portugal. Portuguese edition.

In Spanish also there is an ancient edition, of which Meuselius speaks in these exaggerated terms: "Raritate vero ipsa rarior est versio Hispana, hoc ornata "titulo:" "Marco Polo livro de las cosas marvillosas que vido en las partes ori- "entales, conviene saber, en las Indias, Armenia, Arabia, Persia, e Tartaria, "e del poder del Gran Can, y otras reys; con otro Tradato de Micer Poggio "Florentino e trata de las mesmas tierras y islas." Sevilla 1520, fo. In Stuck's "Verzeichnis" the title of the same book is given with some variation: "Libro "del famoso (Marco) Polo Veneciano de las cosas maravillosas, &c." Not possessing any extracts or further description of the work, I have not the means of ascertaining with what earlier version it is connected; but in treating of the English editions, we shall find indirect evidence of its having the preface which belongs to the earliest Italian copies, and consequently of its being a translation from that language.—— In the "Epitome de la Bibliotheca oriental y occidental" of Piñelo, appears the following imperfect notice of what is probably intended for the same work, although the dates of publication do not exactly accord: "M. "Rodrigo de Santaella, que fue Confesor de los Reys Catolicos, Arçobispo de Za- "ragoza, tradujo de Italiano esta Historia en Castellana, impreso 1518, fo. y 1529, "fo." He also mentions: "Epitome de la historia de Marco Paulo, Veneto, M.S. "en 4to., estaba en la libraria del Conde de Villaumbrosa, segun Pardo Mal- "donado en su Catalogo; y otra con el titulo de, 'Epitome de la historia oriental,' "que parece el memo.'" P. 19. He has likewise a brief notice of a translation Spanish editions.

Spanish editions.

in the Catalan language, by N. Mercader of Barcelona. For this communication, and of many other extracts from Portuguese and Spanish writers, I am indebted to the friendly zeal of Mr. Murdoch, F. R. S.—— In the library of the convent of Nossa Senhora das Necessidades, at Lisbon, Mr. Musgrave found another Spanish edition, with the following title: "Historia de las grandezas y cosas maravillosas "de las provincias orientales, sacada de Marco Paulo, Veneto, y traduzida de "Latin en Romance, y añadida en muchas partes por D. Martin (Abarca) de "Bolea y Castro. En Çaragoça, por Angelo Tauano, año MDCI." It consists of 158 pages in 12mo. or small 8vo. It is divided into three Books, containing respectively, 66, 70, and 50 chapters, corresponding to those of the version in the Novus Orbis, with which it also agrees in the orthography of proper names; but from the title we must suppose it to be an abridgment only.

English editions.

The earliest English edition has this title: "The most noble and famous travels "of Marcus Paulus, one of the nobilitie of the state of Venice, in the East partes "of the world, as Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Tartary, with many other kingdoms "and provinces. No lesse pleasant than profitable, as appeareth by the Table "or Contents of this Booke. Most necessary for all sortes of persons, and "especially for travellers. Translated into English. At London, printed by "Ralph Newberry, anno. 1579." This is followed by a dedication, in which the English translator, John Frampton, explains his motives for the publication: then by an Introduction to Cosmographie, written by Maister Rothorigo (who was probably the Archbishop of Saragoza mentioned in the account of Spanish editions): and also by a table of contents, to 135 chapters. We have then a loose translation of the original prologue, beginning with the words: "To all princes, "lords, knightes, and all other persons that this my Booke shall see, heare, or "reade, health, prosperitie, and pleasure. In thys Booke I do minde to give "knowledge of strange and marvellous things of the world, and specially of the "partes of Armenia, &c. and of many other provinces and countreys which shall "be declared in this worke, as they were seen by me Marcus Paulus, of the "noble city of Venice: and that which I saw not, I declare by report of those "that were wise, discrete, and of good credite, &c." In this the reader will perceive a resemblance to the Venetian prologue of the *Soranzo* manuscript. It proceeds to say: "I do give you to understand, that I travelled in the foresayd

"provinces

English editions.

" provinces....the space of sixe and twentie yeares, and caused them to be written " to (by) Mayster *Ustacheo* of *Pisa*, the yeare of our Lorde God 1298; he and I " being prisoners in *Janua*."* In the same sentence, divided only by a comma, it then enters upon the subject of the travels, with the words: " raigning in Con- " stantinople the emperoure Baldouino, and in his time in the yeare of our Lord, " 1250, Nicholas my father, and Mapheo my uncle, his brother, citizens of " Venice, went to Constantinople with their merchandises." At the conclusion of what professes to be the prologue, but, in fact, in the body of the work, occur the words: " Here followeth the discourse of many notable and strange things, " that the noble and worthy M. P. of the citie of V. did see in the East partes of " the world." There is no division into Books. After chap. 135, which treats of *Rouseland*, follows the translation of another tract (from the travels of Nicolo di Conti) written by Poggio Fiorentino; which we have already noticed as forming a part of the first Spanish edition. From this circumstance, as well as from the Introduction by Rothorigo being prefixed, it may be inferred that the copy possessed by Frampton (respecting the language of which he seems to have affected silence) was no other than the Seville edition of 1520. The style of his translation is remarkably rude and the orthography of foreign names incorrect, but with regard to the matter of the text, it is by no means defective. The book is small 4to. gothic letter, and contains 167 pages; but at page 132 the travels of our author are concluded. The copies are extremely rare. That which I have used belongs to the valuable library of my friend Sir Joseph Banks, P. R. S. (which has been to me, during thirty-eight years of my life, a free and inexhaustible source of information); and there is another in that of Mr. Grenville; but it is not found in the British Museum.—— In the " Pilgrimes " of Samuel Purchas, printed in London, 1625, fo. vol. iii, p. 65, we find a second English version, (the former being, as it would seem, unknown to him), which, after an address to the reader, begins with: " The first Booke of Marcus Paulus Venetus, or of Master Marco Polo, a gentle- " man of Venice, his voyages." " In the time of Baldwin emperour of Con- " stantinople, where usually remayned a magistrate of Venice, called *Messer lo* " *Dose*,

* These twenty-six years, as observed by Purchas, must be reckoned from the commencement of his travels, in 1272, to the year in which his book was written. To the time of his return to Venice, in 1295, would be only twenty-three, or at most, twenty-four years.

English editions.

" *Dose*, in the yeare of our Lord 1250, Master Nicolo Polo, father of Master " *Marco*, and M. Maffio, his brother, noble, honourable, and wise men of Venice, " being at Constantinople with store of merchandize, kept many accounts toge- " ther." This translation, Purchas tells us, he was induced to prepare from the Italian of Ramusio, after trying and rejecting one which Hakluyt had previously made from the Latin;* but he has taken great liberties with his original, and, amongst other instances, in his division of the work, not into Books or Chapters, but into x sections, according to his own ideas of the subject. Of these, the first Book comprises four, the second four also, and the third (being much abbreviated), the remaining two. Having already (p. xxx) noticed some of the imperfections and peculiarities of this translation, it is unnecessary to say more upon the subject. The marginal notes contain some useful explanations, drawn from the writings of the ancients.—— In the " Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bib- " liotheca " or Collections of Voyages and Travels by J. Harris, ed. 2. 1715 and ed. 3. 1744, with additions by Campbell, we have: " The curious and " remarkable voyages and travels of Marco Polo, a gentleman of Venice, " who in the middle of the XIIIth century, passed through a great part of " Asia, all the dominions of the Tartars, and returned home by sea, through the " islands of the East-Indies. Taken chiefly from the accurate edition of Ramusio, " compared with an original manuscript in his Prussian Majesty's Library, and " with most of the translations hitherto published." V. i, p. 593—625. In this title more is professed than is fulfilled in the work, which is nothing more, with respect to the text, than the obsolete and quaint language of Purchas modernised; without any attempt to correct his errors or supply his defects, by reference either to Italian or

* The words which Purchas uses: " I found this " booke translated by Master Hakluyt out of the " Latin," would lead to the supposition that an English version had been published in Hakluyt's celebrated Collection, and by some bibliographers, (Lessing, for instance, p. 289), it is directly asserted. But after diligent search, by myself and some literary friends, I can take upon me to say, that such a translation has not appeared in print, either in the edition which he published in 1589, 1 vol., in that of 1598, 1599, and 1600, iii vols., or in the recent edition (1809) in v vols. The solution of this difficulty, or seeming contradiction, is found at the conclusion of the account of his Life, in the " Biographia Britannica," where it is said: " Hakluyt's remaining collections, whereof he " left at least as much as would have made another " volume to his three, fell into the hands of Mr. Pur- " chas, who has scattered them, or parts of them, " about his four volumes, after his irregular and cur- " tailed or contracted manner." Vol iv. p. 2474. The latter therefore must be understood to speak, not of a printed, but of a manuscript translation of the Travels by Hakluyt, which, upon examination, he found not to suit his purpose.

or Latin originals; but with the addition of some judicious dissertation. —— Another Collection of Voyages and Travels, on a methodised plan, published in 1747, in iv vols. 4to. by Thomas Astley, but said to have been compiled by a person of the name of Green, contains (in vol. iv. p. 580, 619) a detailed abstract of those of our author, with many short but apposite notes, that shew the writer to have been well acquainted with his subject. Upon the information furnished by the Venetian traveller, as contrasted with the relation given by Rubruquis, he bestows much general commendation, observing, that "not content with the know-"ledge of those countries he had seen, he enlarged it considerably by his enqui-"ries; and brought home informations concerning all the maritime countries of "Asia and Africa, from Japan to the Cape of Good Hope." Yet in the sequel he takes a different view of the travels; brings together every objection that had been urged to their authenticity, and concludes with saying: "It would be no difficult "matter for a person who had conversed much with travellers into those parts of "the world, to sit down and write a much better relation than Polo has done; "notwithstanding it must be confessed that he is the father of modern discoveries, "and led the way to all the rest." Less importance would have attached to these opinions, had it not happened that (together with the abstract of the travels) they were immediately transferred to the French Collection intitled, "L'Histoire "générale des Voyages," by which their circulation throughout Europe was much extended.——Within these few years two Collections of Travels, of a respectable description, have made their appearance, both of which contain those of Marco Polo, in nearly the words of Campbell's edition of Harris. One of these, in 4to. is by Pinkerton, and the other, in 8vo. by Kerr, whose notes are chiefly drawn from the History of Voyages and Discoveries in the North, by J. Rh. Forster.

English editions.

It now remains to speak of the Dutch edition of our traveller's work, which was published at Amsterdam in 1664, in 4to. gothic letter, 99 pages, besides *prefixa* and *suffixa*; with copper-plate engravings. Its title is: "Marcus Paulus Vene-"tus: Reisen en Beschryving der Oostersche Lantschappen, &c. Beneffens de "Historie der Oostersche Lantschappen, door Haithon van Armenien te zamen "gestelt." The translation was made by J. H. Glazemaker, from the Latin of Reineccius (which is itself a copy of the Basle version), with the addition of two chapters, from the German; one on the subject of the military constitution of the Tartars,

Dutch edition.

Dutch edition.

Tartars, and the other giving an account of the Grand khan's return to *Kanbalu*, after his battle with *Nayan*; both of which are found in Ramusio. The copy of this book which I have had an opportunity of examining, is in the British Museum. It may be presumed that translations of the work have also been made into the more northern languages of Europe, but they have not come to my knowledge.

Conclusion.

It will, I fear, be thought necessary that some apology should be made for the bulk of the volume now offered to the public, which has very much exceeded any calculation that could have been formed when the translation and commentary were undertaken. My wish has been to confine the latter within narrower limits; but the research that each point demanded, brought to light materials applicable to many others, and whatever tended to illustration, could not with propriety be rejected for the mere purpose of retrenchment. A separation of the work into two volumes, however convenient in some respects, was nearly impracticable, with any thing like equality in the division, from its consisting of three Books, of which the second is longer than the others. That I may not unnecessarily increase the proverbial evil, I shall only add, that in such a variety of matter as must form the subject of more than fifteen hundred Notes, where numerous opinions and conjectures are hazarded, I may have committed mistakes or failed to impress on my reader that conviction which I myself have felt; and in either case, I must solicit his candid indulgence.

THE

TRAVELS

OF

MARCO POLO.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.

It should be known to the reader that, at the time when BALDWIN II. was Emperor of Constantinople,[1] where a magistrate representing the Doge of Venice then resided,[2] and in the year of our Lord 1250,[3] NICOLO POLO, the father of MARCO,[4] and MAFFIO (or MATTEO), the brother of NICOLO, Venetians of a noble family,[5] respectable and well-informed men, arrived at that city, with a rich cargo of merchandise. After mature deliberation on the subject of their proceedings, it was determined, as the measure most likely to improve their trading capital, that they should prosecute their voyage into the Euxine or Black sea.[6] With this view, they made purchases of many fine and costly jewels, and taking their departure from Constantinople, navigated that sea to a port named *Soldadia*,[7] from whence they travelled by land until they reached the court of a powerful chief of the Western Tartars, named *Barka*,[8] who dwelt in the cities of *Bolgar* and *Assara*,[9] and had the reputation of being one of the most liberal and civilised princes hitherto known amongst the tribes of Tartary.[10] He expressed much satisfaction at the arrival of these travellers, and received them with marks of

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distinction. When they had laid before him the jewels they brought with them, and perceived that their beauty pleased him, they courteously presented them for his acceptance. The liberality of this conduct on the part of the two brothers, struck him with admiration; and being unwilling that they should surpass him in generosity, he not only directed double the value of the jewels to be paid to them, but made them in addition several rich presents.

Having resided a year in the dominions of this prince, they became desirous of revisiting their native country, but were impeded by the sudden breaking out of a war between him and another chief, named *Alaù*, who ruled over the Eastern Tartars.[11] In a battle that ensued between their respective armies, the latter was victorious, and the forces of *Barka* experienced a signal defeat. The roads, in consequence of this event, being rendered unsafe for travellers, our Venetians could not attempt to return by the way they came; and it was recommended to them, as the only practicable mode of reaching Constantinople, to proceed in an easterly direction, by an unfrequented route, so as to skirt the limits of *Barka's* territories. Accordingly they made their way to a town named *Oukaka*,[12] situated on the confines of the kingdom of the Western Tartars. Leaving that place, and advancing still further, they crossed the Tigris,[13] one of the four rivers of Paradise, and came to a desert, the extent of which was seventeen days' journey, wherein they found neither town, castle, nor any substantial building, but only Tartars with their herds, dwelling in tents on the plain.[14] Having passed this tract, they arrived at length at a well-built city called *Bokhara*,[15] in a province of that name, belonging to the dominions of Persia, but governed by a prince whose name was *Barak*.[16]

It happened that at this time a person of consequence and gifted with eminent talents, made his appearance at *Bokhara*. He was proceeding as ambassador from *Alaù* before mentioned, to the Grand *Khan*, supreme chief of all the Tartars, named KUBLAÏ KAAN,[17] whose residence was at the extremity of the continent, in a direction between north-east and east.[18] Not having ever before had an opportunity, although

although he wished it, of seeing any natives of Italy,[19] he was gratified in a high degree at meeting and conversing with our travellers, who had now become proficients in the Tartar language; and after associating with them for several days, and finding their manners agreeable to him, he proposed to them that they should accompany him to the presence of that great monarch, who would be pleased by their appearance at his court, which had not hitherto been visited by any person from their country; adding assurances that they would be honourably received, and recompensed with many gifts. Convinced as they were that their endeavours to return homeward would expose them to the most imminent risks, they consented to the offer, and recommending themselves to the protection of the Almighty, they set out on their journey in the suite of the ambassador, attended by several Christian servants whom they had brought with them from Venice. The course they took at first was between the north-east and north, and an entire year was consumed before they were enabled to reach the imperial residence, in consequence of the extraordinary delays occasioned by the snows and the swelling of the rivers, which obliged them to halt until the former had melted and the floods had subsided. Many things worthy of admiration were observed by them in the progress of their journey, but which are here omitted, as they will be described in (*geographical*) order, by MARCO POLO, in the sequel of the book.[20]

NOTES.

1. Baldwin II, Count of Flanders and cousin of Louis IX, King of France, was the last of the Latin emperors of Constantinople. His reign began in the year 1237, and he was driven from the throne by the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, in 1261.

2. The passage which in Ramusio's text is, "*dove all'hora soleva stare un Po-*" *destà di Venetia, per nome di Messer lo Dose,*" and upon which he has written a particular dissertation, has nothing corresponding to it in the Latin versions; being deemed superfluous, as it may be supposed, by the translators, who in many other instances will be found to have curtailed the original work. When, however, the nature of the office of this high magistrate or substitute for the

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Doge of Venice, is properly understood, the words will be thought to bear more meaning than at first they seem to import.

The city of Constantinople and the Greek provinces had been conquered, in 1204, by the joint arms of the French and the Venetians, the latter of whom were commanded by their Doge, the illustrious Henry Dandolo, in person. Upon the division of the territory and the immense spoil that fell into their possession, a larger share (including the celebrated bronze horses of Lysippus) was assigned to the Republic than to the Emperor elected on the occasion, and the aged Doge, who had himself declined the imperial title, but accepted that of Prince of Romania, maintained an independent jurisdiction over three parts out of eight, of the city, with a separate tribunal of justice, and ended his days at the head of an army that besieged Adrianople. It is doubtful whether any of his successors in the high office of chief of the Republic, made the imperial city their place of residence. "The doge, a slave of state," says Gibbon, "was *seldom* permitted to depart from the helm of the Republic: but his place "was supplied by the *Bail* or regent, who exercised a supreme jurisdiction "over the colony of Venetians." Vol. vi. p. 178. Such was the *Podestà*, sometimes termed *Bailo*, and sometimes *Despoto*, whose cotemporary government is here spoken of, and whose political importance, in the then degraded state of the empire, was little inferior to that of Baldwin; whilst in the eyes of the Polo family, as Venetian citizens, it was probably much greater. The name of the person who exercised the functions at the time of their arrival, is said, in the *Sorenzo* manuscript, to have been Misier Ponte de Veniexia, and, in 1261, when the empire, or rather, the city, was reconquered from the Latins, the *Podestà* was Marco Gradenigo. Subsequently to that period the Genoese, who had always espoused the Greek, now the triumphant cause, were established in Pera or Galata, and had also their *Podestà*, but not upon the independent footing of their rivals during the former government; for although indulged in the use of their own laws and magistrates, they held that suburb only as a fief, and their chief, before he entered on his office, was obliged to take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity.

3. There are strong grounds for believing that this date of 1250 is incorrect, and that in copying the Roman numerals, the units may have been inadvertently omitted. In the manuscript of which there are copies in the British Museum and Berlin libraries, the commencement of the voyage is placed in 1252, and some of the events related in the sequel render it evident that the departure, at least, of our travellers from Constantinople, must have been some years later than the middle of the century, and probably not sooner than 1255. How long they were detained in that city is not stated; but upon any calculation of the period of their arrival or departure, it is surprising that Grynæus, the editor of the Basle and Paris edition of 1532, and after him the learned

learned Müller and Bergeron, should, notwithstanding the anachronism, introduce into their texts the date of 1269, which was eight years after the expulsion of the Emperor Baldwin, and was, in fact, the year in which they returned to Syria from their first Tartarian journey.

4. MARCO POLO, the author of the present work, was not yet born when this previous journey was undertaken, (as will hereafter appear,) and he could have learned the circumstances only from the mouths of his father and uncle. In the second journey he accompanied them, and his celebrity, it may be observed, has left that of his fellow travellers in the back ground; for the merit of originality will ever attach, not to the mere spectator of new countries, or the contemplator of scientific improvements, but to the man who first makes known to the world his discoveries or his inventions.

5. The prosperity, riches, and political importance of the state of Venice, having arisen entirely from its commerce, the profession of a merchant was there held in the highest degree of estimation, and its nobles were amongst the most enterprising of its adventurers in foreign trade. To this illustrious state might have been applied the proud character drawn by Isaiah of the ancient Tyre, which he describes as "the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers "are the honourable of the earth."

6. It may seem inconsistent that the Euxine or Black Sea, so greatly inferior in size to the Mediterranean, should here be termed *Mar Maggiore*, or *Mar Mazor*, as we find it in ancient Italian maps; but the appellation is obviously derived from a comparison with the smaller sea of Marmora or Propontis, in its immediate vicinity. Constantinople being situated between these two, the navigators who frequented that city might properly term them the Greater and Lesser seas, without reference to the Mediterranean, from the body of which they are separated by the Ionian Archipelago. "We entered the sea of Pontus," says William de Rubruquis, "which the Bulgarians term the Great Sea." Purchas, Vol. iii. p. 1. On the other hand, the Mediterranean was called by the Jews the Great Sea, to distinguish it from the lake of Jericho or Dead Sea.

7. *Soldaia*, (of which, *Soldadaia*, in Ramusio's text and that of the Basle edition, and *Saldada* of the earlier Latin, are corruptions) was the name given in the middle ages to the place (the Tauro-Scythian port of the ancients) now called *Sudak*, situated near the southern extremity of the Crimea or Tauric Chersonesus. The name of *Soldaia* appears in the maps annexed to an edition of Ptolemy published at Venice in 1652; and at the commencement of the travels of William de Rubruquis, its position with respect to Sinope, on the southern and opposite coast of

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of the Euxine, is described in these words: "About the midst of the said province "towards the south, as it were upon a sharp angle or point, standeth a city called "*Soldaia*, directly against Synopolis. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, "which traffique into the north countries, in their journey outward, arrive, and "as they return homeward also from Russia and the said northern regions, into "Turkie." Purchas, Vol. iii. p. 2. It should be observed that by Turkie is here meant Asia Minor, then chiefly possessed by the Seljuks or Turkoman Tartars; as will hereafter be more particularly shewn. In modern geography the name of *Soldaia* has disappeared, but Ellis, in the Memoir to his valuable map of the countries between the Euxine and the Caspian, speaks of it as the modern *Sudak*, and Büsching also mentions, that in the eleventh century the town of *Sugdaia* or *Soldaia*, now *Sudak*, became of so much commercial importance, that the possessions of the Greek empire in the Crimea thence acquired the appellation of *Sugdia*, *Sugdania*, and *Soldania*. It has been judged the more necessary to establish this identity upon certain grounds, because in the Latin versions of our author *Soldadia* is termed a city of *Armenia*; a mistake that must have tended considerably to embarrass the relation.

8. This Tartar prince is usually named *Bereké*, the successor, and said to be the brother of *Batu*, the son of *Tushi*, eldest son of *Jengiz-khan*; who inherited, as his portion of the dominions of his grandfather (although not in full sovereignty), the western countries of *Kapchak* or *Kipchak*, *Allân*, *Russ*, and *Bulgar*, and died in 1256. "Après la mort de *Batou-can*," says Petis de la Croix, "*Bereké-* "*can*, son frère, lui succéda, et se fit Mahometan. Il eut une sanglante guerre "contre *Hulacou*, fils de Tuli.....Enfin après dix années de règne, il mourut "en 1266." Hist. du grand Gengizcan, p. 498. See also Hist. Génér. des Huns, Livre xviii. p. 341. By Abulfeda, however, he is named *Barkah* برکه, and called the grandson of *Tushi* (or *Dushi* دوشي, as he writes it); implying that he was the son, not the brother of *Batu*. His death is placed in 1266. If his reign commenced in 1256, it proves that the brothers of the Polo family could not have taken their departure from Constantinople earlier than 1255; unless upon the supposition, not in itself improbable, that he was a powerful prince, at the head of a distinct *ordu*, camp, or horde, previously to *Batu's* death.

9. The *Bolgar*, *Bulgar*, or *Bulghar*, here spoken of, is not to be confounded with the province of Bulgaria on the south side of the Danube. The former is the name of a town and an extensive district in Tartary, lying to the eastward of the Wolga, and now inhabited by the Bashkirs. It is sometimes distinguished from the latter, by the appellation of the Greater Bulgaria. "Bolar," says Abulfeda, "Arabibus Bolgar dicta, urbs in extrema habitabili septentrionali, haud procul "a ripa 'l Atoli (Wolgæ), in continente septentrionali orientali et eadem cum "Sarai,

"Sarai, a qua distat plus viginti diætis." Geographia (Büsching) p. 265. *Assara* is the city of *Sarai*, with the definitive article prefixed. "Sarai," says the same geographer, "urbs magna, sedes regia Tartarorum.....Apud eam fluit "fluvius ol Atol.....Ad ejus ripam septentrionalem orientalem est illa urbs "Sarai, et est emporium magnum pro mercatoribus et mancipiis Turcicis." Ib. "*Sara*," says J. Rh. Forster, "is undoubtedly the town of *Sarày*, situated on "the eastern arm of the Wolga, or *Achtuba*. The *Astrachan* mentioned by "Balducci Pegoletti, was not on the same spot where that town stands now, but "the ancient Astrachan was demolished together with *Saray* by the emperor "*Timur*, in the winter of 1395. The old town of *Saray* was pretty near the "ancient Astrachan." Voy. and Disc. in the North, p. 151.

10. De Guignes, speaking of *Berekè* or *Barkah*, says, "Son nom devint si "célèbre dans ces pays, qu'on les a appellés depuis *Descht-Bereké*, c'est à dire, "les plaines de *Berekè*. Il avoit fait construire *Serai* sur un des bras du fleuve "Etel ou Volga; et cette ville étoit devenue très-grande et très-peuplée; les "savans les plus célèbres qui s'y rendoient de toutes parts pour contribuer à po- "licer ces peuples grossiers et barbares, y recevoient de grands récompenses de la "part du Khan." Liv. xviii. p. 343. These encomiums justify the advantageous idea formed of his character by the two Venetians.

11. These Eastern Tartars, as they are relatively termed, but whose country extended no further to the east than the provinces of Persia and Khorasan, were so named to distinguish them from the Western (or more properly, North-Western) Tartars mentioned in the preceding note, who occupied the countries in the neighbourhood of the Wolga, and from thence to the confines, or beyond the confines of Europe. Their chief, here named *Ala-ù* or *Hala-ù*, is the celebrated *Hulagu*, the son of *Tuli* or *Tulwi*, and equally with *Batu*, *Mangu*, and *Kublaï* (the latter of whom were his brothers), the grandson of Jengiz-khan. By Haiton the Armenian, and after him by the compiler of the "Gesta Dei per Francos," his name is written *Haoloon*, and by P. Gaubil, *Holayu*. The Arabians, who have not in their alphabet a character for the hard *g*, write the name *Huláku* هولاكو which some of the Persian historians have followed, but the orthography of *Hulágu* هولاگو seems to have more generally prevailed. Malcolm, however, in his History of Persia, has adopted the former, and upon coins in my possession, bearing the date of 658 (1260), he is styled *Kaan Huláku il-khan*.

Being appointed by his elder brother *Mangu*, to command in the southern provinces of the empire, he left *Kara-korum*, a short time before the visit of Rubruquis to that Tartar capital, and in the year 1255 crossed the *Jihun* or Oxus, with a large army. In the following year he destroyed the race or sect of the Ismaelians, called also *Malahidet*, of whom a particular account will be given hereafter,

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hereafter, and then turned his arms against the city of *Baghdâd*, which he sacked in 1258; putting to death *Mostasem Billah*, the last of the Abbassite khalifs. Upon the death of *Mangu*, in 1259, *Hulagu* became effectively the sovereign of Persian and Babylonian Irak, together with Khorasan; yet still continued to profess a nominal and respectful allegiance to his brother *Kublaï*, who was acknowledged as the head of the Moghul family, and reigned in China. His death took place in 1265, at Tauris or *Tabriz*, his capital.

12. An example of the corrupted orthography of proper names, in different versions of the work, presents itself in the name of this place, which in Ramusio's text is *Ouchacha* or *Oukaka*, in the Basle edition *Guthaca*, in the earlier Latin *Onchata*, and in the old English, *Buccata*. There can be little doubt of its being intended for the *Okak* of Abulfeda, which he terms "urbicula in latere "l' Atoli occidentali, inter Sarai et Bolar, media propemodum via..... Usque ad "*al Okak* pertingit imperium regis Tartarorum *Borkah*, neque ultra." Geographia, p. 365. This is perfectly consistent with the narrative; and from hence the route of our travellers may be presumed to have lain towards the town of *Jaik*, on the river of that name, and afterwards, in a south-easterly direction, to the *Sihun*.

13. The great river crossed by our travellers, and which from its magnitude they might think entitled to rank as one of the rivers of Paradise, was evidently the *Sihun*, otherwise named the *Sirr*. The error of applying to it the name of *Tigris* (not greater, however, than that of Alexander, who mistook the same river for the Don or Tanais) must have proceeded from some confusion of ideas respecting the *Jihun* or Oxus, to which, according to Bochart, that honour is acknowledged to belong; and may have been introduced into the text by one of the early transcribers, who did not attend to geographical consistency.

14. The desert here mentioned is that of *Karak*, in the vicinity of the *Sihun* or *Sirr*, which travellers from the North must unavoidably pass, in order to arrive at *Bokhâra*.

15. This celebrated city, the name of which could not be easily mistaken, and has not been disguised by the transcribers, serves materially to establish the general direction of their course; for having proceeded northwards from the Crimea, they could not have reached *Bokhâra* otherwise than by crossing the several rivers which discharge themselves into the upper or northern part of the Caspian.

16. This appears to be the prince whom Pétis de la Croix names *Berrac Can*, and D'Herbelot *Barak khan*, great grandson of *Jagataï*, the second son of *Jengiz-khan*,

khan, who inherited Transoxiana or the region now possessed by the Usbek Tartars. *Barak* is said, by the latter, to have attempted to wrest the kingdom of *Khorasan* from the dominion of *Abaka* the son of *Hulagu*; but this must be a mistake, as the death of *Barak* is placed by the generality of historians in 1260 (by D'Herbelot, unaccountably, in 1240), and that of *Hulagu* in 1265. Discordances of this nature amongst our historians, who have had the advantage of consulting and comparing the works of oriental writers, should teach us to shew indulgence to errors that either from the inattention of our author or his transcribers, have found their way into his relation. It is not, however, in dates alone that these contradictions appear, for De Guignes, who seems to have confounded this prince with the *Bereké* or *Barkah* before mentioned, says: "D'Her- "belot se trompe en le faisant descendant de *Zagatai*. Il descendoit de *Touli*." Liv. xviii. p. 259. But from the genealogies of all the sons of *Jengiz-khan*, given in the works of Pétis de la Croix and others, it is evident that neither of these two, nor any other resembling them in name, was in the line of descent from *Tuli*, the father of *Mangu*, *Kublai* and *Hulagu*.

17. *Kublaï-kaan* قاان قبلاي (or قوبلاي, according to *Abu l'faraj*), emperor of Tartary and of China, was the son of *Tuli*, fourth son of *Jengiz-khan*, and succeeded his elder brother *Mangu-kaan* in 1260. He is considered as the fifth emperor of this race of *Moghul* or *Mungal* Tartars; and as the succession was irregular, it may be satisfactory to the reader to be acquainted with the course it took amongst the descendants of the great, though barbarous founder. *Jengiz-khan*, who had previously borne the name of *Temujin*, was raised to the sovereign throne in 1202, according to Pétis de la Croix, or in 1206, according to De Guignes; and after conquering or overrunning all that portion of Asia which extends from the southern provinces of Persia, to the northern of China, died on the borders of the latter country, in the year 1226 or 1227. Of four sons who distinguished themselves during his life time, only three survived him. The eldest, whose name is variously written by the oriental historians, *Tushi*, *Dushi*, and *Juji*, died a short time before his father, leaving a son named *Batu*, who ruled over Western Tartary, but did not become emperor, and died in 1256. The second, named *Jagataï* or *Zagataï*, had for his portion (in feudal dependence) the countries of Transoxiana and Turkistan. He did not succeed to the empire. The third, named *Oktaï*, was declared by *Jengiz-khan* his successor in the imperial dignity, with the title of *Kaan* قاان, which is said to be equivalent to Grand *khan* خان, or *Khan* of *khans*. To him, his elder brother *Jagataï*, conscious of his superior talents for command, paid voluntary allegiance. Being employed in the conquest of the provinces of *Honan* and *Shensi*, his younger brother, *Tuli*, was appointed regent until his return to *Kara-korum*, the principal seat of the *Moghul* Tartars; which took place in 1229. In 1234 he appears to have nearly com-

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pleted the reduction of the northern provinces of China, and to have added to his dominion some of the southern. In 1235, *Bâtu*, his nephew and lieutenant, invaded Russia, took Moskow, ravaged Poland and Hungary, and spread alarm throughout all Europe. Its princes sent ambassadors to his court. Those from the Pope and the King of France were mendicant friars, who, in consequence of his protecting Nestorian Christians, it was hoped might succeed, if not in his conversion, at least in impressing him with respect for the Catholic church. Mesopotamia, Syria, and the *Seljuk* kingdom of Asia minor, were equally exposed to the incursions of the destructive armies of *Oktaï*; when, by the event of his death in 1241, after a reign of thirteen years, their further operations were arrested, and they found it necessary to return towards the heart of the empire. The government was seized by one of his wives, named *Turakina-khatun*, who held it during four years, and then placed on the throne her son *Gaïuk*, who reigned only three years, and died in 1248. Another interregnum and female regency took place until the elevation of *Mangu*, the son of *Tuli*, fourth son of *Jengiz-khan*. The countries of Persia and Khorasan were the portion of the empire assigned to *Tuli*, who died in 1232 (according to P. Gaubil), whilst acting under the orders of his brother *Oktaï*, on the western frontier of China, leaving four sons who became eminently distinguished. These were *Mangu*, *Kublaï*, *Hulagu*, and *Artigbuga*. The representative right of succession was in *Batu*, the son of *Tushi*, eldest son of *Jengiz*, but he waved it in favour of *Mangu*, his cousin, and took an active part in determining the choice of the great chiefs, who accordingly placed the latter on the throne in 1251. *Mangu* appointed *Kublaï* his viceroy in China, and gave to *Hulagu* the government of such of the southern provinces of Asia as he could reduce to obedience. Returning himself to China in 1258, he was killed at the siege of *Ho-cheu* in the province of *Se-chuen* (or died of sickness there, according to other accounts) in the following year. *Kublaï* was at this time in the province of *Hu-kuang*, and persevered in his efforts to render himself master of *Vu-chang-fu*, its capital, until he was called away to suppress a revolt excited by his younger brother *Artigbuga*, whom *Mangu* had left as his lieutenant at *Kara-korum*. Contenting himself with exacting from the emperor of the *Song*, who ruled over *Manji*, or southern China, the payment of an annual tribute, he retreated to the northward, and in 1260 was proclaimed Grand *khan*, at *Shang-tu*, which from that time became his summer residence. We are told, however, that he had hesitated for some time to assume the title, and did not declare his acquiescence until the arrival of an envoy sent by his brother *Hulagu* (by some supposed to have been the elder) who urged him to accept the empire. This envoy we may reasonably presume to have been the person who arrived at *Bokhâra*, in his way from Persia to *Khataï*, during the time that *Nicolo* and *Maffeo Polo* were detained in that city; and the period is thereby ascertained to have been about the year 1258.

18. This vague designation of the place of residence of the Grand *khan*, must be understood as applying to *Khatai* or northern China, from which, or the adjoining district of *Karchin*, where *Shang-tu* was situated, he was rarely absent. The bearings mentioned throughout the travels must not be considered too strictly, as there is no reason to believe that the polarity of the needle, although said to be then known in Europe, was generally applied to use.

19. The term in Ramusio's text is "*Latini*," for which neither that of "Europeans" nor of "Italians" is an equivalent; the former being too general, because it is unquestionable that Russians, Poles, Wallachians, and other eastern Europeans, had frequently been seen, as prisoners, in the Tartar camps; and the latter term too limited, because the appellation of "Latins" was given to all members of the Latin church, (whether natives of Italy or others) as distinguished from those of the Greek; and Baldwin, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, was himself a Frenchman. It is remarkable that our author never employs the term of "Frank" (so common in the histories of the crusades), nor adverts to the geographical distinctions of "Europe," "Asia," or "Africa."

20. The plan of the work, as it appears, was to give, in the first place, a brief narrative of the two journies, and then to describe more or less circumstantially, in a sort of geographical order, the several countries and towns through which their travels lay, or of which our author, either personally or otherwise, had acquired information.

SECTION II.

Sect. II.

BEING introduced to the presence of the Grand *khan* the travellers were received by him with the condescension and affability that belonged to his character, and as they were the first Italians who had made their appearance in that country, they were entertained with feasts and honoured with other marks of distinction. Entering graciously into conversation with them, he made inquiries on the subject of the western parts of the world, of the emperor of the Romans,[21] and of other Christian kings and princes. He wished to be informed of their relative consequence, the extent of their possessions, the manner in which justice was administered in their several kingdoms and principalities, how they conducted themselves in warfare, and above all he questioned them particularly respecting the Pope, the affairs of the Church, and

the religious worship and doctrine of the Christians.[22] Being well instructed and discreet men, they gave appropriate answers upon all these points, and as they were perfectly acquainted with the Tartar (Moghul) language, they expressed themselves always in becoming terms; insomuch that the Grand *Khan*, holding them in high estimation, frequently commanded their attendance.

When he had obtained all the information that the two brothers communicated with so much good sense, he expressed himself well satisfied, and having formed in his mind the design of employing them as his ambassadors to the Pope, after consulting with his ministers on the subject, he proposed to them, with many kind entreaties, that they should accompany one of his officers, named *Khogatal*, on a mission to the See of Rome. His object, he told them, was to make a request to his Holiness that he would send to him an hundred men of learning, thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion, as well as with the seven sciences, and qualified to prove to the learned of his dominions, by just and fair argument, that the Faith professed by Christians is superior to, and founded upon more evident truth than any other; that the gods of the Tartars and the idols worshipped in their houses were no better than evil spirits, and that they and the people of the East in general were under an error in reverencing them as divinities. He moreover signified his pleasure that upon their return they should bring with them, from Jerusalem, some of the holy oil from the lamp which is kept burning over the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he professed to hold in veneration and to consider as the true God.[23] Having heard these commands addressed to them by the Grand *Khan*, they humbly prostrated themselves before him, declaring their willingness and instant readiness to perform, to the utmost of their ability, whatever might be the royal will. Upon which he caused letters, in the Tartarian language,[24] to be written in his name to the Pope of Rome, and these he delivered into their hands. He likewise gave orders that they should be furnished with a golden tablet displaying the imperial cipher,[25] according to the usage established by his majesty; in virtue of which the person bearing it, together with his whole suite, are safely conveyed and escorted from station to station by the

the governors of all places within the imperial dominions, and are entitled, during the time of their residing in any city, castle, town, or village, to a supply of provisions and every thing necessary for their accommodation.

Being thus honourably commissioned they took their leave of the Grand *Khan*, and set out on their journey, but had not proceeded more than twenty days when the officer, their companion, fell dangerously ill. In this dilemma it was determined, upon consulting all who were present, and with the approbation of the man himself, that they should leave him behind. In the prosecution of their journey they derived essential benefit from being provided with the royal tablet, which procured them attention in every place through which they passed. Their expences were defrayed, and escorts were furnished. But notwithstanding these advantages, so great were the natural difficulties they had to encounter, from the extreme cold, the snow, the ice, and the flooding of the rivers, that their progress was unavoidably tedious, and three years elapsed before they were enabled to reach a sea-port town in the lesser Armenia, named *Giazza*.[26] Departing from thence by sea, they arrived at *Acre*[27] in the month of April 1269, and there learned, with extreme concern, that Pope CLEMENT the Fourth was recently dead.[28] A Legate whom he had appointed, named M. Tebaldo de' Vesconti di Piacenza, was at this time resident in Acre,[29] and to him they gave an account of what they had in command from the Grand *Khan* of Tartary. He advised them by all means to wait the election of another Pope, and when that should take place, to proceed with the objects of their embassy. Approving of this counsel they determined upon employing the interval in a visit to their family. They accordingly embarked at Acre in a ship bound to Negropont,[30] and from thence went on to Venice, where NICOLO POLO found that his wife, whom he had left with child at his departure, was dead; after having been delivered of a son, who received the name of MARCO, and was now of the age of nineteen years.[31] This is the MARCO by whom the present work is composed, and who will give therein a relation of all those matters of which he has been an eye-witness.

NOTES.

NOTES.

21. By the emperor of the Romans is meant the emperor, whether Greek or Roman, who reigned at Constantinople. Those countries which now form the dominion of the Turks in Europe and Asia minor, are vaguely designated, amongst the more Eastern people, by the name of *Rúm*, and their inhabitants by that of *Rúmi*. More strictly, the term is applied to that tract which lies between Natolia proper and Armenia, comprehending generally the ancient Cappadocia, with some of the adjoining provinces, or the kingdom of the *Seljuks* of *Rúm* (so well known to our crusaders), whose capital cities were *Kuniyah* (Iconium), and *Siwas*, or *Sivas*, (Sebaste). Abulfeda's definition of *Rúm* makes it commensurate with Asia minor, bounded on three sides by the sea, and on the land side, by Syria, Armenia, and Georgia.

22. Independently of the interest that might be supposed to be felt by one whose faith was unsettled, respecting a religion that made extensive progress in the countries around him, it is not at all surprising that the Pope, who was generally the moving principle of the crusades, by which so great a portion of Asia was convulsed for nearly two centuries, (from 1096 to the death of Louis IX. before Tunis, in 1270) should be a subject of curiosity to a prince, the different branches of whose family were sometimes the opponents, and often the allies of the Christian powers.

23. We may reasonably suspect (without entertaining any doubt of the embassy itself) that the expressions here put into the mouth of the emperor, both as they regard the worship of the Tartars and the divinity of Christ, have been heightened by the zeal of Christian transcribers. The circumstance of *Kublaï*, who is known to have been of an active and inquisitive mind, requesting to be furnished with a number of missionaries from Europe, to instruct his ignorant Tartar subjects in religion, and more especially in the practice of useful arts, is no more than what has been frequently done since, by the princes of half-barbarous nations, amongst whom the doctrine of the *koran* had not already taken root. It does not appear that the immediate descendants of *Jengiz-khan* professed any other religion than that of their forefathers; a mixture of idolatry and sorcery administered by the *Shaman* priests; and even in the next generation the Mahometan seems to have gained but little ground. Upon the coins of *Hulagu* indeed we find the common symbol of that faith; but in the division of the empire, it was the kingdom of Persia, which had for centuries been a province under the rule of the *khalifs*, that fell to his lot, and it became necessary that the currency should be adapted to the habits of the people. That he was not himself a Mahometan is sufficiently evinced by his actions, of which the most memorable

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was the destruction of the *khalifat*; and all the eastern writers concur in the assertion that his favourite wife, named *Doghuz Khatun*, who possessed considerable influence over him, was a Christian. Of one of his grandsons named *Nikodar*, but afterwards called *Ahmed khan*, it is stated that he embraced the Mussulman faith, which implies that his ancestors had not so done: and of *Bereké* or *Barkah khan*, the brother of *Batu*, and grandson of *Jengiz*, we are told by *Abu'lghazi*, that he was converted by certain merchants from Bokharia, whom he met on a journey he made to visit (and do homage to) his cousin *Kublaï kaan*, and that upon his return he published a decree enjoining all his subjects to follow his example; "but he died," says the mussulman author, "before he could perfect "this salutary work." In such a fluctuation of men's opinions we are not, therefore, to regard it as an improbable fact, that *Mangu-kaan*, the predecessor of *Kublaï*, should have consented to be baptised, as we are assured he was, by William de Rubruquis, and also by Haiton the Armenian, who speaks of the ceremony in the following words (from the Nov. Orb. p. 387): "Unde bap- "tisatus fuit per manus cujusdam episcopi, qui erat cancellarius regni Armeniæ, "et omnes illi de domo sua fuerunt etiam baptisati, et multi alii utriusque sexûs "nobiles et magnates; et ordinavit de illis qui sequi debebant Haolonum (*Hula-* "*gu*) fratrem suum, pro subsidio terra sanctæ:"—much less ought we to think it strange that *Kublaï* should wish to cultivate an intercourse with the head of the Christian church, or, however little impressed as we may suppose him to have been, with the divine truths of our religion, that he should conceive a veneration for reliques said to surpass in efficacy the most potent charms employed by the priests or physicians of the country. Had he continued to be only a Tartar chief, the invader, like his predecessors, of some provinces of China, he might probably have become a real convert; but established as he found himself, at length, upon the throne of that great empire, his ideas took another direction, and his paramount object then was, to conciliate the affections of his new subjects, whose customs he adopted, and whose prejudices he thought it wise to respect.

With regard to the holy oil, we find its importance thus stated by Chardin: "Ce qu'il (le clergé Arménien) vend le plus cher, ce sont les saintes huiles, que "les Grecs appellent *myrone*. La plûpart des chrétiens orientaux s'imaginent "que c'est un baume physiquement salutaire contre toutes les maladies de l'ame. "Le Patriarche a seul le droit de la consacrer. Il la vend aux évêques et aux "prêtres. Il y a quelques douze ans que celui de Perse se mit en tête d'empêcher "les ecclésiastiques Arméniens de toute l'orient, de se pourvoir des saintes huiles "ailleurs que chez lui. Ceux de Turquie s'en fournissent depuis long-tems à "*Jerusalem*, auprès du Patriarche Arménien qui y réside, et qui est le chef de "tous les Chrétiens Arméniens de l'empire Ottoman." Voy. en Perse, T. i. p. 170, 4to.

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24. These letters were probably written in the Moghul language and the Ighûr character, which appears to have had the Syriac for its prototype. The *Ighûrs* or *Eighûrs* (for the orthography is varied by almost every writer) الايغور were, comparatively with the other inhabitants of Tartary, a learned people, and were always employed as scribes and accomptants by their masters, the Moghuls, to the sounds of whose language they adapted their alphabet by certain modifications. "La lettre" says Pétis de la Croix "que *Mangoucaan* fils de "Genghizcan, empereur des Mogols, écrivit à S. Louis, roy de France en 1254, "étoit en langue Mogole, mais en caractères Yuguriens, de haut en bas. On "la lisoit aussi de haut en bas, et les lignes étoient multipliées de la gauche à "la droite." Hist. de Genghizcan, p. 121. M. Klaproth published at Berlin, in 1812, a treatise entitled "Recherches sur la langue et l'écriture des *Ouïgours*," which throws much light upon the subject of this interesting people. See also in la Biblioth.Orient., the article *Igur* et *Aigur*.

25. Frequent mention is made in the Chinese writings of the *tchi-kouei* or tablet of honour, delivered to great officers on their appointment; upon which their titles are set forth in gold letters, and which entitles them to considerable privileges in travelling. That which is here spoken of may be supposed of nearly the same kind. In the vulgar European dialect of Canton, it is termed the emperor's Grand *chop*, a word used to express "seal, mark, warrant, license, or "passport."

26. The place here called *Giazza*, (in the Basle edition, *Galza* and *Glacia*; in the earlier Latin, *Glaza*; in the Brescia epitome of 1500, *Glacia*; and in the Venice edition of that epitome, without date, *Giaza*) is a port on the northern side of the gulph of Scandaroon or Issus, which in our modern maps and books of geography, has the various appellations of *Lajazzo*, *Aiazzo*, *Aiasso*, *L'Aïas*, and *Layassa*. "Eorum portus" says Golius, speaking of the people of Lesser Armenia "erat *Ayâs* ante dictus, unde in Cyprum et alias Christianorum regi-"ones navigari solebat. A nomine *Ayâs* est Marci Poli, et aliorum, qui circa "belli sacri tempora scripserunt, *Giazza*, quo modo Itali efferre solent, uti et "Gioanni pro Ioanni; quidam Layace scribunt, quasi articulum præfigentes." Notæ in Alfergan. p. 272. The two Armenias, as distinguished from each other, are the subject of Chapters II. and IV. of this Book.

27. Acre, properly *Akkâ* عكا, the ancient Ptolemaïs, a maritime city of Palestine, was of considerable importance in the days of the Crusaders, by whom, under the command of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, it was taken from the Saracens, in the year 1110. In 1187 it fell into the hands of *Saladin* or *Salah-eddin*, and in 1191, after one of the most memorable sieges recorded in history,

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it was at length wrested from him by the Christian forces, under Philip Augustus King of France, and Richard Plantagenet, Cœur de Lion, King of England. In 1265, and again in 1269 (about the period at which our travellers arrived there) it was unsuccessfully attacked by *Bibars*, sultan of Egypt; and in 1291 it was finally conquered from the Christians, and in great part demolished, by *Khalil*, another Egyptian sultan, of the dynasty of Mameluk Baharites. In our own days it suddenly arose from the obscurity in which it had lain for five centuries, and once more became celebrated for the determined and triumphant resistance there made, in 1798 and 1799, by *Jezzar Pasha*, assisted by a small British squadron and the gallantry of its distinguished commander, against the furious and sanguinary efforts of the invader of Egypt.

Instead of *Acre*, as the place where the two brothers landed, from *Lajazzo*, the Latin version of the *Novus Orbis*, copied by Müller, reads *Ancona*; but this is quite inconsistent with the whole tenour of the narrative, as will appear in the sequel, and seems to have no other foundation than the mistake of some transcriber, who was misled by finding the name of the former city written *Accon* in all the Latin histories of the Crusades. In the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts it is *Acon*, and in the printed edition of the same old version, *Acchon*; but in the early Italian epitomes the word is corrupted to *Atri*. The French have named this place *St. Jean d'Acre*.

28. According to the "Tabulæ Chronologicæ" of Musantius, printed at Rome in 1750, and the more precise authority of "L'Art de vérifier les Dates," Pope Clement IV. died on the 29th November of the year 1268. The event was consequently a recent one, when our travellers arrived at Acre in April 1269.

29. That Acre was the residence of a Legate from the Papal See about this period, is evinced by the following passages: "Confirmataque est pax generalis "(anno sc. 618—1221) cum Papæ Legato et rege Accæ (d'Acre), Francorumque "regibus, et Templariorum, Hospitaliorumque præfectibus." Abul Pharagii Hist. Dynast. p. 294:—"The city (of Acre, about 1280) had many sovereigns "and no government. The Kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, of the house of "Lusignan, the princes of Antioch, the counts of Tripoli and Sidon, the great "masters of the Hospital, the Temple, and the Teutonic order, the republics of "Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, the Pope's legate, the Kings of France and England, "assumed an independent command." Gibbon, Vol. vi. p. 119. The fact is also expressly stated, with respect to this particular legate (as will appear hereafter), in "L'Art de vérifier les Dates."

30. In the Latin version the circumstances of their touching at Negropont, an island on the coast of Greece, and which at that time belonged to the republic

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of Venice, is omitted; and probably because it was quite incompatible with the supposition of their arrival at Ancona instead of Acre. It may be said that it does not lie in the direct route from Palestine to Venice; but our travellers were naturally anxious to avail themselves of the first conveyance to a Venetian port, and as Negropont (the ancient Eubœa) was the place of rendezvous between that city and Constantinople (where the republic exercised a sovereign authority) it would be an easy matter for them to obtain a passage from thence; or the vessel upon which they embarked at Acre, might have a cargo to deliver at Negropont, before it proceeded to the Adriatic.

31. The Basle, as well as the earlier Latin version, and the Italian epitomes, state the age of MARCO, who was to become the historian of the family, to have been then only fifteen years. If this reading be correct, as probably it is, the father, who arrived at Acre in 1269, and may be presumed to have reached Venice in 1270, must have left home about the year 1255. See Note 3. The age of nineteen seems to have been assigned in order to make it consistent with the supposed departure in 1250.

SECTION III.

Sect. III.

IN the mean time the election of a Pope was retarded by so many obstacles, that they remained two years in Venice, continually expecting its accomplishment;[32] when at length, becoming apprehensive that the Grand *Khan* might be displeased at their delay, or might suppose it was not their intention to revisit his country, they judged it expedient to return to Acre;[33] and on this occasion they took with them young MARCO POLO. Under the sanction of the Legate they made a visit to Jerusalem, and there provided themselves with some of the oil belonging to the lamp of the holy sepulchre, conformably to the directions of the Grand *Khan*.[34] As soon as they were furnished with his letters addressed to that prince, bearing testimony to the fidelity with which they had endeavoured to excite his commission, and explaining to him that the Pope of the Christian Church had not as yet been chosen, they proceeded to the beforementioned port of *Giazza*. Scarcely however had they taken their departure, when the Legate received messengers from Italy, dispatched by the College of Cardinals, announcing his own elevation to the Papal chair; and

and he thereupon assumed the name of GREGORY the tenth.[35] Considering that he was now in a situation that enabled him fully to satisfy the wishes of the Tartar sovereign, he hastened to transmit letters to the King of Armenia,[36] communicating to him the event of his election, and requesting, in case the two ambassadors who were on their way to the Court of the Grand *Khan* should not have already quitted his dominions, that he would give directions for their immediate return. These letters found them still in Armenia, and with great alacrity they obeyed the summons to repair once more to Acre; for which purpose the King furnished them with a galley; sending at the same time an ambassador from himself, to offer his congratulations to the sovereign pontiff.

Upon their arrival his Holiness received them in a distinguished manner, and immediately dispatched them with letters papal, accompanied by two friars of the order of Preachers, who happened to be on the spot; men of letters and of science, as well as profound theologians. One of them was named Fra Nicolo da Vicenza, and the other, Fra Guielmo da Tripoli. To them he gave license and authority to ordain priests, to consecrate bishops, and to grant absolution as fully as he could do in his own person. He also charged them with valuable presents, and among these, several handsome vases of crystal, to be delivered to the Grand *Khan* in his name and along with his benediction. Having taken leave they again steered their course to the port of *Giazza*,[37] where they landed, and from thence proceeded into the country of Armenia. Here they received intelligence that the *Soldan* of Babylonia, named *Bundokdari*, had invaded the Armenian territory with a numerous army, and had overrun and laid waste the country to a great extent.[38] Terrified at these accounts, and apprehensive for their lives, the two friars determined not to proceed further, and delivering over to the Venetians the letters and presents entrusted to them by the Pope,[39] they placed themselves under the protection of the Master of the Knights Templars,[40] and with him returned directly to the coast. NICOLO, MAFFIO, and MARCO, however, undismayed by perils or difficulties (to which they had long been inured), passed the borders of Armenia, and prosecuted their journey.

After crossing deserts of several days march, and passing many dangerous defiles, they advanced so far, in a direction between north-east and north, that at length they gained information of the Grand *Khan*, who then had his residence in a large and magnificent city named *Cle-men-fu*.[41] Their whole journey to this place occupied no less than three years and an half; but, during the winter months, their progress had been inconsiderable.[42] His majesty having notice of their approach whilst still remote, and being aware how much they must have suffered from fatigue, sent forward to meet them at the distance of forty days journey, and gave orders to prepare in every place through which they were to pass, whatever might be requisite to their comfort.[43] By these means, and through the blessing of God, they were conveyed in safety to the royal court.

NOTES.

32. A vacancy in the papal see, for a period of nearly three years, occurred on this occasion, in consequence of the cabals existing in the Sacred College; when at length it was determined to refer the choice of a Pope to six of the Cardinals, who elected Tebaldo of Piacenza on the first day of September 1271. In order to prevent the inconvenience and scandal of such delays for the future, the institution of the Conclave (upon a principle that resembles the impannelling of our English juries) was established.

33. In this passage the Latin version again has *Ancona* instead of *Akka*, *Accon*, or *Acre*: but a formal determination of returning to Ancona, which is not more than a day's-sail from Venice, after an anxious detention of two years, seems unnecessary or inapplicable to the circumstances; as, during so long an interval, they might have made repeated visits to that place, if the objects of their embassy could have been thereby forwarded.

34. The sentence which mentions their excursion to Jerusalem (a distance of about eighty miles), and their return to Acre, is omitted in the Latin version, although the delivery of the holy oil, at the court of China, is afterwards stated; and the reason seems to be, that the circumstance would have been entirely inconsistent with the supposition of Ancona being the scene of their intercourse with the Legate.

35. In

35. In the list of sovereign pontiffs we find him styled " B. Gregorius X. " Placentinus." His election, as has been mentioned, took place on the 1st of September 1271. He was then acting as Legate in Syria, but having early notice of the event, he was enabled to take his departure from thence so soon as the 18th November following, and landed at Brindisi, near Otranto, in January 1272. See " L'Art de vérifier les Dates."

36. At this time LEON or LIVON II. reigned in the Lesser Armenia, the capital of which was *Sis*, and *Aïas* or *Aïazzo* its chief port. His father, whom we call HAITON and the Arabian writers *Hatem* حاتم, had acted a conspicuous part in the late transactions, having accompanied *Hulagu* from the court of *Mangukaan* to Persia, and assisted in his wars with the Mussulmans. In 1270 he had obtained the consent of *Abaka* the son of *Hulagu*, then his liege sovereign, for transferring the crown of Armenia, on account of his age and infirmities, to his son *Leon*. The principal actions of his life are recorded by his namesake, relation, and cotemporary, who having long distinguished himself as a soldier, became an ecclesiastic. His work was edited by Grynæus, at Basle and Paris, in 1532, under the title of " Haithonis Armeni de Tartaris liber," and again, by Andreas Müller, in 1671, under that of " Haithoni Armeni Historia orientalis: quæ eadem et de Tartaris inscribitur." See also Abul-Pharajii Hist. p. 328-357, and De Guignes, Hist. Gén. Liv. xv. p. 125-249.

37. As it may be presumed that our travellers commenced their journey about the time of the sailing of Pope Gregory from Acre, the period is fixed by authority that will scarcely admit dispute, to the end of the year 1271, or beginning of 1272. It may here be remarked that the authenticity of our author's relation is strongly confirmed by this connexion of the travels and mission of the family, with the circumstance of a vacancy in the papal see, and the election of a cardinal who at the time presided over the Christian church in Syria; for any forgery of such a tale, would not only have been open to immediate detection, but would also have subjected the parties to punishment.

38. This *soldan* was *Bibars* surnamed *Bundokdari*, Mameluk sultan of Egypt (not of Babylonia as here stated), who had conquered the greater part of Syria, and had already (in or about 1266) invaded Armenia, and plundered the towns of *Sis* and *Aïas*. In 1270 he made himself master of Antioch, slew or made captives of all the Christian inhabitants, and demolished its churches, the most magnificent and celebrated in the East. " *Abaka* (says De Guignes) ne " s'occupa plus que de la défense de la Syrie qui étoit ravagée par *Bibars*, sulthan " d'Egypte. Pour le faire avec plus de succès, il envoya des ambassadeurs vers " les princes chrétiens; entre autres vers S. Louis, roi de France, vers Charles,

" roi

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" roi de Sicile, et vers Jacques, roi de Arragon, afin de les engager à réunir " leurs forces aux siennes. L'ambassadeur trouva tous ces princes chrétiens " également alarmés des conquêtes de Bibars, et qui se préparoient à passer dans " l'orient pour secourir les chrétiens de Syrie." And again in 1274: "*Abaka* " résolut enfin de chasser de la Syrie les Egyptiens, et se réunit aux chrétiens. " Le Pape Grégoire X. avoit assemblé un grand concile à Lyon dans le même " dessein. Ce *khan* y envoya ses ambassadeurs, qui firent un traité avec le Pape " et avec les ambassadeurs de tous les princes chrétiens." Liv. xvii, p. 260.

It must have been about the beginning of the year 1272 that our travellers entered Armenia, and although it is not stated specifically that any irruption by the *soldan* took place at that time, it is evident that he had not ceased to harass the neighbouring country of Syria; and notwithstanding the formidable combination just mentioned, we find him again, in 1276, invading the province of *Rûm*, immediately bordering on the lesser Armenia to the northward. The alarms must have been perpetual, and these alone may have been sufficient to deter the two theologians from proceeding with their more adventurous companions; who did not, however, meet with the enemy. *Bibars* died in 1279, but his successor, named *Kelawun* (and surnamed *Elfi*, implying that he had been purchased for a *thousand* dinars) prosecuted the war with considerable advantage. A great battle was fought near *Hems* or Emessa, in 1281, which terminated in the defeat of the Moghuls and their ally or vassal the King of Armenia. The subsequent fate of the Moghul prince, is thus related by *Abu'l-Faraj*. " *Abaka* " *Il-khan* autem *Bagdadum* versus profectus est; inde *Hamdanum*, ac die festi " christianorum magni eo anno urbis istius ecclesiam ingressus, festum cum illis " celebravit. Die autem lunæ, festi secundo, Persa quidam nomine *Bahnam* domi " suæ convivium illi magnificum exhibuit: dieque martis mutatum est ei corporis " temperamentum, adeo ut in aere phantasmata videret: ac die Mercurii, mensis " *Nisan* istius anni primo, qui vicesimus fuit *Du'l kaadæ*, ex hoc seculo migravit." Hist. Dynast. p. 361. This serves to shew how familiar the ceremonies of the christian church were to the princes of the Moghul dynasty.

39. It appears that the friars, and not our Venetians, were the bearers of the letters and presents from his Holiness, who perhaps thought it more consistent with etiquette to send them by his own messengers, or, possibly, might have harboured some doubts of the story told by the travellers respecting their own importance or of the authenticity of their mission. It is said that an imposition of this nature, prompted by religious zeal, had been practised, a few years before, upon St. Louis, king of France.

40. It is well known that the knights of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and the knights of the Temple were two great monastic, military orders that arose

arose from the fanaticism of the crusades, and became the most regular and effective support of the christian cause in Asia. It is not unlikely that a body of the latter may have been stationed in this part of Armenia (which we should term the *pashalic* of *Marash*), for its defence, and the ecclesiastics would naturally seek the protection of its commander, who may have been the Master, but was more probably only a knight of the order. It is surprising that in Bergeron's version of our author, we should find the passage thus expressed: " Ils se refugièrent chez le maître *d'un temple* en Armenie."

41. The ordinary residence of *Kublai* at this period must have been *Yen-king* (near the spot where Peking now stands) whilst he was employed in laying the foundations of his new capital of *Ta-tu*, of which particular mention will be made in the sequel. The operations of war, or the regulations of newly conquered provinces might, however, occasion his visiting other cities, and our travellers may have found him in the western part of his dominions. " Il établit sa cour " d'abord," says Du Halde " *à Tai-yuen-fou*, capitale de la province de *Chan-si*, et ensuite il la transporta à Peking." Descript. de la Chine, tom. i. p. 496. This may, indeed, be thought to refer to an earlier period than that of which we are speaking; and it must be acknowledged that there is little resemblance of sound to warrant the supposition that this place was the *Clemenfu* of Ramusio's text; yet the circumstances render it probable. That much corruption in the orthography may have taken place, is evident from the variety of readings presented by the several editions, the name being, in that of Basle, *Clemenisu*, in the older Latin, *Clenensu*, and in the early Italian epitomes, *Clemenif.* It is remarkable that they all agree in the first syllable, which, however, does not belong to the Chinese language, and must be erroneous; whilst the terminating syllable *fu*, which denotes a city of the first class, and proves the genuineness of the name in its original state, has undergone as many changes as there have been versions of the work.

42. When the *Teshu Lama* of Tibet visited (in 1779–80) the late emperor of China, at Peking, his journey (although from what we consider a neighbouring country, and which has since been garrisoned by Chinese troops) occupied ten months; during four of which he was detained at one place by the snow. It must be observed, however, that the old English version makes the journey of our travellers to have been performed in one year and an half.

43. The attention of the Chinese emperors to the accommodation of travellers whom they *invite* to their court, (amongst whom it is not meant to include European ambassadors) is strongly exemplified in the above journey of the *Lama*. At the end of forty-six days from its commencement he was met by messengers who

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who brought a letter from the emperor with a present of pearls, silks, and a rich palanquin, and during the remainder of the route, at intervals of about twenty days, he received further and more abundant presents, amongst which, besides horses, mules, a tent, and a carriage on two wheels, were a watch, a snuff-box, and a knife, ornamented with jewels, together with large sums in silver. On many occasions he was escorted by the *Kalmuck* chiefs, through whose country he passed, with numerous bodies of horse. Wherever his tents were pitched, a boarded platform was set up, covered with brocade and having a cushion of the same, on which he sat, whilst the people were admitted to the honour of touching his feet with their foreheads. At the distance of *forty-one* days journey from the emperor's country-palace where he waited the *Lama's* arrival, he was met by the eldest prince and by him attended until they reached the presence. Superstition as much as hospitality, was the motive that actuated *Kien-Long* in the respect paid to this extraordinary visitant, whose character is regarded by his followers as more than human. He paid, however, the common debt of nature at Peking, and his body, enshrined, was carried back with as much ceremony as attended his arrival. See the very curious account of this journey (given by a native attendant of peculiar sanctity) in Alex. Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory, Vol. ii, p. 145: —also the emperor's letter on the subject of this event, to the *Lama* of Lassa, in the Mémoires conc. les Chinois, Tom. ix, p. 447; and a translation of it (by the writer of this note), with other papers belonging to the subject, in the Appendix to Turner's Embassy to Tibet.

SECTION IV.

Sect. IV.

Upon their arrival they were honourably and graciously received by the Grand *Khan*, in a full assembly of his principal officers. When they drew nigh to his person, they paid their respects by prostrating themselves on the floor. He immediately commanded them to rise, and to relate to him the circumstances of their travels, with all that had taken place in their negotiation with his holiness the Pope. To their narrative, which they gave in the regular order of events, and delivered in perspicuous language, he listened with attentive silence. The letters and the presents from Pope Gregory were then laid before him, and upon hearing the former read, he bestowed much commendation on the fidelity, the zeal, and the diligence of his ambassadors; and receiving with due reverence the oil from the holy sepulchre, he gave directions that it should be preserved with religious care. Upon his

his observing MARCO POLO and enquiring who he was, NICOLO made answer that the youth was his son, and the servant of his majesty; when the Grand *Khan* condescended to take him under his protection, and caused him to be enrolled amongst his attendants of honour. In consequence of this distinguished notice he was held in high estimation and respect by all belonging to the court. He learned in a short time, and adopted the manners of the Tartars, and acquired a proficiency in four different languages, which he became qualified to read and write.[44] Finding him thus accomplished, his master was desirous of putting his talents for business to the proof, and sent him on an important concern of state to a city named *Karazan*,[45] situated at the distance of six months journey from the imperial residence; on which occasion he conducted himself with so much wisdom and prudence in the management of the affairs entrusted to him, that his services became highly acceptable. On his part, perceiving that the Grand *Khan* took a pleasure in hearing accounts of whatever was new to him respecting the customs and manners of people, and the peculiar circumstances of distant countries, endeavoured, wherever he went, to obtain correct information on these subjects, and made notes of all he saw and heard, in order to gratify the curiosity of his master.[46] In short, during seventeen years[47] that he continued in his service, he rendered himself so useful, that he was employed on confidential missions to every part of the empire and its dependencies; and sometimes also he travelled on his own private account, but always with the consent and sanctioned by the authority of the Grand *Khan*. Under such circumstances it was that MARCO POLO had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge, either by his own observation or what he collected from others, of so many things, until his time unknown, respecting the eastern parts of the world, and which he diligently and regularly committed to writing; as in the sequel will appear.

NOTES.

44. Perhaps the Moghul or Mungal, Ighur, Manchu, and Chinese. The last will be thought the least probable; but no inference should be drawn from his

 orthography

BOOK I. CHAP. I. *Sect.* IV. Notes.

orthography of Chinese names in European characters, and particularly in the corrupted state of the text.

45. Having here the name merely, without any circumstance but that of its remoteness from the capital of China, we must presume it to be intended for a city of *Khorasan;* to which there is no objection but the probability of his having passed through that province when he first visited Tartary, and that it is not here spoken of as a place with which he had been previously acquainted. It was then (together with Persia) under the dominion of the second son of *Hulagu*, who succeeded his brother *Abaka*, and took the name of *Ahmed khan* upon his embracing the Mahometan religion. With respect to the distance, measured by the time of six months on this occasion, it will be observed that, when along with his father and uncle, they employed years in travelling from *Bokhara* which is on the northern side of the Oxus; but the circumstances of the two journeys were materially different. It would be taking a greater, but perhaps not an unjustifiable liberty with the orthography to suppose that the name might be intended for *Khorasmia*, the *Kharism* of modern geographers. The place is altogether omitted in the Latin versions.

46. It is evident from what is recorded of *Kublai* that although endowed with strong sense, he was not exempt from a share of credulity; and the knowledge of this weakness in his character may have given, on many occasions, a tinge to the reports of his emissaries.

47. In Ramusio's text the period is said to be "*ventisei anni*, twenty-six "years," and Purchas endeavours to explain in what sense this number should be understood; but I prefer, in this instance, the reading of the Latin version, which has "XVII annos," as more consistent with the fact. It is certain that the family did not leave Acre, on their return to China, before the end of 1271, and as there is reason to believe that they did not reach the emperor's court before 1273 or 1274, nor remain there beyond 1291, it follows, that the period of Marco's service could not have exceeded seventeen years, by more than a few months. Twenty-six years include the whole of the period elapsed since the first visit of his father and uncle in 1264 or 1265.

SECTION V.

Sect. V.

Our Venetians having now resided many years at the imperial court, and in that time having realised considerable wealth, in jewels of value

value and in gold, felt a strong desire to revisit their native country, and however honoured and caressed by the sovereign, this sentiment was ever predominant in their minds. It became the more decidedly their object, when they reflected on the very advanced age of the Grand *Khan*, whose death, if it should happen previously to their departure, might deprive them of that public assistance by which alone they could expect to surmount the innumerable difficulties of so long a journey, and reach their homes in safety; which on the contrary, in his lifetime, and through his favour, they might reasonably hope to accomplish.[48] NICOLO POLO accordingly took an opportunity one day, when he observed him to be more than usually chearful, of throwing himself at his feet, and soliciting on behalf of himself and his family, to be indulged with his Majesty's gracious permission for their departure. But far from shewing himself disposed to comply with the request, he appeared hurt at the application, and asked what motive they could have for wishing to expose themselves to all the inconveniencies and hazards of a journey in which they might probably lose their lives. If gain, he said, was their object, he was ready to give them the double of whatever they possessed, and to gratify them with honours to the extent of their desires; but that, from the regard he bore to them he must positively refuse their petition.

It happened, about this period, that a queen named *Bolgana*,[49] the wife of *Arghun*,[50] sovereign of India, died, and as her last request (which she likewise left in a testamentary writing) conjured her husband that no one might succeed to her place on his throne and in his affections, who was not a descendant of her own family, now settled under the dominion of the Grand *Khan*,[51] in the country of *Kataia*.[52] Desirous of complying with this solemn entreaty, *Arghun* deputed three of his nobles, discreet men whose names were *Ulatai*, *Apusca*, and *Goza*,[53] attended by a numerous retinue, as his ambassadors to the Grand *Khan*, with a request that he might receive at his hands a maiden to wife, from among the relatives of his deceased queen. The application was taken in good part, and under the directions of his majesty, choice was made of a damsel aged seventeen, extremely handsome and accomplished, whose name was *Kogatin*,[54] and of whom

the ambassadors, upon her being shewn to them, highly approved. When every thing was arranged for their departure, and a numerous suite of attendants appointed, to do honour to the future consort of king *Arghun*, they received from the Grand *Khan* a gracious dismissal, and set out on their return by the way they came. Having travelled for eight months, their further progress was obstructed and the roads shut up against them, by fresh wars that had broken out amongst the Tartar Princes.[55] Much against their inclinations therefore, they were constrained to adopt the measure of returning to the court of the Grand *Khan*, to whom they stated the interruption they had met with.

About the time of their re-appearance, MARCO POLO happened to arrive from a voyage he had made, with a few vessels under his orders, to some parts of the East Indies,[56] and reported to the Grand *Khan*, the intelligence he brought respecting the countries he had visited, with the circumstances of his own navigation, which, he said, was performed in those seas with the utmost safety. This latter observation having reached the ears of the three ambassadors, who were extremely anxious to return to their own country, from whence they had now been absent three years, presently sought a conference with our Venetians, whom they found equally desirous of revisiting their home; and it was settled between them that the former, accompanied by their young queen, should obtain an audience of the Grand *Khan*, and represent to him with what convenience and security they might effect their return by sea, to the dominions of their master; whilst the voyage would be attended with less expence than the journey by land,[57] and be performed in a shorter time; according to the experience of MARCO POLO, who had lately sailed in those parts. Should his Majesty incline to give his consent to their adopting that mode of conveyance, they were then to urge him to suffer the three Europeans, as being persons well skilled in the practice of navigation,[58] to accompany them until they should reach the territory of king *Arghun*. The Grand *Khan* upon receiving this application shewed by his countenance that it was exceedingly displeasing to him, averse as he was to parting with the Venetians. Feeling nevertheless that he could not with propriety do otherwise than consent, he yielded to their entreaty. Had it not been that he found himself constrained by the

the importance and urgency of this peculiar case, they would never otherwise have obtained permission to withdraw themselves from his service. He sent for them, however, and addressed them with much kindness and condescension, assuring them of his regard, and requiring from them a promise that when they should have resided some time in Europe and with their own family, they would return to him once more. With this object in view he caused them to be furnished with the golden tablet (or royal *chop*) which contained his order for their having free and safe conduct through every part of his dominions with the needful supplies for themselves and their attendants. He likewise gave them authority to act in the capacity of his ambassadors to the Pope, the Kings of France and Spain, and the other Christian princes.[59]

At the same time preparations were made for the equipment of fourteen ships, each having four masts, and capable of being navigated with nine sails,[60] the construction and rigging of which would admit of ample description, but, to avoid prolixity, it is for the present omitted. Among these vessels there were at least four or five that had crews of two hundred and fifty or two hundred and sixty men. On them were embarked the ambassadors, having the queen under their protection, together with NICOLO, MAFFIO, and MARCO POLO, when they had first taken their leave of the Grand *Khan*, who presented them with many rubies and other handsome jewels of great value. He also gave directions that the ships should be furnished with stores and provisions for two years.[61]

NOTES.

48. There is much appearance of genuineness in the statement of this motive for urging their departure, which, although a very natural one under the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, could not be openly avowed.

49. Although we do not find in the histories of this period that have come to our hands, any mention of the consort of *Arghun-kaan*, yet the name that is here written *Bolgana*, and in the Latin of the Basle edition, as well as that of the British Museum manuscript, *Balgana*, occurs, with little difference of orthography, amongst the females of the family. The daughter of *Jagataï*, son of *Jengiz-khan*

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Jengiz-khan and uncle of *Hulagu*, was named *Bolghân-khâtûn* بلغان خاتون; as appears from the *Rouzat alsafá* of Mirkhond.

50. *Arghun-kaan* ارغون قاآن, the son of *Abaka-kaan*, and grandson of *Hulagu-il-khan* succeeded his uncle *Ahmed-khan-Nikodar* on the throne of Persia, Khorasan, and other neighbouring countries, in the year 1284; and his first act, as we are informed by De Guignes (Liv. xvii. p. 265) was to send to the emperor *Kublaï*, as the head of the family and his liege sovereign, to demand the investiture of his estates. The death of his queen, here spoken of, must, from the circumstances mentioned in the sequel, have taken place about the year 1287, and he himself died in 1291. The name in all the versions of the work is uniformly written *Argon*, which approaches extremely near to the Persian orthography. By De Guignes it is written *Argoun*; but as the *g* does not adequately express the guttural sound of غ, I have substituted the *gh*.

The obvious question will be asked, why, if Persia was the proper seat of his government, is he here spoken of as the king of India? To this, perhaps, no direct and conclusive answer can be given, but it may be accounted for, and in some degree excused, on various grounds. It may be urged that in other parts of the work, where the latter country is specifically the subject, an extension is given to it, that does not accord with our ideas of its limits, although even amongst ourselves, the terms "India" and "East Indies" are employed in a very loose and vague sense, and frequently made to embrace every country beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Persia, indeed, as it stood connected with the neighbouring countries of Georgia and Armenia, and with the Caspian sea, was generally known to the western world; but of the approach to it by sea, from the eastward, no popular idea could have been formed, at the period of which we are speaking. The port of Ormuz, it is true, was much celebrated, but its proximity to the Indian ocean, as well as the nature of its commerce, served to associate it, in the minds of Europeans, with the country from whence its riches and consequence were derived, and accordingly our great poet, where he draws a picture of eastern magnificence, speaks of "the wealth," not of Persia, but "of Ormus and of Ind." We are ignorant, indeed, how far the conquests or pretensions of the Moghul dynasty of Persia may have extended on the side of the Indus. Pétis de la Croix says, "Il, Coublay, eut soin de faire "installer Abacca Can fils d'Hulacou sur le trône de Perse, de la Corassane et "des *Indes*." Hist. de Genghizcan, p. 515. But his authority for the latter part of the assertion, although it may have been founded on authentic documents, does not appear. It will be seen at the commencement of the Third Book, where our author treats specifically of India, that he gives great latitude to the definition.

51. The

51. The Grand *Khan*, at whose court the family of this queen is said to have resided in *Kiaata*, was the grand-uncle of *Arghun*, her husband, and the queen herself was probably of the same royal Moghul family, from the common stock of *Jengiz-khan*. Her anxiety therefore was, that her husband should not degrade himself and her memory, by contracting a marriage with any person of less noble lineage than their own. Viewing the circumstances therefore in their proper light, it will be found that what might at first be thought a romantic story, of a king of India sending an embassy to an emperor of China, for the purpose of obtaining a wife, resolves itself into the simple and natural transaction, of one of the younger members of a great family, applying to the head of the house, to be allowed to strengthen the connexion, by marrying from amongst those who were probably his cousins in the second degree; for we may presume that if this female had not been one of *Kublai's* own immediate race, (a grand-daughter, perhaps, as he was then advanced in years), there would not have existed a necessity for making so formal a demand. In regard to the distance between Persia and China, which might be considered an objection to the probability of the fact, it is well known that amongst all the branches of this Moghul family, however remote from each other, a continual intercourse had, up to that period, been maintained, and *Arghun* himself had applied for and received his investiture from the same monarch. In the event, however, it proved that the difficulties attending the returning journey, over land, had become insuperable.

52. The situation of *Khatai* خطاي, or *Kataia*, has been a subject of much discussion amongst the learned; but it cannot, I think, be doubted by those who consult the eastern geographers and historians rather than the Greek, that they apply the name to the northern provinces of what we call China, which were conquered by *Jengiz-khan*, and his son *Oktai*, not from a Chinese government, but from a race of eastern Tartars, called *Niu-che* and *Kin*, by whom they had been subdued about one hundred and twenty years before. Whether they confine it strictly to these provinces, or include some of the adjoining parts of Tartary, without side the wall, it is not easy to determine, as their accounts of these regions are far from being precise; but the former I should judge to be the case. D'Herbelot, who was eminently conversant with oriental history, defines "Khathai et Khatha, nom de la Chine septentrionale." William Chambers (of Madras) an accomplished scholar, in a note to his account of embassies and letters that passed between the emperor of China and sultan *Shah Rokh*, says: "The word translated "China" in this extract, is ختاي *Khatâi;* that and "the word چين *Chîn* are used indiscriminately by this author, in these and other "parts of his work, to signify the same country; which is a proof, if proofs were "wanting, that the Asiatics, by *Khatâi* mean no other country than China. This,

"however,

" however, was long a disputed point among the curious in Europe, and some, " in consequence, entirely rejected the testimony of MARCO POLO as fabulous, " while others, who admitted it, sought for an empire, in the wilds of " Tartary, that never had existence but in their imaginations. But latter " accounts have put this matter out of all doubt, and particularly that of the " Russian embassy to China in 1653; from which it appears that the Mus- " covites still call the northern parts of China, " Chatai," " Kathai," and its " metropolis " Cambalu." Asiatick Miscellany, vol. i. p. 98. The reader who wishes to investigate the subject more particularly, will find it ably treated by Nicol. Trigautius, in libro, " de Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas;" by the learned Golius, in " Additamento Atlantis Martiniani de regno Catayo;" and in the elaborate " Disquisitio geographica et historica de Chataja," of Andreas Müller. Occasion will be taken hereafter, to identify its capital city.

53. These names vary considerably in the different versions and editions, where they appear in the forms of *Ulatai* and *Gulatay*, *Apusca*, *Apusta*, and *Ribusca*, *Goza* and *Coyla;* all of them probably, much disfigured by transcribing from indistinct manuscripts. They are not, however, of any historical importance.

54. One of the wives of *Hulagu*, and mother of *Ahmed-khan Nikodar* (the uncle of *Arghun*), was named *Katai-khatun*, of which *Kogatin* (otherwise written *Gogatim* and *Koganyn*) may perhaps be a corruption. The word *khatun*, which signifies "lady," is very frequently annexed to, or forms part of proper names borne by Persian and Tartar women of rank.

55. These wars must have taken place about the year *1289*, and probably in the country of *Mawara'lnahr* or Transoxiana, amongst the descendants of *Jagataï* or *Zagataï*, whose history is particularly obscure; but there is reason to believe that they (or any of the Moghul princes) were seldom in a state of tranquillity. Troubles were also excited, nearer to China, by a younger brother of *Kublaï* who attempted to dispute with him the right to the empire.

56. What are here termed the East-Indies must not be understood of the continent of India, but of some of the islands in the eastern archipelago, perhaps the Philippines, or possibly the coast of *Tsiampa* or *Champa*, which, in another part of the work, our author speaks of his having visited. The voyage here mentioned was subsequent to the grand and disastrous expedition which the active genius of *Kublaï* led him to fit out against the kingdom of Japan.

57. The suggestion of this economical motive may seem extraordinary, but attachment to money was one of the weak parts of *Kublaï's* character, and the practices

practices he adopted, or connived at, for raising it have been the subject of much reprehension.

58. All Europeans are presumed by the people of the East to be skilled in navigation, in the management of artillery, and in the art of medicine.

59. In the Latin version it is said that he appointed ambassadors of his own to these monarchs, to accompany the expedition; but as no allusion is afterwards made to such personages, although an obvious occasion (that of the mortality) presents itself, I consider the Italian reading as preferable.

60. For the modern practice, in the northern part of China, and particularly on the *Pe-ho*, of rigging vessels intended to be employed in foreign voyages, with *four* masts, we have the authority of Barrow, who says: "It is "impossible not to consider the notices given by this early traveller (Marco "Polo) as curious, interesting, and valuable; and as far as they regard the "empire of China, they bear internal evidence of their being generally correct. "He sailed from China in a fleet consisting of fourteen ships, each carrying "*four* masts, and having their holds partitioned into separate chambers....We "observed many hundreds of a larger description, that are employed in foreign "voyages, all carrying *four* masts." Travels in China, p. 45. With regard to the *nine* sails, we must conclude it to be a mistake in Ramusio's copy. In the Latin version the words are "quarum quælibet quatuor malos atque totidem "vela habebat," "of which each had four masts and as many sails;" and it is well known that Chinese vessels do not carry any kind of top-sail.

61. The sailing of this remarkable expedition from the *Pe-ho*, or river of Peking, we may infer, from circumstances mentioned in different parts of the work, to have taken place about the beginning of the year 1291, three years before the death of the emperor *Kublaï*, and four years previous to the arrival of the Polo family at Venice, in 1295.

SECTION VI.

After a navigation of about three months, they arrived at an island which lay in a southerly direction, named *Java*.[62] This presented various objects worthy of attention, and notice shall be taken of them in the sequel of the work. Taking their departure from thence; they employed eighteen months in the Indian seas before they were enabled

to reach the place of their destination in the territory of king *Arghun*[63]; and during this part of their voyage also they had an opportunity of observing many things which shall, in like manner, be related hereafter. But here it may be proper to mention, that between the day of their sailing and that of their arrival, they lost by deaths, of the crews of the vessels and others who were embarked, about six hundred persons, and of the three ambassadors only one, whose name was *Goza*, survived the voyage; whilst of all the ladies and female attendants one only died.[64]

Upon landing they were informed that king *Arghun* had died some time before,[65] and that the government of the country was then administered, on behalf of his son who was still a youth, by a person of the name of *Ki-akato*.[66] From him they desired to receive instructions as to the manner in which they were to dispose of the princess, whom, by the orders of the late king they had conducted thither. His answer was, that they ought to present the lady to *Kasan*,[67] the son of *Arghun*, who was then at a place on the borders of Persia, which has its denomination from the *Arbor secco*,[68] where an army of sixty thousand men was assembled for the purpose of guarding certain passes against the irruption of the enemy.[69] This they proceeded to carry into execution, and having effected it, they returned to the residence of *Ki-akato*, because the road they were afterwards to take, lay in that direction.[70] Here, however, they reposed themselves for the space of nine months.[71] When they took their leave he furnished them with four golden tablets, each of them a cubit in length, five inches wide, and weighing three or four marks of gold.[72] Their inscription began with invoking the blessing of the Almighty upon the Grand *Khan*,[73] that his name might be held in reverence for many years, and denouncing the punishment of death and confiscation of goods, to all who should refuse obedience to the mandate. It then proceeded to direct that the three ambassadors, as his representatives, should be treated throughout his dominions with due honour, that their expences should be defrayed, and that they should be provided with the necessary escorts. All this was fully complied with, and from many places they were protected by bodies of two hundred horse; nor could this

have

have been dispensed with, as the government of *Ki-akato* was unpopular, and the people were disposed to commit insults and proceed to outrages, which they would not have dared to attempt under the rule of their proper sovereign.[74] In the course of their journey our travellers received intelligence of the Grand *Khan* (*Kublaï*) having departed this life;[75] which entirely put an end to all prospect of their revisiting those regions.[76] Pursuing therefore their intended route they at length reached the city of Trebizond, from whence they proceeded to Constantinople, then to Negropont,[77] and finally to Venice, at which place, in the enjoyment of health and abundant riches, they safely arrived in the year 1295.[78] On this occasion they offered up their thanks to God, who had now been pleased to relieve them from such great fatigues, after having preserved them from innumerable perils. The foregoing narrative may be considered as a preliminary chapter, the object of which is to make the reader acquainted with the opportunities MARCO POLO had of acquiring a knowledge of the things he describes, during a residence of so many years in the eastern parts of the world.

NOTES.

62. Some details of this part of the voyage are given in Book iii. chap. x. where the island here called *Java* is termed *Java minor*, and is evidently intended for Sumatra. It will appear that they waited the change of the monsoon in a northern port of that island, near the western entrance of the straits of Malacca.

63. The place where the expedition ultimately arrived is not directly mentioned in any part of the work; but there are strong grounds for inferring it to have been the celebrated port of *Ormuz*, which is particularly described in Book i. chap. xv. and again, in Book iii. chap. xliv., where our author concludes his account of what he is pleased to term the "Second or Middle India." From thence the POLO family and the other distinguished passengers may have readily proceeded to the northern provinces of Persia. With respect to the prince named *Arghun-kaan*, see Note 49.

64. This mortality is no greater than might be expected in vessels crowded with men unaccustomed to voyages of such duration, and who had passed several months at an anchorage in the straits of Malacca; and although it should have

 amounted

amounted to one third of their whole number, the proportion would not have exceeded what was suffered by Lord Anson and other navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is only in very modern times, and within the period of His present Majesty's reign, that in consequence of improvements introduced, or sanctioned and enforced, by the English Admiralty, the globe has been frequently circumnavigated with a loss of lives not exceeding that of one man in an hundred.

65. *Arghun-kaan*, according to the authorities followed by De Guignes, died in the third month of the year 690 of the *hejrah*, answering to March in the year of our Lord 1291.

66. The person here named *Ki-akato*, or *Chiacato* in the Italian orthography, and described as the ruler of the country in the name of the late king's son, was *Kai-khatu* كيخاتو, the second son of *Abaka-kaan*, and consequently the brother of *Arghun*, upon whose death he is said to have seized the throne (although perhaps only as regent or protector), to the prejudice of his nephew, then a minor. The name of this man, whose history is by no means obscure, has been the subject of a greater variety of orthography than almost any other. In Reiske's translation of the Annales Muslemici of Abulfeda, edited by Adler, he is named *Canachtu* كناختو, evidently from the mistake of one Arabic letter for another. De Guignes writes the word *Kandgiatou*, and says in a Note: "Haiton le nomme *Regaïto*; d'autres *Ghendgiatou*, ou *Caïkhtou*. Son vrai nom "Mogol est *Gaicatou*, qui signifie éclatant. C'est le même que *Kazeitou* de "l'Hist. genéalogique des Tatars." Liv. xvii. p. 266. In the Basle edition of our author's travels, the name is softened to *Acata*. In the older Latin it is *Achatu*, and in the early Italian epitomes, *Acatu*. In Ramusio's text the orthography of the name is nearly that of the generality of eastern historians.

67. The prince whose name is here written *Kasan* or *Casan*, and by De Guignes *Cazan*, was *Ghazan-kaan* غازان قاان, the eldest son of *Arghun*. He did not succeed to the throne of Persia until the end of the year 1295, nearly five years after the death of his father, who had sent him to reside in *Khorasan*, under the tutelage of an *atabeg* or governor named *Nu-roz*, by whose persuasion he afterwards embraced the mussulman faith, and took the name of *Mahmûd*. It does not appear that he was molested in that province by his uncle *Kai-khatu*, and this recommendation, that the princess should be conveyed to him as the representative of his father, serves to shew that they were not upon terms of actual hostility. It is further proved by the circumstance, that, when upon the murder of *Kai-khatu*, the government fell into the hands of *Baidu* (a grandson of *Hulagu* in a different line), and *Ghazan* marched with an army to *Rey* (Rages)

(Rages) to assert his hereditary claims, the first demand he made was, that the assassins of his uncle should be delivered up to him.

After a doubtful struggle maintained during eight months, the defection of his principal officers led to the destruction of the usurper, and *Ghazan*, ascended the throne of Persia, about two years subsequently to the arrival of the princess, of whom nothing further is recorded. The qualities of the prince to whom her destinies had led her, shall be given in the words of Haiton of Armenia a cotemporary historian. Having described the circumstances of a great victory obtained by him, over the sultan of Egypt (near Edessa, in the year 1299), he proceeds to say: "Ego verò Fr. Haithonus, qui hanc historiam compilavi, "interfui omnibus negotiis et præliis, quæ Tartari habuerunt cum Soldano "à tempore Haoloni; sed nunquam vidi vel audivi dici de aliquo domino "Tartarorum qui plura fecerat in duobus diebus, quam fecit Casanus. Nam "prima die belli cum parva societate suorum contra Soldanum et magnam "copiam inimicorum prælium sustinuit, et de persona sua taliter se probavit, "quod inter omnes alios bellatores famam et laudem meritò est adeptus. Et de "sua probitate inter Tartaros narrabitur in secula seculorum. Secunda verò "die tanta erat libertas et liberalitas cordis sui, quod de omnibus divitiis et "infinitis thesauris, quos acquisiverat, sic inter suos distribuit et divisit, quod "in sua sorte non retinuit nisi unum ensem.....Et hoc præcipuè erat admi-"randum, qualiter in tantillo corpusculo, tanta virtutum copia inveniri poterat. "Nam inter viginti mille milites vix potuisset staturæ minoris aliquis reperiri, "neque turpioris aspectus: omnes tamen alios in probitate et virtutibus ex-"cedebat. Et quia iste Casanus tempore nostro fuit, dignum est, quod de "suis gestis plenius enarremus." Cap. xlii. p. 64. ed. Mulleri. It is not improbable that his "very diminutive size" may have been the cause of his not having succeeded at once to the paternal crown, of which his talents and his virtues, subsequently displayed, appear to have rendered him so worthy.

68. More circumstantial mention is made of this district, and of the tree from whence it is said to derive its appellation, in Chap. xx. of this Book.

69. This is the important pass known to the ancients by the appellation of Portæ Caspiæ or Caspian straits (to be distinguished from those of *Derbend*, as well as of *Rudbar*), and termed by eastern geographers the straits of *Khowar* or *Khawr*, from the Persian word خور, signifying a valley between two mountains, or from a small town near the eastern entrance which bears the same name. "This remarkable chasm," says Rennell, "is now called the strait or passage "of *Khowar* (*Chora* of the ancients) from a town or district in the neighbourhood. "It is situated at the termination of the great Salt Desert, almost due north "from Ispahan, and about fifty miles to the eastward of the ruins of Rey "(or

" (or *Rages*). Alexander passed through it in his way from Rages towards " Aria and Bactria. Della Valle and Herbert amongst the moderns, and Pliny " amongst the ancients, have described it particularly. It is eight miles through, " and generally forty yards in breadth." Geographical system of Herodotus examined and explained, p. 174, Note. " Entrammo nelle montagne," says Pietro della Valle, speaking of these straits, " attraversandole per una profonda " et angustissima valle....Si camina per questa quasi sempre in piano....ma i " monti son sempre altissimi dalle bande, e tal' hora la strada si và aggirando " in volte tanto strette, che ci diede fastidio per far passar la lettiga."

70. From the preceeding part of the narrative we might be led to suppose the residence of *Kai-khatu* to have been in one of the southern provinces of Persia; but here, on the contrary, we find, that, conformably with the histories of he times, it lay in the route between the place where *Ghazan* was encamped, on the eastern side of the Caspian Straits, and the country of Armenia, towards which our travellers were advancing. By D'Herbelot, De Guignes, and others, we are accordingly told that the capital of the princes of this dynasty was the city of Tauris or *Tabriz*, in *Aderbijan*, but that they frequently resided (especially in summer) at *Hamadan*, in *Aljebal*, in order to be nearer to the Syrian frontier. Coins in my possession, of the brother and successor of *Ghazan*, were struck at *Teflis* in Georgia.

71. From what has been said in the preceding Note we may presume this place to have been *Tabriz*. The particular causes of detention are not assigned, but after the fatigues they had recently undergone, by sea and land, it is not at all surprising that they should need repose, and avail themselves of the security afforded by the first capital city they had reached since relieved from the charge of their female companion. Other circumstances, such as the indisposition of one of the party, may have occured to protract their stay; they might have written letters to Venice and expected the answers, employing the interval in disposing of their valuable jewels and making arrangements for the safe remittance of their wealth; or, lastly, they might have been detained by warfare in the country through which they were to pass.

72. The Mark being eight ounces, the tablets must have been unnecessarily expensive and inconveniently ponderous. The other versions do not specify either weight or size, and some state them to be only *two additional* tablets.

73. This shews that the sovereignty of the head of the family was still acknowledged by these branches, and *Kai-khatu* might have particular motives for courting its sanction. *Ghazan* is said to have been the first who renounced this

slight

slight species of vassalage, and probably did not send an ambassador to China to demand the investiture. Upon the coins, however, of this dynasty, I have not observed the name of any superior lord.

74. In the conduct here described we have a proof of the general doubt entertained respecting his right to the throne, although the Moghul chiefs affected to consider it as dependant upon their election. The historians all agree in reprobating his habits as debauched and infamous, and these chiefs, indignant at being governed by a prince so corrupt, "equally hated by his subjects and despised "by foreigners," resolved to remove him, and made an offer of the crown, not to *Ghazan*, whom they might think still too young, or too feeble in bodily frame, for their purpose, but to *Baidu*, a grandson of *Hulagu* and cousin of the late king, who was then governor of *Baghdad*. A battle was fought, in which *Kai-khatu*, personally brave, found himself deserted by a principal officer who commanded a wing of his army, was defeated, and subsequently strangled. That no violent spirit of hostility had subsisted between him and his nephew may be inferred from the following passage in Abulfeda, where it appears that the latter was stimulated to revenge his death. "Hoc itaque sublato conscendebat "Baidu vacuum solium, quinto mense, quod tamen neque diu, neque tran- "quillum, tenuit. Nam Cazan, Arguni filius, ut audiebat, quomodo affinis "Baidu cum suo partruo egisset, congregabat quotquot favêntes sibi suoque "supposítos imperio habebat, tam Mogolos, quam indigenas Chorasanos; isti "enim provinciæ præfectus a partre fuerat, ut supra diximus; et cum illis pro- "movebat adversus Baiduum." For a circumstantial detail of these transactions on the authority of Khondemir, see the Bibliotheque Orientale, under the article *Baidu*. See also the article *Gangiatu*, "que l'on trouve aussi nommé "Caictu, et *Caicatu*." "Khondemir remarque que le veritable nom de ce prince "étoit *Aicatu*, ou *Gaicatu*." We should learn from hence to hesitate before we condemn the orthography of our author, whose mode of writing this uncouth name differs so little, if at all, from some of these high authorities. It is a circumstance extremely remarkable, that one of the principal motives assigned for the revolt of the Moghul chiefs against this prince, was his having attempted to establish in his dominions a system of *paper-money*, like that of China. Hist. des Huns, Liv. xvii. p. 267. It is to be regretted that De Guignes has omitted to quote his authority for this singular fact; but if founded, we should not hesitate to attribute the unfortunate suggestion to our travellers, during their nine months residence at the court of *Tabriz* or *Hamadan*. See Book ii. chap. xviii. on the subject of the currency issued by the emperor, at Peking.

75. *Kublai*, whose name the Chinese pronounce *Hupili* or *Hupilé*, whilst in their annals they bestow on him that of *Chi-tsu*, was proclaimed Grand *Khan* in the

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the year 1260, became emperor of China upon the destruction of the dynasty of the *Song*, who reigned in *Manji* or the provinces south of the great river *Kiang*, in 1280, and died in the beginning of 1294, at the age of eighty years. "Les "historiens Chinois" says the Pere Gaubil, "exagèrent les défauts de *Hou-pilié*, "et ne parlent guères de ses vertus. Ils lui reprochent beaucoup d'entêtement "pour les superstitions et les enchantemens des Lamas, et ils se plaignent qu'il "a donné trop d'autorité aux *gens d'Occident*. Les Tartares regardent ce prince "comme un de leurs plus grands rois." "Il fit donner le nom de *Yuen* à sa "dynastie l'an 1271."

It is not surprising the news of an event so important to all the tribes of Moghuls or Tartars should have found its way to the court of Persia, and consequently to our travellers, with extraordinary expedition.

76. It can scarcely be supposed that they were either desirous or had an intention of so doing; but the knowledge of this event relieved them from any obligation they might feel to perform their promise of returning at some future period to their kind master and benefactor.

77. Their most direct route from *Tabriz* would have lain through *Bedlis* in Kurdistan to Aleppo, but at this time the sultans of Egypt, with whom the kings of Persia were continually at war, had possession of all the seaports of Syria, and would pay little respect to their passports. By the way of Georgia to Trebisond, on the Euxine, their land-journey was shorter and more secure, and when at that place they were under the protection of the Christian prince whose family reigned in the small independent kingdom of Trebisond, from 1204 to 1462, when it was swallowed up in the Ottoman empire, From thence to Constantipole, Negropont or Eubœa (which the father and uncle had visited on their return from the former expedition), and finally to Venice, they would have the benefit of sea-conveyance, and possibly in vessels belonging to their fellow-citizens.

78. All the different versions and editions agree in respect to the year 1295 being that of their return to their own country: which must indeed have been a matter of general notoriety. The unaffected piety of the sentence which follows this date, reflects credit on the feelings and character of the writer; and it may be observed, that although his religion may be found to partake, in some instances, of the superstition, it is no where marked with the bigotry or intolerance of the age in which he lived.

CHAPTER II.[79]

Of Armenia minor; of the port of Giazza; and of the boundaries of the province.

In commencing the description of the countries which Marco Polo[80] visited in Asia, and of things worthy of notice which he observed therein, it is proper to mention that we are to distinguish two Armenias, the lesser and the greater.[81] The king of the lesser Armenia dwells in a city called *Sebastoz*,[82] and rules his dominions with strict regard to justice. The towns, fortified places, and castles are numerous. There is abundance of the necessaries of life, as well as of those things which contribute to its comfort. Game, both of beasts and birds, is in plenty.[83] It must be said however that the air of the country is not remarkably healthy.[84] In former times its gentry were esteemed expert and brave soldiers; but at the present day they are great drinkers, pusillanimous, and worthless. On the sea coast there is a city named *Giazza*,[85] a place of considerable traffic. Its port is frequented by merchants from Venice, Genoa, and many other places, who trade in spiceries and drugs of different sorts, manufactures of silk and of wool, and other rich commodities. Those persons who design to travel into the interior of the Levant,[86] usually proceed in the first instance to this port of *Giazza*. The boundaries of the lesser Armenia are, on the south, the land of Promise, now occupied by the Saracens;[87] on the north, Karamania, inhabited by Turkomans; towards the north-east lie the cities of *Kaisariah*, *Sevasta*,[88] and many others subject to the Tartars; and on the western side it is bounded by the sea which extends to the shores of Christendom.

NOTES.

79. In the Latin editions of Basle and Berlin, this chapter is numbered as the eleventh of Book i., the preceding matter being divided into ten; nor does the numeration proceed *pari passu* through the remaining chapters. A similar inequality of division prevails also in Books ii. and iii. In those Italian versions which have been spoken of as epitomes, we find no distinction of Books, the chapters being numbered consecutively, from the beginning, to one hundred and forty-four. In the old English version the number is one hundred and thirty-five. Purchas, although translating from Ramusio, has neglected the division into Books or Chapters, and made a new one, into ten Sections. The former distinction, however, is not only justified by the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, but is occasionally referred to in the body of the work itself.

80. In Ramusio's version the author is frequently made to employ the third person, as in this instance when speaking of what he himself did or saw. In the Latin, on the contrary, after the preliminary chapters, he is made to employ the first only, sometimes in the singular, but generally in the plural number.

81. This distinction of the Armenias into the Greater and the Lesser, is conformable to what we find in Ptolemy and the geographers of the middle ages; although other divisions have taken place, since that part of Asia has been subject to the Ottoman empire. The Lesser Armenia is defined by Büsching as comprehending "that part of Cappadocia and Cilicia which lies along the western side of the Greater Armenia, and also on the western side of the Euphrates. That in the days of Haiton it extended south of Taurus, and included Cilicia (campestris), which was not the case in more ancient times, we have the unexceptionable authority of that historian, who has recorded the actions of his grandfather and father, kings of the country, as well as his own motives for declining the succession to the crown. In his account of the divisions and boundaries of Syria, he says: "Ex parte orientis confines habet cum Mesopotamia, ex parte septentrionis cum secunda Armenia; et in parte cum regno Turquiæ." "Quarta provincia Cilicia appellatur, ibique est sita inexpugnabilis civitas Tarsensis, in qua beatus Apostolus Paulus fuit natus; et ista Cilicia hodie Armenia nuncupatur." Hist. Orient. Cap. xiv. Its origin as a separate kingdom is thus briefly described by De Guignes: "Sous le règne d'Alexis Comnene un seigneur Arménien, nommé Kaghic, qui étoit de l'illustre maison des Pacratides, entreprit de relever le royaume de la Petite Arménie. Il prit le titre de roi, et conquit la Cilicie, avec une partie de la Cappadoce. C'est de lui que descendent les rois de la Petite Arménie qui régnoient dans le

"douzième

" douzième (et le treizième) siécle. Leur capitale étoit *Sis*." Hist. génér. des Huns, Liv. vii. p. 432.

82. As it appears from the passage quoted in the preceding Note, as well as from other authorities, that *Sis* سيس was the capital of the Lesser Armenia during the reigns of the Leons and Haitons, we are led to suppose the *Sebastoz* here mentioned to have been the ancient name of that city, or of one that stood on the same site. It is obvious, indeed, from the Geography of Ptolemy, that there were many places in Asia minor that bore the names of Sebastia, Sebaste, and Sebastopolis (besides one in Syria), and in his enumeration of the towns of Cilicia, we find a *Sebaste*, to which, in the Latin translation, published at Venice in 1562, the epithet of "*augusta*" is annexed. Upon the foundations of this, Leon I. (from whom the country is called by the Arabians, *Belad Leon*, as well as *Belad Sis*), may have built the modern city, and the Greek name may have been still prevalent. We are told however, that the city which preceded Sis, as the capital of Armenia minor, was named Messis, Massis or Massissa, the ancient Mopsuestia, and it must be confessed that if authority was not in opposition to conjecture, the sound of these names might lead us to suppose that the modern name was only an abbreviation of *Mes-sis*, and *Sebastoz* a substitution for *Mopsueste*. In a subsequent part of the chapter the city of *Sevasta* or *Sevaste*, the modern *Siwas* or *Sivas*, is spoken of under circumstances that appear to distinguish it entirely from the Armenian capital; having been recently conquered by the Moghuls from the Seljuk princes.

83. Our author omits no opportunity, in the course of his descriptions, of noticing whatever relates to field sports, and particularly to falconry. The chase was in his days an object of more serious occupation with men of rank, than it has been in modern times, and by the Moghul princes, in whose service he was educated, it was regarded as a concern inferior only in its importance to the business of war.

84. In the Latin version, on the contrary, it is praised for the salubrity of the air; but the early Italian editions justify Ramusio's reading, and it is well known that the towns in the Gulf of Scanderoon, from whence our author probably formed his ideas, are extremely unhealthy.

85. Respecting *Giazza*, *Lajazzo*, or *Aias*, see Note 26. It is situated in a low, morassy country, formed by the alluvion of the two rivers Sihon and Jihon (of Cilicia), and (as observed to me by Major Rennell) at the present mouth of

BOOK I. CHAP. II. Notes.

the latter. Its trade has been transferred to Alexandretta or Scanderoon, on the opposite or Syrian side of the gulf.

86. *Levant* is a translation of the word Anatolia or *Anadoli*, from the Greek "ανατολὴ ortus, oriens," signifying the country that lies *eastward* from Greece. As the name of a region therefore it should be equivalent to Natolia, in its more extensive acceptation; and it is evident that our author employs it to denote Asia minor. Smyrna is at present esteemed the principal port in the Levant, and the term seems to be now confined to the sea coast and to mercantile usage.

87. For the land of promise, or Palestine, which extends no further to the north than Tyre, is here to be understood Syria, or that part of it called Coelo-Syria, which borders on Cilicia or the southern part of Armenia minor. As the more general denomination of Syria includes Palestine, and the latter name was, in the time of the crusades, more familiar to Europeans than the former, it is not surprising that they should sometimes be confounded.

The Saracens here spoken of were the subjects of the *Mameluk* sultans or *soldans* of Egypt, who recovered from the Christian powers in Syria, what the princes of the family of *Saladin*, or of the *Ayubite* dynasty, had lost. In other parts of the work the term is employed indiscriminately with that of Mahometan. Many conjectures have been offered with regard to its origin, amongst which the most plausible is that of Mr. Langlès, who considers it as the word شرقيين *sharekīn*, signifying "eastern people," i. e. "eastern Arabs," from شرق *shark*, the "east," or "rising sun," in contradiction to غربيين *gherbīn* or مغربيين *mughrebīn* "western people," from غرب *gharb* the "west," or "setting sun."

88. The Turkomans of *Karamania* were a race of Tartars settled in Asia minor, under the government of the *Seljuk* princes, of whom an account will be found in the following note. *Kaisariah* or Cæsarea, and *Sevasta* or *Sebaste*, the Sebastopolis Cappadociæ of Ptolemy and *Siwas* or *Sivas* of the present day, were cities belonging to the same dynasty, that had been conquered by the Moghuls in the year 1242. *Karamania* is described by Büsching as comprehending the ancient provinces of Cilicia, part of Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia, and a part of the greater Phrygia.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

Of the province called Turkomania, where are the cities of Kogni, Kaisariah, and Sevasta, and of its commerce.

THE inhabitants of Turkomania[89] may be distinguished into three classes. The Turkomans, who reverence Mahomet and follow his law, are a rude people, and dull of intellect. They dwell amongst the mountains and in places difficult of access, where their object is to find good pasture for their cattle, as they live entirely upon animal food. There is here an excellent breed of horses which has the appellation of *Turki*, and fine mules which are sold at high prices.[90] The other classes are Greeks and Armenians, who reside in the cities and fortified places, and gain their living by commerce and manufacture. The best and handsomest carpets in the world are wrought here, and also silks of crimson and other rich colours. Amongst its cities are those of *Kogni*, *Kaisariah*, and *Sevasta*, in which last Saint Blase obtained the glorious crown of martyrdom.[91] They are all subject to the Great *Khan*, emperor of the oriental Tartars, who appoints governors to them.[92] We shall now speak of the greater Armenia.

NOTES.

89. By Turkomania we are to understand, generally, the possessions of the great *Seljuk* dynasty in Asia minor, extending from Cilicia and Pamphylia, in the south, to the shores of the Euxine Sea, and from Pisidia and Mysia, in the west, to the borders of Armenia minor; including the greater part of Phrygia and Cappadocia, together with Pontus, and particularly the modern provinces of Karamania and Rumiyah or the country of *Rúm*. Of the former of these, the capital was Iconium, corrupted by the oriental writers to *Kuniyah* قونيه, and by those of the crusades, to *Kogni*; of the latter, Sebaste or Sebastopolis, corrupted to *Siwas* or *Sivas* سيواس. "Regnum Turquiæ," says Haiton, speaking of the country which our author names Turkomania, "est valde magnum. . . . Confines "habet

BOOK I. CHAP. III. Notes.

" habet ex parte orientis cum Armeniâ majori, et partim cum regno Georgiæ " Ex parte occidentis dilatatur usque ad civitatem (terram) Nataliæ, quæ supra " mare Græciæ situm habet. Ex parte septentrionis nullos habet cum aliqua " terra confines, sed de longo in longum extenditur supra litora maris majoris. " Ex parte meridiei partim habet confines cum secunda Armenia, et partim cum " Cilicia, et partim ad mare Græciæ dilatatur, et respicit insulam Cypri." Hist. Orient. cap. xiii. " The *Seljukes*," says Pottinger, " I call *Toorkumans*, in con- " formity with the native authorities whom I have consulted." p. 269.

The chief from whom the dynasty of *Seljuks* derived its appellation, was by birth a Turkoman ترکمان, of Turkistan ترکستان, on the north-eastern side of the river Sihon or Jaxartes, but in the service of a prince of Khozar, on the Wolga, from which he fled and pursued his fortune in Transoxiana; as did some of his family in Khorasan. Having acquired great celebrity, they were at length enabled, by the means of numerous tribes of Turkomans who joined their standard, to establish a sovereignty, or, in point of extent, an empire, the principal seat of which was in Persia. Another branch, about the year 1080, wrested the fine provinces of Asia minor from the Greek emperors, and formed the kingdom of which we are now speaking. Through its territory the Christian princes repeatedly forced their way in their progress to the Holy Land, and it is computed by historians that not fewer than six hundred thousand men perished in this preliminary warfare. At length the power of the *Seljuks* yielded to the overwhelming influence of the house of *Jengiz-khan*, and in our author's time they were reduced to insignificance; but from their ruins sprang the empire of the Ottomans, the founder of which had been in the service of one of the last sultans of Iconium.

Many silver coins of the princes of this race, struck both at *Kuniyah* and *Siwas*, are in my possession. They exhibit, in no mean workmanship, the emblematic figures of the Lion and Sun, or the latter in the constellation of Leo, and bear date from 1240 to 1258; but others without the device, so early as 1186. The legends are in Arabic, and contain, besides the name of the reigning sultan, that of the *Khalif*, who in 1258 was put to death by *Hulagu*. For further information on this subject, see Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii. p. 563, note.

90. The pastoral habits of the Turkoman Tartars are preserved to this day, even in Asia minor, and the distinction of their tribes subsist also. The *Turki* breed of horses is esteemed throughout the east, for spirit and hardiness.

91. Respecting these cities, see notes 88 and 89. Their names have been strangely disfigured by the carelessness of transcribers. In Ramusio's text they are written *Cogno*, *Cayssaria*, and *Sevasta* (which cannot be mistaken); but in the

the Basle edition, *Gomo*, *Cæsarea*, and *Sebaste*; in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, *Gomo*, *Cassorie*, and *Sebasta*; in the early Latin edition, *Barno*, *Cassene*, and *Sebasta*; in the early Italian epitomes, *Chirino*, *Cyserie*, and *Senasto*, and in the old English, *Chemo*, *Isiree*, and *Sebasto*. In the orthography of the last name they are all nearly agreed.

"Blase, bishop of *Sebasta*, in Cappadocia, in the second and third centuries," says the Biographical Dictionary, "suffered death under Dioclesian, by decapita-
"tion, after being whipped and having his flesh torn with iron combs.....It is
"difficult to say how the invention (of wool-combing) came to be attributed to
"him; but it had probably no better origin than the circumstance of his being
"tortured with the instruments used in the combing of wool."

92. It is the family of *Hulagu*, and the tribes who followed his standard from the north, whom our author always designates by the name of Oriental Tartars, to distinguish them from the descendants of *Batu*, who settled near the Wolga, on the north-western side of the Caspian, and extended their conquests towards Europe; whilst the former entered Persia from the eastern quarter, by the way of Transoxiana and Khorasan. See note 11.

CHAPTER IV.

Of Armenia major, in which are the cities of Arzingan, Argiron, and Darziz; of the castle of Paipurth; of the mountain where the Ark of Noah rested; of the boundaries of the province; and of a remarkable fountain of oil.

CHAP. IV.

ARMENIA major is an extensive province, at the entrance of which is a city named *Arzingan*,[93] where there is a manufacture of very fine cotton cloth called bombazines,[94] as well as of many other curious fabrics, which it would be tedious to enumerate. It possesses the handsomest and most excellent baths of warm water, issuing from the earth, that are any where to be found.[95] Its inhabitants are for the most part native Armenians, but under the dominion of the Tartars. In this province there are many cities, but *Arzingan* is the principal, and the seat of an archbishop; and the next in consequence are *Argiron*[96] and *Darziz*.[97]

Darziz.[97] It is very extensive, and, in the summer season, the station of a part of the army of the eastern Tartars,[98] on account of the good pasture it affords for their cattle; but on the approach of winter they are obliged to change their quarters, the fall of snow being so very deep that the horses could not find subsistence, and for the sake of warmth and fodder they proceed to the southward. Within a castle named *Paipurth*,[99] which you meet with in going from Trebisond to Tauris, there is a rich mine of silver.[100] In the central part of Armenia stands an exceedingly large and high mountain, upon which, it is said, the Ark of Noah rested, and for this reason it is termed the mountain of the Ark.[101] The circuit of its base cannot be compassed in less than two days. The ascent is impracticable on account of the snow towards the summit, which never melts, but goes on increasing by each successive fall. In the lower region, however, near the plain, the melting of the snow fertilizes the ground, and occasions such an abundant vegetation, that all the cattle which collect there in summer from the neighbouring country, meet with a never failing supply.[102] Bordering upon Armenia, to the south-west, are the districts of *Mosul* and *Maredin*,[103] which shall be described hereafter, and many others too numerous to particularize. To the north lies Zorzania, near the confines of which there is a fountain of oil which discharges so great a quantity as to furnish loading for many camels.[104] The use made of it is not for the purpose of food, but as an unguent for the cure of cutaneous distempers in men and cattle, as well as other complaints; and it is also good for burning. In the neighbouring country no other is used in their lamps, and people come from distant parts to procure it.

NOTES.

93. *Arzengân* ارزنگان, or, as written by the Arabians, who have not the Persian *g*, *Arzenjân*, is a city near the frontier of *Rumiyah*, but just within the limits of Armenia major. "Cette ville," says D'Herbelot, "appartient plûtôt à "l'Arménie, et fut prise par les Mogols ou Tartares l'an 640 de l'Hegire, "de J. C. 1242, après la défaite de Kaikhosrou, fils d'Aladin le Selgiucide, "aussi bien que les villes de Sebaste et de Cæsarée." By an Oriental geographer it is said to be, "Oppidum celeberrimum, elegans, amœnum, "copiosum

" copiosum bonis rebus, incolisque: pertinens ad Armeniam: inter Rumæas " provincias et Chalatam situm, haud procul Arzerroumo: esseque incolas " ejus maximam partem Armenios." Alberti Schultens Index geographicus in Vitam Saladini. Josaphat Barbaro, a Venetian, who travelled into Persia, in the fifteenth century, speaks of *Arsengan* as a place that had formerly been of consequence, but was then mostly in ruins. The name is *Arcingan* in Ramusio's text, *Arzinga* in that of the Basle edition, as well as in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, *Acynga* in the early Latin edition, and in the Italian epitomes, *Areviga.*

94. The name of a species of cloth which I have here translated " bombazine," is in the Italian of Ramusio, " bochassini di bambagio," and in the Latin versions, " buchiranus, buchyramis, and bucaramus." Its substance or texture is not clearly explained in our dictionaries. That of Cotgrave, printed in 1611, defines " boccasin" to be " a kind of fine buckeram, that hath a " resemblance of taffata, and is much used for lining; also the stuffe callimanco." But this, it is evident, cannot apply to a manufacture of bombagio or cotton; and the Vocabolario della Crusca, as well as the Glossary of Du Cange, speak of " bucherame bianchissima" and " bucherame bambagino," and both of them quote our author for the use of the word. All the examples convey the idea of fine, white, and soft cotton cloth; the reverse of what is now called buckram.

95. Natural warm baths are found in many parts of Asia minor, and particularly near Ancyra, the modern *Angora* or *Anguri*, which are still much frequented. Their situation is denoted by the word *Thermæ*, in Rennell's map explanatory of the Retreat of the Ten thousand. They are also spoken of at *Teflis* in Georgia; but of their existence at *Arzengan* I have not been able to find notice in the works of the eastern geographers.

96. *Argiron*, or, in the Latin versions *Argyron*, is a corruption of *Arzerrúm*, *Erzerúm*, or, *Arzen er-rûm* ارزن الروم, a distinctive name given to a city called *Arzen*, as being the last strong place, in that direction, belonging to the Greek empire. "*Arzerrúm*," says Abulfeda " est extremus finis regionum Rumæorum " ab oriente. In ejus orientali et septentrionali latere est fons Euphratis." In Büsching's geography a detailed account of this city is given, and it is there said to be the seat of an Archbishop of the Armenian church; in which case the see must have been transferred from *Arzengan*; unless (which is quite as probable) the circumstances of the two neighbouring cities may have been confounded in our author's recollection.

97. *Darziz*, which in the Basle edition is *Darzirim*, in the older Latin, *Argiri*, and in the Italian epitomes, *Arciri* and *Arziri*, is the town now called *Arjis* ارجيس situated on the border of the lake *Van*, anciently named Arsissa palus. "*Argish*," says Macdonald Kinneir, "is a town containing six thousand inhabitants, "situated on the north-west side of the lake, three days' journey from *Van*." "There are four islands in the lake, on one of which is an Armenian monastery, "and three hundred priests." Memoir of the Persian empire, p. 328. 329. These places, it may be observed, lay in our author's returning route, from Tauris to Trebisond.

98. See Notes 11 and 92.

99. *Paipurth*, the *Baiburt* of D'Anville's and Rennell's maps, is situated amongst the mountains, in a northerly direction from *Arzerrûm*. As the word *purt* signifies a castle in the Armenian language, and as the Arabian geographers, from not having the letter *p* in their alphabet, are obliged to substitute the *b*, it is probable that the former is the more genuine orthography. This castle is particularly noticed by Josaphat Barbaro, who says: "Partendo d'essa (Tra- "bisonda) per andar à Thauris....il primo luogo notabile che si trova, è uno "castello in piano in una valle d'ognitorno circondata da monti, nominato Bai- "burth, castel forte e murato....Cinque giornate piu in la, si trova Arsengan "....Poi si ritrova un castello nominato Carpurth." Viaggio in Persia, p. 48, ed. 1545, 12mo.

100. Although this particular mine may have been exhausted, silver-mines are known to exist in this part of Armenia. In the Geographical system of Herodotus, so ably examined by my friend Major Rennell, we are told that the mines belonging to the thirteenth Persian satrapy, named *Kebban* and *Argana*, were "situated in the two branches of Mount Taurus that inclose the valley of So- "phene, through which the Euphrates passes, in its way from Armenia to Syria, "now called the valley of Karpoot," (the *Carpurth* mentioned by Barbaro in the preceding note and *Khartopurt* of the Arabian geographer Yacutus Hamatensis, often quoted by the learned Schultens,) "from a fortress and town within "it;" and that "these mines were visited in 1781, by Mr. John Sullivan," and again in 1788, by Dr. Howel. P. 280, 281. "Here it is proper to observe," says the same writer, in another learned and scientific work, "that the ridge of Agats- "bashi (on which stands the castle of *Teke*) is the southern boundary of the beau- "tiful and extensive valley of *Baibort*." "It is a day's journey," he adds in a note, "to the eastward of *Gumish-kend*, the noted silver-mine, situated at about "two journies to the S. E. of Trebisonde." Illustrations of the Retreat of the Ten thousand, p. 244.

101. The

101. The mountain of Armenia (the Ararat of Scripture) upon which the Ark is believed by the Christians of that country to have rested, stands not far from the city of Erivan or *Irwân*. " A douze lieües d'*Irivan* à l'Est, " on voit," says Chardin, " le mont célèbre, où presque tous demeurent d'accord " que s'arresta l'Arche de Noé, encore que personne n'en ait de preuve solide. " Quand l'air est serain ce mont n'en paroist pas à deux lieües, tant il est haut et " grand ..... Les Turcs l'appellent *Agri-dag*, c'est à dire, la montagne élevée " ou massive. Les Arméniens et les Persans le nomment communemént *Macis*." P. 261, fo. This appears to be the same mountain of which Haiton speaks. In " Armenia est altior mons," he says, "quàm sit in toto orbe terrarum, qui Arath " vulgariter nuncupatur, et in cacumine illius montis Arca Noë post diluvium " primò sedit. Et licet propter abundantiam nivium, quæ semper in illo monte " reperiuntur, tam hieme quam æstate, nemo valeat ascendere montem illum, " semper tamen apparet in ejus cacumine quoddam nigrum, quod ab hominibus " dicitur esse Arca." Cap. ix. The Mahometans, however, assign to it a different situation. " L'opinion commune des Orientaux " says D'Herbelot " est " que l'Arche de Noë s'arrêta sur la montagne de Gioudi, qui est une des " croupes du mont Taurus ou Gordiæus en Arménie, et cette tradition est " autorisé en ce pays-là par plusieurs histoires qui approchent fort de la fable." " *Joudi* جودي " says Ibn Haukal " is a mountain near Nisibin. It is said that " the Ark of Noah (to whom be peace,) rested on the summit of this mountain." Ouseley's translation, p. 60. Major Rennell observes, that *Jeudi* is the part of the Carduchian mountains opposite to the *Jezirat ibn Omar*, and that the dervishes keep a light burning there, in honour of Noah and his Ark.

102. This fertility of the country in the vicinity of the mountains, is noticed by Moses Chorenensis, who says. " Habet autem Araratia montes camposque, " atque omnem fœcunditatem." Geographia, p. 361.

103. These are cities of Mesopotamia, and lie in a south-westerly direction, and not " verso levante," according to the Italian text. In regard to bearings, our author, who had not the advantages of modern travellers, is seldom very correct: but it sometimes happens, also, that through a mistake of the original expression, translators reverse the bearings; and in the present instance it may have been meant, that Armenia lay " verso levante" with respect to Mesopotamia. In the Latin version, however, there is no mention of *Mosul* and *Maredin*, in this chapter, and the " ab oriente" is applied, more consistently, to the position of Georgia.

104. Springs of petroleum or earth- (properly, rock-) oil, are found in many parts of the world. The most copious that we read of are those described by

BOOK I. CHAP. IV. Notes.

Symes, in the Account of his embassy to Ava, p. 440, and more fully by Hiram Cox, in vol. vi. p. 127, of the Asiatic Researches. The estimation, however, by the latter, of the average yearly produce, which he states at 412,360 hogsheads, of 63 gallons each, exceeds the bounds of probability, and would not be excused in our author. The spring or fountain here spoken of is that of *Baku*, in Shirvan, on the border of the Caspian. "Near to this place," says John Cartwright, in what are termed the Preacher's travels, "is a very strange and "wonderful fountain under ground, out of which there springeth and issueth a "marvellous quantity of black oyl, which serveth all the parts of Persia to burn "in their houses; and they usually carry it all over the country upon kine and asses, "whereof you shall oftentimes meet three or four hundred in company." Oxford Coll. of Voyages, Vol. i. (vii.) p. 731. Strahlenberg speaks of this as a spring of white naphtha, which he distinguishes from the black sort or bitumen; but the most satisfactory account of both white and black naphtha in this district is given by Kæmpfer, in his Amœnitates Exoticæ, p. 274-281.

CHAPTER V.

Of the province of Zorzania and its boundaries; of the Pass where Alexander the Great constructed the Gate of Iron; and of the miraculous circumstances attending a fountain at Teflis.

CHAP. V.

In *Zorzania*[105] the king is usually styled *David Melik*, which in our language signifies David the king.[106] One part of the country is subject to the Tartars, and the other part, in consequence of the strength of its fortresses, has remained in the possession of its native princes. It is situated between two seas, of which that on the northern (western) side is called the Greater sea (Euxine),[107] and the other, on the eastern side, is called the sea of *Abakù* (Caspian).[108] This latter is in circuit two thousand eight hundred miles, and partakes of the nature of a lake, not communicating with any other sea.[109] It has several islands, with handsome towns and castles, some of which are inhabited by people who fled before the Grand Tartar, when he laid waste the kingdom or province of Persia,[110] and took shelter in these islands or in the fastnesses of the mountains, where they hoped to find security. Some of the islands

islands are uncultivated. This sea produces abundance of fish, particularly sturgeon and salmon at the mouths of the rivers, as well as others of a large sort.[111] The general wood of the country is the box-tree.[112] I was told that in ancient times the kings of the country were born with the mark of an eagle on the right shoulder.[113] The people are well made, bold sailors, expert archers, and fair combatants in battle. They are christians, observing the ritual of the Greek church, and wear their hair short, in the manner of the western clergy.[114] This is the province into which, when Alexander the Great attempted to advance northwards, he was unable to penetrate, by reason of the narrowness and difficulty of a certain Pass, which on one side is washed by the sea, and is confined on the other by high mountains and woods, for the length of four miles; so that a very few men were capable of defending it against the whole world. Disappointed in this attempt, Alexander caused a great wall to be constructed at the entrance of the Pass, and fortified it with towers, in order to restrain those who dwelt beyond it from giving him molestation. From its uncommon strength the Pass obtained the name of the Gate of Iron,[115] and Alexander is commonly said to have enclosed the Tartars between two mountains. It is not correct however to call the people Tartars, which in those days they were not, but of a race named *Cumani*,[116] with a mixture of other nations. In this province there are many towns and castles; the necessaries of life are in abundance; the country produces a great quantity of silk, and a manufacture is carried on of silk interwoven with gold.[117] Here are found vultures of a large size, of a species named *avigi*.[118] The inhabitants in general gain their livelihood by trade and manual labour. The mountainous nature of the country, with its narrow and strong defiles, have prevented the Tartars from effecting the entire conquest of it. At a convent of Monks dedicated to Saint Lunardo, the following miraculous circumstances are said to take place. In a salt water lake, four days journey in circuit, upon the border of which the church is situated, the fish never make their appearance until the first day of Lent, and from that time to Easter-eve they are found in vast abundance; but on Easter-day they are no longer to be seen, nor during the remainder of the year.[119] It is called

ed the lake of *Gelukhalat.*[120] Into the beforementioned sea of *Abaku*, which is encompassed with mountains, the great rivers *Herdil*,[121] *Geihon*, *Kur*, and *Araz*, with many others, disembogue. The Genoese merchants have recently begun to navigate it, and they bring from thence the kind of silk called *ghellie.*[122] In this province there is a handsome city named *Teflis*,[123] around which are suburbs and many fortified posts. It is inhabited by Armenian and Georgian christians, as well as by some Mahometans and Jews;[124] but these last are in no great numbers. Manufactures of silks and of many other articles are carried on there. Its inhabitants are subjects of the great king of the Tartars.[125] Although we speak only of a few of the principal cities in each province, it is to be understood that there are many others, which it is unnecessary to particularise, unless they happen to contain something remarkable; but should the occasion present itself, these will be hereafter described. Having spoken of the countries bordering on Armenia to the north, we shall now mention those which lie to the south and the east.

NOTES.

105. By *Zorzania* is meant the kingdom of Georgia, bordering on Armenia, and of which *Teflis* was the capital. The substitution of the *z* for the soft *g*, belonged to the old Venetian dialect, in which the original of our author's work is understood to have been written, and the orthography has been preserved in the Latin as well as in the vulgar Italian versions. Thus also in the glossaries we find *zampa* for *gamba*, *mazor* for *maggior*, and *zoia* for *gioia*. "*Giaghatai*," says Pietro della Valle, "e non *Zagatai*, come malamente se dice in Italia, per rela-
"tione forse di Paolo Veneto, ò di qualche altro Venetiano ò Lombardo, che non
"sapendo pronuntiare, nè scrivere il *G*, se non per *Z*, ci haverà così falsamente
"rapportata quella parola." Tom. ii p. 69. This celebrated traveller was a noble Roman, who considered as barbarous every dialect of Italian that differed from those of Rome and Florence

106. The name of *David* or *Davit* frequently occurs in the list of kings who have reigned in Georgia, and their predilection for it is traced to a very remote source. "Si nous devons ajouter foi," says De Guignes, "à ce que Constanstin
"Porphyrogenete nous apprend, cette famille des rois de Georgie prétend tirer son origine

"origine de la femme d'Urie qui fut enlevée par David." T. i. liv. vii. p. 433. "Les princes de Mingrelie," says Chardin, "s'appellant tous *Dadian*, de *dad* "mot Persien qui signifie *justice*. Le roy d'Imirette se donne le titre de *Meppe*, "c'est à dire roy en Georgien. Le Meppe et le Dadian se disent tous deux descen- "dus du roy et prophète David." Voyage de Chardin, p. 99. fo. It is not surprising, therefore, that a traveller should suppose the names of the Georgian kings to have been, invariably, David. The title of *Melik* shews that our author's information was derived from Arabs or Moghuls, who would naturally substitute it for the native title of *Meppe*.

107. It has already been observed (Note 6) that the Euxine was distinguished by the appellation of *Mar maggiore*, from the lesser sea of Marmora.

108. The Caspian, which is generally termed by oriental writers the sea of *Khozar* خزر, was also called by the Persians the sea of *Baku* باقو or باکوه, and by this name (Mar di Bachau) it appears in the maps to an edition of Ptolemy, printed at Venice in 1562. It derives the appellation from the celebrated city and port of *Baku*, on its south-western coast.

109. Herodotus speaks of the Caspian in nearly the same terms. See Rennell's Geography, &c. p. 193.

110. This refers to the conquest and devastation of Persia by the armies of *Jengiz-khan*, about the year 1221. The islands, to which it is not improbable a number of the wretched inhabitants may have fled for security, are at present uninhabited, or frequented only by fishermen.

111. The fishery of the Caspian, and especially about the mouths of the Wolga, has at all periods been important. "Among the great variety of fish "with which this river abounds," says P. H. Bruce, "the sturgeon is none of the "least considerable, whose eggs afford what the Russians call *ikari*, and we, "*caviar*: the *beluga*, or white fish, deserves also to be mentioned; they are from "five to six yards long, and thick in proportion. Besides these it yields also the "*osotrin*, another very large fish, very fat and delicious: this river also abounds "with salmon, sterlitz, a most delicious fish, and innumerable other sorts too "tedious to mention." Memoirs, p. 236. Strahlenberg also notices the *beluja* as "the largest eatable river-fish in the world, having seen one fifty-six feet in "length and eighteen in girth." P. 337.

112. By modern travellers the box-tree is merely enumerated amongst the vegetable productions of the country, without any notice of its prevalence; but by Ambrogio

Ambrogio Cantareno, who travelled in the fifteenth century, it is more particularly distinguished. "Era in detta pianura," he says in speaking of Mingrelia, "di molti arbori in modo di *bussi*, ma molto maggiori." P. 65, 12mo.

113. By this pretended tradition it may be understood that they were, or affected to be thought, a branch of the imperial family of Constantinople, who bore the Roman eagle amongst their *insignia*.

114. "Vanno tosi et rasi il capo," says Josaphat Barbaro, speaking of the Mingrelians, "salvo che intorno lassano alquanti capelli à similitudine di questi "nostri abbati che hanno buona entrata." Viaggio alla Tana, p.21. Chardin says: "Leur habillement est particulier; ils ont peu de barbe hormis les ecclésias- "tiques. Ils se rasent le sommet de la tête en couronne, et laissent croître "jusques sur leurs yeux le reste de leurs cheveux aussi coupez en rond." Voyage, p. 79, fo.

115. This is the celebrated Pass between the foot of mount Caucasus and the Caspian sea, where stands the small but strong city of *Derbend*, called by the Arabs, *Bab-al-abuab* or the "Gate of gates," by the Turks, *Demir-capi* or the "Gate of iron," and by the Persians, *Derbend*, or the "Barrier," between Georgia and the Persian province of *Shirvan*. "Partendo di qui," says Josaphat Barbaro, "si va à *Derbenth*, terra (come si dice) edificata da Alessandro: laqual "è sul mar di *Bachu*, un miglio lontana dal monte; et ha sul monte un castello; "e poi se ne viene al mar con due ale di muro per insino in aqua: in modo "che le teste de'muri sono due passi sotto acqua. La terra è da una porta all' "altra larga mezo miglio, et i muri di essa sono di sassi grandi alla romana." Viaggio in Persia, fol. 49-2, 12mo. "The natives in general are of opinion," says P. H. Bruce, "that the city of Derbent was built by Alexander the Great, "and that the long wall that reached to the Euxine, was built by his order, "to prevent the incursions of the Scythians into Persia." Memoirs, p. 284. The wall is said to have been repaired by Yezdegerd II. of the Sassanian dynasty, who reigned about the middle of the fifth century, and again by Nushirvan, of the same family, who died in 579. See Bayer's "Dissertatio de muro Cau- "caso;" Commentar. Petropol. T. i. p. 245, and Rennell's Geography of Herodotus illustrated, p. 112.

116. The notices we have, respecting the people named *Comani* or Comanians, are in general obscure and vague. It appears, however, that in the thirteenth century they were the inhabitants of the countries lying on the north-western side of the Caspian, and extending from the Wolga towards the Euxine, who were afterwards subdued and supplanted by the *Kapchak* Tartars. "The Co- "mans,"

"mans," says Gibbon, "were a Tartar or Turkman hord which encamped in "the XIth. and XIIth. centuries on the verge of Moldavia. The greater "part were pagans, but some were Mahometans, and the whole hord was "converted to Christianity (*A. D. 1370*) by Lewis king of Hungary." Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. p. 185, Note. According to Tavernier, Comania was bounded on the east by the Caspian sea; on the west by the mountains that divide it from Circassia; on the north by the dominions of Russia; and on the south by Georgia. But Cartwright, in what are termed the Preacher's travels, says: "This country of Armenia hath for its utmost "bounds northward, Colchos, Iberia, and Albania, which are now called by the "Tartars, Comania;" and in the History of Haiton the Armenian, the *Cumani* are identified with the Circassians. Our author evidently speaks of them as the people who dwelt immediately to the north of the Pass of Derbend, where our maps place the *Lesgi*. The obscurity, however, which seems to envelop the accounts given of these people, is in some measure cleared up by a passage in the "Gesta dei per Francos" of Bongarsius, who shews that the name of *Comani* is no other than a contraction of *Turcomani*, an appellation with which we are familiar. His words are: "Ab his autem septentrionalibus Saracenis, "qui *Comani* nuncupantur, principium et originem, hi qui *Turcomani* dicuntur, "et in terra Turcorum inhabitant, traxisse creduntur. Unde nomine compo- "sito a Turcis et Comanis appellantur Turcomani. De Turcis siquidem ex "antiquis Orientalium historiis certum habemus, quòd ex septentrionali re- "gione exeuntes, Persarum fines ingressi, non solùm regionem illam, sed "universas ferè orientales provincias armatâ manu occupaverunt violenter." Tom. ii. p. 1061. In this description we recognise the dynasties of Turkoman Tartars known by the name of *Seljuks*, one of which subdued the country of Irân or Persia, whilst another, (already spoken of in Note 21) possessed itself of the greater part of Asia minor. "Ces Turcs" says De Guignes with reference to the former "que Zonare appelle Hongres, et Cedrene Huns, "ont possédé tous les pays qui sont depuis la Syrie jusqu'à Kaschgar." T. i. p. 241. Their consequence ceased about the middle of the twelfth century, but the population long existed in the countries bordering on the northern shores of the Caspian.

117. Some of the provinces of Georgia, as well as of Armenia and the adjoining parts of Persia, have in all ages been famous for the culture of the silk-worm and commerce in silk. I have long entertained the idea, and hope it will not be thought an extravagant one, that the Golden fleece which Jason and his adventurous companions, in the Argo, are said to have brought away from Colchis (Mingrelia), and exhibited in Greece, was a cargo, or perhaps only a specimen, of rich, golden coloured raw-silk, in the *hank*, which might, figu-

 ratively,

ratively, be termed a *fleece*, because like the wool of the sheep, it was to be twisted into thread and woven into cloth. This at least is as plausible as the solution commonly received, and admitted by a celebrated historian not prone to credulity, that the fable had its origin in the practice of collecting gold-dust from the beds of rivers, by means of fleeces or sheep-skins immerged for that purpose. But did the gold, it may be asked, continue to adhere until they had the opportunity of producing the splendid treasure to their countrymen? For the fleece alone, although it had previously been so employed, would have been a very insufficient evidence of the fact, and little calculated for exhibition as a trophy. See Gibbon, vol. v. p. 252.

118. I know not what species of vulture is here meant, nor can we be certain of the correctness of the orthography of the word *avigi*. That the country is noted for birds of this class, appears from the writings of several travellers. When Chardin arrived in Mingrelia he found it necessary to deceive the Turks by giving out that he was a merchant, whose object in visiting the country was to procure *birds of prey* for the Europe market.

119. The reporting, upon the authority of others, a miracle of which he neither was, nor, we may say, could have been an eye-witness, ought not to be considered as any impeachment of the veracity of our author. Credulity in such matters was the propensity of the age, and there is not a town in Italy where some story equally wonderful and equally false, has not been vouched for by the monks, believed by the people, and gravely related by the historian or traveller. So far from asserting this on his own knowledge, he cautiously uses the expression: "dove *vien detto* esser questo miracolo."

120. Within the proper boundaries of Georgia I am unable to identify this large, salt-water lake of *Gelu-khalat*. Upon an island in that near *Erivan*, which D'Anville names *Gheuk-sha* ou Eau bleu, stands a very ancient monastery, which Chardin tells us was founded six hundred years before his time, or in the eleventh century, and must therefore have existed in our author's days; but on the other hand its waters are described as being fresh and sweet, and it is separated from Georgia by a ridge of mountains. There is more reason for supposing it to be the lake now called *Van* or *Wan* and formerly *Arjish*, although this lies still further within the boundary of Armenia. In its neighbourhood was situated a town of some celebrity, named *Khalât* خلاط and *Akhlât* اخلاط. Its circumference is described by Abulfeda as being of *four* days' journey, and he says it is noted for a peculiar species of fish. The following are his words, in the translation of Reiske: "Argisch est parva urbs. Khallathâ in orientem "abest ad bidui fere iter. Ex ejus lacu petitus aliò divehitur piscis nomine "*tharnag*

" *tharnag* notus. In oriente Khallathæ, ait Saidi filius, est lacus Argisch, " cujus longitudo ab occidente ad orientem cum flexu ad austrum est quatuor " diætarum, latitudo unus diætæ. Reperitur ibi piscis *oth* (*al*) *tharnag*, qui " salitus aliò defertur." This fish is elswhere said to resemble the herring.

It is extraordinary that in the Latin versions of our author, the name, there written *Chelucelam*, is applied to the Caspian itself, and this story of the total absence of fish of every kind during nine-tenths of the year is rendered still more improbable by relating it of a sea so notorious for its extensive fisheries.

121. By the Arabians and Turks the name of *Etel* اتل is given to the Wolga, and it is here corrupted to *Herdil*. This river, according to *Ibn Haukal*, comes from the countries of Rûss and Bulgar, and at the season when its waters are collected, is said to be greater than the river *Jihun* جيحون, rushing into the sea with such a body that it seems to conquer the waters of the Caspian. See Ouseley's translation, p. 185-7. The names of *Jihun* or Oxus, *Kur* or Cyrus, and *Araz* or Araxes, do not require any particular remark.

122. The province of *Ghilan* (called also *al-Ghil*) on the Caspian being famous for its trade in silk, we can scarcely doubt that this word *ghellie* or *ghilli* was a name given to the article on that account; as florentine, a species of silk, has (or may be presumed to have) its appellation from Florence. The red silk of *Ghilan* is mentioned by Niebuhr; and Elphinstone, speaking of the trade of Caubul with Persia, says: " The imports are raw silk of Gheelaun and Resht, " silken stuffs made at Yezd and Kashaun." P. 295.

123. For a particular account of the city of *Teflis*, the capital of Georgia, see Chardin, p. 220, fo. with the Plate. Our author's route from *Tabriz* to Trebisond did not carry him to this city, and there is reason to conclude that what little he says of it is from the report of others.

124. In Chardin's time this city contained fourteen churches, of which six belonged to the Georgian and eight to the Armenian christians. Being then subject to the Persian government, frequent attempts were made by the Mahometans to erect mosques, but without success; the populace never failing to demolish the work. He makes no mention of Jews; yet there is little doubt of their being found at *Teflis*, as we know they were in the neighbouring cities. " In *Deinel*, of Armenia," says *Ibn Haukal*, who wrote so early as the tenth century, " there are great numbers of Christians and Jews, and the churches are " interspersed amongst the mosques." P. 160.

 125. By

125. By the king of the (Moghul) Tartars must here be understood the descendant of *Hulagu*, who ruled over Persia and the neighbouring countries: not the Grand *khan*.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the province of Mosul and its different inhabitants; of the people named Kurds; and of the trade of this country.

CHAP. VI. MOSUL is a province[126] inhabited by various descriptions of people, one class of whom pay reverence to Mahomet, and are called Arabians.[127] The others profess the Christian faith, but not according to the canons of the Church, which they depart from in many instances, and are denominated Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians.[128] They have a Patriarch whom they call *Jacolit*,[129] and by him archbishops, bishops, and abbots are consecrated and sent to all parts of India, to Cairo, to Baghdad, and to all places inhabited by Christians; in the same manner as by the Pope of the Romish church. All those cloths of gold and of silk which we call *muslins*[130] are of the manufacture of *Mosul*, and all the great merchants termed *Mossulini*, who convey spices and drugs, in large quantities, from one country to another, are from this province.[131] In the mountainous parts there is a race of people named *Kurds*, some of whom are Christians of the Nestorian and Jacobite sects, and others Mahometans. They are all an unprincipled banditti, whose occupation it is to rob the merchants.[132] In the vicinity of this province there are places named *Mus* and *Maredin*,[133] where cotton is produced in great abundance, of which they prepare the cloths called *boccasini*, and many other fabrics. The inhabitants are manufacturers and traders, and are all subjects of the king of the Tartars. We shall now speak of the city of *Baldach*.

NOTES.

126. The city of *Mosul* موصل, or according to the Arabic pronunciation, *Mausil*, formerly the capital of Mesopotamia and now of the Turkish *pashalik* bearing its own name, stands upon the right or western bank of the Tigris, opposite to the site of the ancient Nineveh, with which it is connected by a bridge of boats. It is described by Abulfeda and all the oriental geographers as one of the most distinguished cities under the Mahometan government. In Niebuhr's "Voyage en Arabie," T. ii. p. 289, the reader will find a satisfactory account of its modern state, and a more succinct one in Büsching's geography. Although our author terms it a province, he may be thought to describe it rather as a city; but the district itself is called by the Arabians *Diyar Mausil* as well as *Diyar al-Jezirah*.

127. The bulk of the population is at this day Arabian, and that language is the general medium of communication amongst the inhabitants, whatever their national origin or religion may be.

128. "On compte le nombre des Chrétiens," says Niebuhr, "à environ 1200 "maisons. La quatrième partie environ sont des Nestoriens et des Chaldéens "(ou réunis), le reste c'est des Jacobites." "Les Chrétiens ne vivent sans "doute dans aucune province de l'empire Turc, en aussi bonne harmonie avec "les Mahométans qu'à Mosul." "On trouve aussi environ 150 maisons habitées "par des Juifs." T. ii. p. 294.

129. This word, in some editions written *Jacolich*, presents a striking example of the degree of corruption our author's text has unfortunately experienced, being no other than the title of *Catholicos*, by which the Patriarchs of the Greek church in Georgia and Armenia are distinguished. The extent of their jurisdiction I am unable to ascertain, but suppose it embraces all the communities of the same sect, wherever situated. The Catholicos or Patriarch of Georgia, who was at the same time brother to the Mahometan prince of the country, is mentioned by Chardin; and Cartwright (the Preacher) informs us, in his Travels, that the Armenians "have two Patriarchs, to whom they give the "name of *Universal*: the one keepeth his seat in the city of *Sis* in Caramania; "the other in the monastery of *Ecmeazin*, near unto the city *Ervan* in this "country. Under these two Patriarchs are eighteen monasteries full fraught "with friars of their own religion; and four and twenty bishopricks." "The peo-"ple of this nation," he adds, "have retained amongst them the Christian faith, "as it is thought from the time of the Apostles; but at this day it is spotted "with many absurdities. They hold with the church of Rome in the use of "the

" the cross, affirming it to be meritorious if they make the same with two " fingers, as the Papists use, but idle and vain if with one finger, as the Jaco- " bites." Niebuhr speaks of the grand Patriarch of the Nestorians, who resides in a village near Mosul, but does not apply to him the title of Catholicos. According to the information given by Ives, who visited this city in 1758, the number of Roman christians was about one thousand, and of Nestorians Jacobites, and Maronites, about four thousand.

130. The origin of the word " muslin," in French, " mousseline," and in Italian (from whence the others are borrowed) " *mussolo e mussolino*, sorta di " tela bambagina, cosi detta dal nome del paese dove per lo più si fabbrica," is here satisfactorily pointed out; but our author, if his editors have not misrepresented his meaning, includes under that denomination articles of a nature very different from that to which we apply the name. It is not however improbable that the city of *Mosul*, being at this time one of the greatest entrepôts of eastern commerce, and also itself a place of considerable manufacture, may have given the appellation to various productions of the loom conveyed from thence to the Mediterranean, although in later days the word *mussolino* has been exclusively applied to the well-known Indian fabric or its imitations. When Ives, in the account of his Journey, tells us that " this city's manufacture is *mussolen* " (a cotton cloth) which they make very strong and pretty fine, and sell for the " European and other markets," it is evident that he does not describe a cloth of the delicate or flimsy texture that we call *muslin*, but rather the kind that with us has acquired the name of *calico*, from the city of Calicut in the East Indies. In Menagio's " Origini della lingua Italiana " we find under the term " Musso- " lo," the following passage: " *Al Musoli* est regio in Mesopotamia, in qua " texuntur telæ ex bombyce, valdæ pulchræ, quæ apud Syros et apud mercatores " Venetos appellantur *mussoli*, ex hoc regionis nomine."

131. That merchants bringing their wares and drugs, by caravans, from the borders of the Tigris to the coast of Syria or Asia minor, may have been denominated *Mussolini* by the Italians, is not an improbable fact; but I cannot find any other authority for it, and am led to believe that our author, from the want of a competent knowledge of the Arabic language, may have mistaken the word *Moslem*, *Musselman*, or *Muslimîn*, signifying persons of the Mahometan faith, for *Mosali* or *Mussali*, natives of *Mosul*.

132. *Kurdistan*, which formed the northern part of the ancient Assyria, is a mountainous region to the eastward of the Tigris, and immediately at the back of *Mosul*, *Nisibin*, and *Maredin*. The inhabitants for the most part speak a corrupt dialect of Persian, but in their habits and manners resemble the Bedouin Arabs, and

and like them make a practice of robbing the caravans when not adequately protected. Cartwright terms them "a most thievish people," and the accounts of all subsequent travellers agree in describing them as systematical plunderers: a state of society that results from their local situation, being that of a mountainous tract which must necessarily be traversed in passing from one rich country to another. The principal articles of commerce in this country appear to be gall-nuts, cotton, and a species of silk called *käs* or *kés*, described by Niebuhr as growing on trees. Voyage, T. ii. p. 268.

133. For an account of *Maredin* ماردين a city of Mesopotamia, in the district of *Diyar-Rabiah*, see "Voyage par Niebuhr," T. ii. p. 217, with a plate. He speaks of its manufactures of flax and cotton. Respecting the article of *boccasini*, see Note 94. *Musk* موش is a town on the borders of Kurdistan and Armenia, between *Bedlis* and the Euphrates in the upper part of its course.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the great city of Baldach or Bagadet, anciently called Babylon; of the navigation from thence to Balsara, situated in what is termed the sea of India, but properly the Persian Gulf; and of the various sciences studied in that city.

BALDACH is a large city, heretofore the residence of the *khalif*[134] or pontiff of all the Saracens, as the Pope is of all Christians. A great river flows through the midst of it,[135] by means of which the merchants transport their goods to and from the sea of India; the distance being computed at seventeen days navigation, in consequence of the windings of its course. Those who undertake the voyage, after leaving the river, touch at a place named *Kisi*,[136] from whence they proceed to sea: but previously to their reaching this anchorage they pass a city named *Balsara*,[137] in the vicinity of which are groves of palm-trees producing the best dates in the world. In *Baldach* there is a manufacture of silks wrought with gold, and also of damasks, as well as of velvets ornamented with the figures of various animals.[138]

Almost

BOOK I. CHAP. VII.

Almost all the pearls brought to Europe from India have undergone the process of boring, at this place. The Mahometan law is here regularly studied, as are also magic, physics, astronomy, geomancy, and physiognomy.[139] It is the noblest and most extensive city to be found in this part of the world.

NOTES.

134. The city of *Baghdád* بغداد was built by *Abu Jàfar al-Mansur*, second *khalif* of the Abbassite dynasty, about the year 765, and continued to be the residence of his successors until the death of the last *khalif* of that race, in the year 1258, when it fell under the dominion of the Moghuls. Its situation, importance, and splendour are well known, and the manners and sentiments of its inhabitants have been rendered familiar to us by those incomparable tales, the "Arabian nights' entertainments," or, according to the original title, the "Thousand and one nights."

135. This river is the Tigris, named *Dijleh* دجلة by the Arabs, which falls into the Euphrates, when their united streams acquire the appellation of *Shat-al-arab*, and discharge themselves into the Persian gulf. The modern city of *Baghdad* stands on the eastern bank, and is connected with the suburb on the western side of the river, by a bridge of boats; but on that side there are also found the ruins of buildings that belonged to the ancient city or seat of the khalifs; and our author is therefore correct in describing it as divided by the river, in his time. Abulfeda speaks of it as occupying both banks of the Tigris. See Map (on a large scale) to Rennell's Illustrations of the Retreat of the Ten thousand.

136. *Kisi*, or *Chisi* in the Italian orthography, is a small island on the eastern side of the Gulf of Persia, named *Kís* or *Kés* قيس, to which the trade of *Siraf*, a port on the neighbouring continent, much celebrated by eastern geographers, was transferred; in consquence, as it may be presumed, of wars in that quarter, and of injuries sustained by the merchants. The exact situation of the latter is not now pointed out by any remains, and it is remarkable that Niebuhr passes it without notice, although of so much importance in the history of the commerce with India, and particularly with China, in the middle ages. "Siref," says the Bibliothèque Orientale, "a été autrefois une ville abondante en toutes choses et "fort marchande, à cause du concours des étrangers, quoique d'ailleurs son "terroir

" terroir soit fort stérile et l'air qu'on y respire extrêmement chaud. Mais " depuis que le commerce s'est fait dans *Kis*, isle du Golfe Persique, elle a été " abandonnée et s'est peu à peu détruite." By Niebuhr the name is written *Qäs* and *Käs*, by D'Anville *Keisch*, and by Ives *Kyes*. It appears from Abulfeda that the orientals themselves are not agreed as to the pronunciation, some of them naming it *Kaïsch* and others *Kisch*, whilst the Arabs, he says, call it *Keis*. Its chief recommendation is, that it affords a good supply of fresh water

137. *Balsara*, more commonly written *Balsora*, but properly *Basrah* بسرة, is a city of great commercial importance, situated on the south-west side of the *Shat-al-arab*, about half way between the point where the Euphrates and Tigris unite their streams, and the Persian gulph. It lies consequently in the way (as our author remarks) of those who navigate from *Baghdad* to the island of *Kis*. For an account of the date trees of this place, see Niebuhr, who commences it with saying: " Il-y-a bien peu d'endroits au monde, où l'on trouve tant de " différentes sortes de dattes, qu'à Basre." Voyage, t. ii. p. 184.

138. It may be suspected that instead of *velluti*, velvets, we should here read *tappeti*, carpets, for the manufacture of which Persia has always been celebrated. With respect to the figures of animals, the Mahometans of the *shiah* sect have never been strict, as those of the *sunni* are known to be, in prohibiting the representation of them in their ornamental works.

139. It is well known that under the government of the khalifs, the cultivation of the sciences was liberally encouraged, and that to the Arabian scholars of those days Europe is indebted for the preservation of the most valuable Greek scientific and philosophical works. Perhaps in the above enumeration we should do but justice to our author's text, in substituting *geometria* for *geomancia* which appears superfluous, and *filosofia* for *fisionomia*, because the Ethics of Aristotle (as well as the Elements of Euclid) were actually studied at Baghdad; whilst *fisionomia*, unless as connected with medicine, was not likely to have been then reduced to a system.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning the capture and death of the Khalif of Baldach, and the miraculous removal of a mountain.

THE above-mentioned *khalif*, who is understood to have amassed greater treasures than had ever been possessed by any other sovereign, perished miserably, under the following circumstances.[140] At the period when the Tartar princes began to extend their dominion, there were amongst them four brothers, of whom the eldest, named *Mangù*, reigned in the royal seat of the family.[141] Having subdued the country of *Kataia*, and other districts in that quarter, they were not satisfied, but coveting further territory, they conceived the idea of universal empire, and proposed that they should divide the world amongst them. With this object in view, it was agreed that one of them should proceed to the east, that another should make conquests in the south, and that the other two should direct their operations against the remaining quarters. The southern portion fell to the lot of *Ulaù*, who assembled a vast army, and having subdued the provinces through which his route lay, proceeded in the year 1250, to the attack of this city of *Baldach*.[142] Being aware however of its great strength and the prodigious number of its inhabitants, he trusted rather to stratagem than to force for its reduction, and in order to deceive the enemy with regard to the number of his troops, which consisted of an hundred thousand horse, besides foot soldiers, he posted one division of his army on the one side, another division on the other side of the approach to the city, in such a manner as to be concealed by a wood, and placing himself at the head of the third, advanced boldly to within a short distance of the gate. The khalif made light of a force apparently so inconsiderable, and confident in the efficacy of the usual Mahometan ejaculation, thought of nothing less than its entire destruction, and for that purpose marched out of the city with his guards; but as soon as *Ulaù* perceived his approach, he feigned to retreat before him, until by this means he had drawn him beyond the wood where the other divisions were posted.

By

By the closing of these from both sides, the army of the khalif was surrounded and broken, himself was made prisoner, and the city surrendered to the conqueror. Upon entering it, *Ulaù* discovered, to his great astonishment, a tower filled with gold. He called the khalif before him, and after reproaching him with his avarice, that prevented him from employing his treasures in the formation of an army for the defence of his capital against the powerful invasion with which it had long been threatened, gave orders for his being shut up in this same tower, without sustenance; and there, in the midst of his wealth, he soon finished a miserable existence.[143]

I judge that our Lord Jesus Christ herein thought proper to avenge the wrongs of his faithful christians, so abhorred by this khalif. From the time of his accession in 1225, his daily thoughts were employed on the means of converting to his religion those who resided within his dominions, or, upon their refusal, in forming pretences for putting them to death. Consulting with his learned men for this purpose, they discovered a passage in the Gospel where it is said: "If ye have faith "as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove "hence to yonder place, and it shall remove," (upon prayer to that effect addressed to the divine majesty); and being rejoiced at the discovery, persuaded as he was that the thing was utterly impossible, he gave orders for assembling all the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians who dwelt in Baghdad, and who were very numerous. To these the question was propounded, whether they believed all that is asserted in the text of their Gospel to be true, or not. They made answer that it was true. "Then," said the khalif, "if it be true, let us see which "of you will give the proof of his faith; for certainly if there is not to "be found one amongst you who possesses even so small a portion of "faith in his Lord, as to be equal to a grain of mustard, I shall be "justified in regarding you, from henceforth, as a wicked, reprobate, "and faithless people. I allow you therefore ten days, before the "expiration of which you must either, through the power of Him "whom you worship, remove the mountain now before you, or embrace "the law of our prophet; in either of which cases you will be safe; "but otherwise you must all expect to suffer the most cruel deaths." The Christians, acquainted as they were with his merciless disposition,

as well as his eagerness to despoil them of their property, upon hearing these words, trembled for their lives; but nevertheless, having confidence in their Redeemer, that he would deliver them from their peril, they held an assembly and deliberated on the course they ought to take. None other presented itself than that of imploring the Divine Being to grant them the aid of his mercy. To obtain this, every individual, great and small, prostrated himself night and day upon the earth, shedding tears profusely, and attending to no other occupation than that of prayer to the *Lord. When they had thus persevered during eight days, a divine revelation came at length, in a dream, to a bishop of exemplary life, directing him to proceed in search of a certain shoemaker (whose name is not known) having only one eye, whom he should summon to the mountain, as a person capable of effecting its removal, through the divine grace. Having found the shoemaker and made him acquainted with the revelation, he replied that he did not feel himself worthy of the undertaking, his merits not being such as to entitle him to the reward of such abundant grace. Importuned however by the poor terrified Christians, he at length assented. It should be understood that he was a man of strict morals and pious conversation, having his mind pure and faithful to his God, regularly attending the celebration of the mass and other divine offices, fervent in works of charity, and rigid in the observance of fasts. It once happened to him, that a handsome young woman who came to his shop in order to be fitted with a pair of slippers, in presenting her foot, accidently exposed a part of her leg, the beauty of which excited in him a momentary concupiscence; but recollecting himself, he presently dismissed her, and calling to mind the words of the Gospel, where it is said, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee; "for it is better to enter the kingdom of God with one eye, than "having two eyes, to be cast into hell fire," he immediately with an instrument of his trade, scooped out his right eye; evincing by that act, beyond all doubt, the excellence of his faith.

The appointed day being arrived, divine service was performed at an early hour, and a solemn procession was made to the plain where the mountain stood; the holy cross being borne in front. The khalif likewise, in the conviction of its proving a vain ceremony on the part

of

of the Christians, chose to be present, accompanied by a number of his guards, for the purpose of destroying them in the event of failure. Here the pious artisan, kneeling before the cross, and lifting up his hands to heaven, humbly besought his Creator that he would compassionately look down upon earth, and for the glory and excellence of his name, as well as for the support and confirmation of the Christian faith, would lend assistance to his people in the accomplishment of the task imposed upon them, and thus manifest his power to the revilers of his law. Having concluded his prayer, he cried with a loud voice: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I command thee, "O mountain, to remove thyself!" Upon these words being uttered, the mountain moved, and the earth at the same time trembled in a wonderful and alarming manner. The khalif and all those by whom he was surrounded, were struck with terror, and remained in a state of stupefaction. Many of the latter became Christians, and even the khalif secretly embraced Christianity, always wearing a cross concealed under his garment, which after his death was found upon him; and on this account it was that they did not entomb him in the shrine of his predecessors. In commemoration of this singular grace bestowed upon them by God, all the Christians, Nestorians, and Jacobites, from that time forth have continued to celebrate in a solemn manner the return of the day on which the miracle took place; keeping fast also on the vigil.[144]

NOTES.

140. *Mostasem Billah* مستعصم بالله the last of the Abbassite khalifs of *Baghdad*; began to reign in 1242, and was put to death in 1258. His character was that of a weak, indolent, voluptuous, and at the same time avaricious prince, who neglected the duties of his government, and committed them to the hands of a wicked minister, by whom he was at length betrayed to his mortal enemy.

141. From the words of Ramusio, "*regnava nella Sedia*," it might be inferred that he considered this as the proper name of a place. None such, however, is to be found in Tartary; and as the Italian word means no more than *the seat* or throne, it

it is obvious that our author intended only to say, that *Mangu-kaan* reigned at this period in *Kara-korum*, the capital of his Tartarian empire.

142. According to the most accurate oriental historians it was not until the year 1255 that *Hulagu* (whom Haiton calls *Haolanus* or *Haolo*, P. Gaubil *Holayou*, and our author *Ula-ù*) crossed the Oxus. In 1256 he required *Mostasem* to assist him in the reduction of the Ismaelians, and in 1258 obtained possession of *Baghdad*. P. Gaubil, upon the authority of the Chinese annals, places this event in 1257.

143. Most of the circumstances detailed in this superficial and incorrect account of the conquest of Baghdad and extinction of the khalifat, by the Moghuls, are not to be found in the Latin versions, and may have been added to the text by one who was acquainted with the Oriental History of Haiton the Armenian; as the reader will be enabled to judge from the following passages of that work: "Caliphus quidem captus vivus adductus fuit ante præsentiam Hao-"loni: et inventæ fuerunt in Baldach tantæ divitiæ, quod vix credendum esset, "esse totidem in residuo hujus mundi.....Tibi damus, inquit, in cibum ista "omnia pretiosa, quæ tantum dilexisti et cum magna aviditate custodisti: et "præcepit ponere Caliphum una camera, et ante ipsum projici margaritas et "aurum, ut de illis comederet quantum vellet, et præcepit ne aliquis cibus "daretur.....Et sic morte pessima miser ille et avarus miserabilem vitam "finivit: nec unquam Caliphus postea exstetit in Baldach." Cap. 25. 26. p. 42, ed. Mulleri. The work of Haiton (an ecclesiastic) was translated into Latin by the person who had previously drawn it up in French, from the mouth of Haiton himself, about the year 1307, and might therefore have been in the hands of some of the earliest of the transcribers of our author's travels. It is not, however, improbable, on the other hand, that the POLO family might have heard the circumstances when (in the year 1271 or 1272) they travelled through the dominions of Leon or Livon II, the son and successor of Haiton I.

144. The pretended miracle is here more minutely detailed than in other versions, and the Latin text states it to have taken place at Tauris and not at Baghdad, although that would have been inconsistent with the presence of the khalif. If it was recorded by our author as it is handed down to us, we can only say that he must have been deceived by a pious fabrication of the Christians on the spot, as he neither pretends to, nor could have been an eye-witness of transactions in the days of *Mostasem*. Such instances of imposition and credulity have been too common in the world, even down to our own time (in which the blood of St. Januarius has so often undergone liquefaction), to excite surprise at the weakness of any individual of the thirteenth century. See Note 119.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the noble city of Tauris, in Irak, and of its commercial and other inhabitants.

TAURIS is a large city belonging to the province of *Irak*, which contains many other cities and fortified places, but this is the most eminent and most populous.[145] The inhabitants support themselves principally by commerce and manufactures, which latter consist of various kinds of silk, some of them interwoven with gold, and of high price. It is so advantageously situated for trade, that merchants from India, from *Baldach*, *Mosul*, *Cremessor*,[146] as well as from different parts of Europe, resort thither to purchase and to sell a number of articles.[147] Precious stones and pearls in abundance may be procured at this place.[148] The merchants concerned in foreign commerce acquire considerable wealth, but the inhabitants in general are poor. They consist of a mixture of various nations and sects, Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, Persians, and the followers of Mahomet, who form the bulk of the population and are those properly called Taurisians.[150] Each description of people have their peculiar language. The city is surrounded with delightful gardens producing the finest fruits.[151] The Mahometan inhabitants are treacherous and unprincipled. According to their doctrine, whatever is stolen or plundered from others of a different faith, is properly taken, and the theft is no crime; whilst those who suffer death or injury by the hands of Christians, are considered as martyrs. If therefore they were not prohibited and restrained by the powers who now govern them,[152] they would commit many outrages. These principles are common to all the Saracens. When they are at the point of death their priest attends upon them and asks whether they believe that Mahomet was the true apostle of God. If their answer be that they do believe, their salvation is assured to them; and in consequence of this facility of absolution, which gives free scope to the perpetration of every thing flagitious, they have succeeded in converting to their faith a great proportion of the Tartars, who consider it as relieving them

them from restraint in the commission of crimes.[153] From Tauris to Persia is twelve days journey.[154]

NOTES.

145. The city of *Tauris*, by the Persians and other orientals named *Tabriz* تبريز is situated in the province of *Aderbaijan*, which borders on that of *Al-Jebal* or the Persian *Irak*, and formed with it the ancient kingdom of Media. That *Tauris* is not the *Ecbatana* of the Greek writers, as supposed by many learned geographers, has been satisfactorily proved by my friend Major Rennell, who shews (in the Geographical System of Herodotus, p. 272) that this honour belongs to *Hamadan*. It has been, however, at all periods, a place of great importance. Upon the conquest of Persia by the Moghuls, about the year 1255, it became the principal residence of *Hulagu* and his descendants, until the founding of *Sultaniyah*, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Before the close of that century it was taken and sacked by Tamerlane and during the reign of the *Sefi* family it was several times plundered by the Ottomans, but has always reverted to the Persian government. Chardin, who visited it in 1673, gives a magnificent account of its numerous caravanserais and bazars, and describes the great square as surpassing that of *Ispahan* in size and grandeur. The name of this city, which in the Basle edition as well as that of Ramusio is *Tauris*, and in the older Latin *Thauris*, is corrupted to *Totis* in all the early Italian epitomes.

146. *Cremessor*, otherwise written *Cremosor*, *Cormosa*, *Cremos*, and *Cormos*, is no other than the famous city of *Ormuz* or *Hormuz*, by the ancients called *Harmuza*, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf; of which there will be occasion to speak more particularly hereafter. *Baldach*, we have already seen, is the city of *Baghdad*.

147. " Le nombre d'étrangers," says Chardin, " qui se trouve là (à Tauris) en " tout tems est aussi fort grand; il y en a de tous les endroits de l'Asie, et je ne " sçay s'il y a sorte de marchandise dont l'on ne puisse y trouver magazin. La " ville est remplie de métiers en coton, en soye, et en or. Les plus beaux turbans " de Perse s'y fabriquent. J'ay ouy assurer aux principaux marchands de la ville, " qu'on y fabrique tous les ans six mille balles de soye. Le commerce de cette " ville s'étend dans toute la Perse, et dans toute la Turquie, en Moscovie, en " Tartarie, aux Indes, et sur la Mer Noire." P. 292, fo.

148. Chardin mentions a particular *bazar* (le plus beau de tous) for the sale of jewels and other articles of extraordinary value. The pearls both from the fisheries

fisheries of Ceylon, and from *Bahrein* in the Gulf of Persia, appear to have been conveyed in the first instance to *Baghdad*, where they were polished and bored, and from thence to the other markets of Asia and Europe, particularly Constantinople.

149. These Persians, as distinguished from the Mahometans, must have been the original inhabitants of *Farsistan*, who retained the ancient religion of *Zerdusht* or Zoroaster, the characteristic of which was the worship of fire, and whom (in their modern state of expatriation) we term *Parsis*. They constitute at this time the most wealthy, as well as the most ingenious class of native inhabitants, living under the English protection at Bombay.

150. I am not sure of having here correctly given the meaning of Ramusio's words, "et le genti che adorano Macometto è il popolo della città, che si chiama-"no Taurisini;" or whether, in reference to the preceding part, he does not mean to apply the name of Taurisians to the whole population.

151. Abulfeda praises its gardens; and the abundance and variety of its fruits are noticed by Chardin.

152. That is, by their new lords, the Moghul Tartars.

153. It is curious to observe here the same argument as that employed by the advocates for the Reformation, against auricular confession and absolution.

154. This must be understood of Persia proper, Fars or Farsistan, of which Persepolis was the ancient capital; as *Shiraz* is the modern; but he probably means the distance from *Tauris* to *Kasbin*, which he speaks of in the next chapter as the first city upon entering Persia.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Monastery of Saint Barsamo, in the neighbourhood of Tauris.

CHAP. X.

Not far from Tauris is a monastery that takes its name from the holy saint *Barsamo*,[155] and is eminent for devotion. There is here an Abbot and many monks, who resemble the order of Carmelites in the fashion

BOOK I. CHAP. X. of their dress. That they may not lead a life of idleness, they employ themselves continually in the weaving of woollen girdles, which they place upon the altar of their saint during the celebration of divine service, and when they make the circuit of the provinces, soliciting alms (in the same manner as do the brethren of the order of the Holy Ghost), they present these girdles to their friends and to persons of distinction; being esteemed good for rheumatic pains, on which account they are devoutly sought for by all ranks.

NOTE.

155. After a vain search for this Saint in the Italian calendars of latter times, from whence he must have been removed to make room for others, I discovered the following notice in the "Tabulæ Chronologicæ Jo. Dominici Musantii:" "Seculo II. Sanctus Barsimæus episcopus Edessæ in Syria plurimos Christo lucra-"tur." No doubt can be entertained of this Syrian bishop being the saint to whose patronage the monastery was recommended.

CHAPTER XI.[156]

Of the names of the eight kingdoms that constitute the province of Persia, and of the breed of horses and of asses found therein.

CHAP. XI. In *Persia*, which is a large province, there are many kingdoms,[157] the names of which are as follows. The first, and which you meet with upon entering the country, is *Kasibin*;[158] the second, lying towards the south (west), is *Kurdistan*;[159] the third is *Lor*;[160] towards the north, the fourth is *Suolistan*;[161] the fifth, *Spaan*;[162] the sixth, *Siras*;[163] the seventh, *Soncara*;[164] the eighth, *Timocain*,[165] which is at the extremity of Persia. All these kingdoms lie to the south, excepting *Timocain*, and this is to the north, near the place called *Arbor Secco*.[166] The country is distinguished for its excellent breed of horses, many of which

which are carried for sale to India, and bring high prices; not less in general than two hundred livres tournois.[167] It produces also the largest and handsomest breed of asses in the world,[168] which sell (on the spot) at higher prices than the horses, because they are more easily fed, are capable of carrying heavier burthens, and travel further in the day than either horses or mules, which cannot support an equal degree of fatigue. The merchants, therefore, who in travelling from one province to another are obliged to pass extensive deserts and tracts of sand, where no kind of herbage is to be met with, and where, on account of the distance between the wells or other watering places, it is necessary to make long journies in the course of the day, are desirous of providing themselves with asses in preference, as they get sooner over the ground and require a smaller allowance of food. Camels also are employed here, and these in like manner carry great weights and are maintained at little cost, but they are not so swift as the asses. The traders of these parts convey the horses to *Kisi*,[169] to *Ormus*, and to other places on the coast of the Indian sea, where they are purchased by those who carry them to India. In consequence, however, of the greater heat of that country, they do not last many years, being natives of a temperate climate. In some of these districts, the people are savage and blood-thirsty, making a common practice of wounding and murdering each other. They would not refrain from doing injury to the merchants and travellers, were they not in terror of their eastern lords,[170] who cause them to be severely punished. A regulation is also established that in all roads, where danger is apprehended, the inhabitants shall be obliged, upon the requisition of the merchants, to provide active and trusty conductors for their guidance and security, between one district and another; who are to be paid at the rate of two or three groats[171] for each loaded beast, according to the distance. They are all followers of the Mahometan religion. In the cities, however, there are merchants and numerous artisans, who manufacture a variety of stuffs of silk and gold.[172] Cotton grows abundantly in this country, as do wheat, barley,[173] millet, and several other sorts of grain; together with grapes and every species of fruit. Should any one assert that the Saracens do not drink wine, being forbidden by their law, it may be answered that they quiet their consciences on this point by

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persuading themselves that if they take the precaution of boiling it over the fire, by which it is partly consumed and becomes sweet, they may drink it without infringing the commandment; for having changed its taste, they change its name, and no longer call it wine, although it is such in fact.[174]

NOTES.

156. In the Italian epitomes we find at this place two chapters which have not been admitted in the other editions. Mention is made, in the first, of a city of Persia named *Saba*, from whence the three *magi* took their departure, when they proceeded to adore the infant Christ at Bethlehem, and where they were afterwards buried in magnificent tombs: but that he, MARCO, was not able to obtain in that city any satisfactory information on the subject of these three royal personages. In the second chapter he is made to state, that at the distance of three days journey from *Saba* there was a castle named *Kalasata-perinsta*, signifying the castle of those who worship fire as their divinity; and that the natives accounted for the origin of the worship by many idle and unfounded tales; saying, that when the three kings were about to return from the land of the Jews, whither they had gone to make their offerings to a prophet lately born there, the child presented them with a box (*bussola*), which upon opening it in the course of their journey, was found to contain only a stone, and this they threw contemptuously into a well. By the same ill-disposed and faithless people it was further reported, that fire immediately descended from heaven and filled the well with flame, of which the three kings took each a portion, and conveyed it to their respective homes, where it became an object of adoration; adding, that when it happens to be extinguished in one place, the people search for it in another, thus performing journies of five, eight, and even eleven miles, for the purpose of lighting their lamps; and if they cannot find it nearer, they proceed to the burning well itself. All these circumstances he learned from the inhabitants of the castle.

However idle this story may be in point of fact, there is strong internal evidence of its genuineness so far as it regards our author, who relates only what he was told, and properly treats the legend with contempt. The idea of a well ignited by celestial fire is obviously founded on the existence of burning-wells or caverns in various parts of Asia, particularly at *Baku* near the Caspian, spoken of in Note 104, and on the coast of Karamania, seen by Capt. Beaufort; but to the Persian scholar the name of the place will present the strongest criterion of veracity, as he must perceive that the words *Kala sata-perinsta* are intended

intended for *Kalàt perestân* or perhaps *Kalah âtish perestân* قلعه اتش پرستان, literally, the "castle of the fire-worshippers." The name of *Saba*, which is certainly not to be discovered amongst the towns of Persia, may be thought to have a reference to the doctrines of Sabaïsm, so nearly connected with those of the Guebers.

157. In the ordinary use of these terms, a kingdom is understood to consist of provinces, but upon the partition of the immense empire inherited by the descendants of *Jengiz-khan*, the province assigned (as a fief) to each of his sons or grandsons comprehended what were, before his conquests, independent kingdoms.

158. Upon entering Persian *Irak* from the side of *Tauris*, the first great city (*Sultaniyah* not being then built) is *Kasbin*, or more properly *Kazvin* قزوين, which has at different periods of its history been a royal residence. In the enumeration of these eight kingdoms our author sometimes gives the name of the capital, as in this instance, and sometimes that of the province or district, as in those which immediately follow. He seems to have written down, or dictated the names as they occurred to his recollection, without system, and with little regard to arrangement. To books on the subject he could not refer for that aid of which all travellers since his time have wisely availed themselves, because such did not then exist in Europe.

159. We should not have expected to find *Kurdistan*, which belonged to the ancient Assyria, stated as one of the component parts of Persia, although many of its inhabitants have at times been brought under subjection to that monarchy; nor, if included, can it be said to lie to the south. It may indeed be conjectured that *Khuristan* (often written *Khuzistan*), the ancient Susiana, situated at the head of the Persian gulf, and consequently south from *Kazvin*, and not *Kurdistan*, which lies to the west, is the district intended. "*Churestan*, ait "*ol Muschtarek*, etiam *Chuzestan* appellatur. Est ampla provincia, multas urbes "tenens, inter al Basram et Persiam." Abulfedæ Geographia.

160. If the former place be meant for *Khuristan*, *Lôr* or *Lâr* لور may with propriety be said to lie to the north of it, although with respect to *Kazvin* and Persia in general it is a southern province. "Il ne faut pas confondre," says D'Herbelot, "le pays de *Lor* avec celui de *Lar* ou *Laristan*, qui s'étend le long du gulfe Persique. Celui de *Lor* ou *Lour* est montagneux, et dépendoit autrefois de la province nommée Kouzistan, qui est l'ancienne Susiane." Biblioth. Orient.

161. Of

161. Of *Suolistan* it would be difficult to form any conjecture; but finding the name, in other versions, written *Cielstam*, *Ciliestam*, and in the early Italian epitome, *Ciestan*, I have little doubt of its being intended for *Sejestan*, سجستان also written *Siyestan* سیستان, a province which lies in the eastern quarter of Persia.

162. The city of *Spaan*, *Spahan*, or *Ispahan*, by the Arabians called *Isfahân* اصفهان, situated in the southern part of Persian *Irak*, is well known as the magnificent capital of the kings of the *Sefi* family, which, especially during the reign of *Shah Abbass* II., exceeded in splendour as well as extent, most Asiatic cities. It fell under the dominion of the Moghuls in 1221, and was taken, plundered and nearly destroyed by Tamerlane in 1387. "Seguendo il camino," says Josaphat Barbaro, in 1471, "trovammo una terra nominata *Spaham*, laquel è stata mirabile per fino al presente." Viaggio in Persia, p. 41. 12mo.

163. *Shiraz* شیراز, the capital of Fars or Persia proper, and at some periods, of the Persian empire, is also too well known by the description of travellers, to render it necessary to say more here, than that it ranks next to *Ispahan*, amongst the royal cities.

164. This much corrupted name, which is *Soncara* in Ramusio's text, *Socham* in that of the Basle edition, *Sontara* in the earlier Latin, *Concara* in the B. M. and *Soncara* (according to Müller) in the Berlin manuscript, *Corcata* in the Italian epitomes, and *Corchara* in the old English version, is the *Korkan* or *Gurkan* گرکان of eastern geographers, and evidently connected with the *Hyrcania* of the ancients. It is probable, however, that it formed only a portion of the country so named; the remainder being included in the modern province of *Taberistan* or *Mazanderam*. Its situation is at the south-eastern extremity of the Caspian, north of the *Damaghan* range and of the province of *Kumis* or Comisene.

165. However distant the resemblance of the names may be thought, *Timocain* (which in the Basle edition is *Tymochaim*, and in the older Latin, *Thymachaym*) is undoubtedly intended for *Damaghân* دامغان the capital of the small province of *Kumis*, in the north-eastern quarter of Persia. By Josaphat Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador to that court, it is called *Tremigan*, and by our countryman, Thomas Herbert, *Diurgument*; but this, we find, was not his own corruption, for in one of the letters of Pietro della Valle, he complains of this abuse and uncertainty in the names of places: "come per essempio, quel *Diargument*, che l'Epitome Geografica dice esser nome moderno dell' Hircania." The latter

latter was himself an oriental as well as a classical scholar, and remarkably correct in the orthography of proper names.

166. The district to which the appellation of Arbor Secco was given, has already been adverted to in Note 68, and will be found more particularly mentioned in the Twentieth Chapter.

167. The excellence of the Persian horses, for which they may perhaps be indebted to the mixture of the Arabian and the Turki breed, is well known. A detailed account of their qualities is given by Chardin (T. ii. chap. viii. p. 25, 4to.); and also by Malcolm, (Hist of Persia, Vol. ii. p. 516). As the livre tournois, in the fourteenth century, was at the proportionate value of twenty-five to one livre of the present times, it follows that the price at which the Persian horses sold in India was from fifteen hundred to two thousand rupees.

168. The following account is given by Chardin of the breed of asses in Persia; "Après les mules," says this traveller, "ils ont l'âne, dont il y a de deux sortes en Perse; les ânes du païs, qui sont lents et pésans comme les ânes de nôs païs, dont ils ne se servent qu'à porter des fardeaux; et une race d'ânes d'Arabie, qui sont de fort jolies bêtes, et les premiers ânes du monde....L'on ne s'en sert que pour montures.... Il y en a du prix de quatre cens francs, et l'on n'en sauroit avoir d'un peu bon à moins de vingt-cinq pistoles. On les pense comme les chevaux." P. 26. "Dans toute notre petite caravâne," says Niebuhr, speaking of his journey from *Abushahhr* to *Shiraz*, "il n'y avoit pas un seul chameau; la plupart des marchandises fut transporté sur des ânes. Quelques marchands avoient aussi des chevaux chargés, et pour peu qu'ils étoient en état d'en payer les fraix, ils alloient eux-mêmes à cheval; d'autres étoient montés sur des ânes, et le reste marchoit à pied." Voy. T. ii. p. 78. Capt. Christie mentions that at *Yezd* the price of an ass was fifteen pounds sterling.

169. *Kisi* or *Ci si*, has been shewn (Note 136) to be the island of *Kîs* or *Kês*, to which the trade of *Siraf*, in the Persian gulf, was removed. Of the celebrated port of Ormuz, there will be occasion to speak hereafter.

170. By "their eastern lords" are meant the Moghul Tartars, who entered Persia from the eastern side of the Caspian. The necessity for the coercion here spoken of, is strongly felt at the present day, when, owing to the weakness of the adjacent governments every chief in the desert is at the head of a band of marauders. "*Ilumdar*," says Captain Christie, "was built and peopled by "*Khan Juhan Khan*, the most noted robber in this country, and the terror of "all the karwans." Travels in Beloochistan, App. p. 408.

171. The

BOOK I. CHAP. XI. Notes.

171. The Italian *grossi*, or *groats*, are a small silver coin, which have differed in weight and value at different periods. Those of Pope Innocent XI. the oldest in my possession, contain as much silver as the three-penny pieces of Charles II. of England.

172. "Je ne parlerai point," says Chardin, "d'une infinité de sortes d'étoffes de soye pure, ni des étoffes de soye avec du coton .... Je ne parlerai que de leurs brocards. Ils appellent le brocard *Zerbafe*, c'est à-dire, tissure d'or ..... Il ne se fait point d'étoffe si chère par tout le monde." T. ii. p. 86, 4to. Pottinger, speaking of the manufactures of *Kashan*, says: "Its staples are copper-ware, "carpets, and coloured and flowered silks, which latter are exquisitely beau-"tiful. I purchased some of them made in scarfs, in imitation of the richest "Kashmeer shawls." Travels in Beloochistan, p. 244.

173. Wheat grows in the northern provinces of Persia, and also in the southern, although less commonly. "Barley" says Malcolm "is often sold in "Persia at one farthing per pound, and wheat is not on the average more than "a third of the price dearer than barley." Hist. of Persia, vol. ii. p. 519.

174. The practice of boiling wine is known to be common amongst the eastern people, but whether the motive for it, here assigned, be the true one, or whether we should not rather conclude that they prefer the taste, may be doubted. The Persians have always been less strict than the other more orthodox Mahometans, in regard to indulgence in wine; and Pietro della Valle mentions two ordinances of *Shah Abbas*; the one forbidding the use of it, which shews that the religious precept had failed of its effect; and a second annulling the prohibition, upon his finding that the people, and especially the soldiers, had substituted for wine, liquid preparation of opium, by which their health was injured.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the city of Yasdi and its manufactures, and of the animals found in the country between that place and Kierman.

CHAP. XII. YASDI is a considerable city on the confines of Persia, where there is much traffic.[175] A species of silk cloth manufactured there is known

known by the appellation of *Yasdi*, and is carried from thence by the merchants to all parts of the world.[176] Its inhabitants are of the Mahometan religion. Those who travel from that city, employ eight days in passing over a plain, in the course of which they meet with only three places that afford accommodation.[177] The road lies through extensive groves of the date-bearing palm, in which there is abundance of game, as well beasts, as partridges and quails; and those travellers who are fond of the amusements of the chase, may here enjoy excellent sport. Wild asses are likewise to be met with.[178] At the end of eight days you arrive at a kingdom named *Kierman*.[179]

NOTES.

175. *Yezd* يزد is the most eastern city of the province of Fars or Persia proper. Captain Christie, by whom it was visited in 1810, describes it as "a very large and populous city, situated on the edge of a sandy desert, "contiguous to a range of mountains running east and west." "It is celebrated" he observes "by all merchants, for the protection afforded to speculators, "and the security of its inhabitants and their property. It is the grand mart "between Hindoostan, Khorasan, Bagdad and Persia, and is said to be a "place of greater trade than any other in the latter empire." Trav. in Beloochistan, App. p. 421.

176. *D'Herbelot* observes that "les étoffes de soye qu'on y travaille, et "que l'on appelle en Turc et en Persan *comasche Yezdi*, la rendent fort mar-"chande." In the Memoirs of *Abdulkurrim*, also, we read of a donation made to an ambassador, by *Nadir Shah*, consisting of twenty-five pieces of *Yezdy* brocade. This notice by our author of the circumstance, however unimportant in itself, of a particular species of silk retaining in commerce the name of the city where it was manufactured, is one of the many internal proofs of the genuineness of his work.

177. This is usually named the Desert of *Kirman*.

178. We read of wild asses delivered as presents, and consequently as curiosities, to *Shah Abbas* and other kings of Persia. Rennell observes that "the wild asses remarked by Xenophon for their swiftness, bear much the same character at present. Texeira in 1606, saw herds of them in the Arabian

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desert, immediately opposite to the desert of Mesopotamia, where Xenophon saw them." Illustrations, p. 100.

Notes.

179. The distance between *Yezd* and the capital of *Kirman* is about one hundred and sixty geographical miles, which would be at the rate of twenty miles per day. But the average travelling rate of a light caravan, as deduced by Major Rennell, is only fifteen to fifteen and a half, with camels, or seventeen to eighteen with mules; when on long journies. It may indeed, be understood that the desert alone, exclusive of some portion of cultivated country, employed eight days.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the kingdom of Kierman, by the ancients named Karmania; of its fossil and mineral productions; its manufactures; its falcons; and of a great descent observed upon passing out of that country.

CHAP. XIII. KIERMAN is a kingdom on the eastern confines of Persia,[180] which was formerly governed by its own monarchs, in hereditary succession; but since the Tartars have brought it under their dominion, they appoint governors to it at their pleasure. In the mountains of this country are found the precious stones that we call turquoises.[181] There are also veins of steel,[182] and of antimony[183] in large quantities. They manufacture here in great perfection all the articles necessary for warlike equipment, such as saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, bows, quivers, and every kind of arms in use amongst these people. The women and young persons work with the needle, in embroideries of silk and gold, in a variety of colours and patterns, representing birds and beasts, with other ornamental devices.[184] These are designed for the curtains, coverlets, and cushions of the sleeping places of the rich; and the work is executed with so much taste and skill as to be an object of admiration. In the mountainous parts are bred the best falcons that any where take wing. They are smaller than the peregrine falcon; reddish about the breast, belly, and under the tail; and

and their flight is so swift that no bird can escape them. Upon leaving *Kierman*, you travel for eight days along a plain, by a pleasant road, and rendered still more delightful by the abundance of partridge and other game.[185] You also meet frequently with towns and castles, as well as scattered habitations; until at length you arrive at a considerable descent, which occupies two days. Fruit trees are found there in great numbers; the district having formerly been peopled, though at present without inhabitants. Herdsmen alone are seen in it, attending the pasturing of their cattle. In that part of the country which you pass before you reach the descent, the cold is so severe that a man can with difficulty defend himself against it by wearing many garments and pelisses.[186]

NOTES.

180. *Kirmân* كرمان is a province of Persia, situated at the south-eastern extremity of that kingdom. Its capital city appears to be most usually called by the same name, but is also known by that of *Sirgan*, as the word is pronounced by the Persians, or *Sirjan* as pronounced by the Arabs. "The province," says Pottinger, by whom it was visited in 1810, "is bounded on the east "by a part of Seistan and Beloochistan; west by the province of Fars; south "by parts of Laristan, Mukran, and the Persian gulph; and north by "Eerak and Khorasan. It has from the earliest ages been partitioned into the "habitable and desert regions." P. 219. "The city of *Kirman*," he adds "is "situated on the western side of a capacious plain, so close to the mountains, "that two of them, on which there are ancient decayed forts, completely "command it. It was once the most flourishing in Persia, and in size was "second to none, except the capital, Isfahan." P. 221. "No city in the east "has been more subject to reverses of fortune, or oftener the scene of the most "destructive wars, both foreign and domestic, than *Kirman*." P. 222.

It would seem that our author did not consider *Kirman* as being, in his time, an integral part of Persia, from his not including it amongst the eight provinces or kingdoms which he enumerates; and in this light also it was held by *Edrisi* who wrote in the twelfth century, and says: "Et verò terra *Karman* interjacet "terræ Persia et terræ Mecran." P. 129.

181. "La plus riche mine de Perse" says Chardin "est celle des tur-"quoises. On en a en deux endroits, à *Nichapour* en *Carasson*, et dans une

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montagne qui est entre l'Hyrcanie et la Parthide, à quatre journées de la Mer Caspienne, nommée *Phirous-cou.* T. ii. p. 24, 4to.

Notes.

182. "Les mines de fer" says the same traveller "sont dans l'Hyrcanie, "dans la Médie septentrionale, au pais des Parthes, et dans la Bactriane. Les "mines d'acier se trouvent dans les mêmes païs, et y produisent beaucoup." P. 23. He then proceeds to describe its particular qualities, and to compare it with the steel of India.

183. The word "*andanico*" of Ramusio's text, or *andanicum* of the Basle edition, is not to be found in any dictionary, nor have preceding translators attempted to render it by any corresponding term, but have let the word stand as they found it in their copy. I should not, from any resemblance of sound, have hazarded the conjecture of its being intended for "*antimonio*;" but learning from the travels of Chardin that antimony is the produce of countries on the eastern side of Persia, of which our author here speaks, I consider the probability of such a corruption as having some weight. "L'antimoine" he says "se trouve vers la Caramanie (not the province of Asia minor, but *Kirman*); "mais c'est un antimoine bâtard; car après l'avoir fait fondre, on ne trouve "dedans que de plomb fort fin." P. 23. A further occasion will present itself, in the Notes to Chap. XIX, of adverting to the nature of this mineral.

184. "I learn" says Pottinger "from a manuscript history of the conquest "of Mukran, in the ninetieth year of the hijree, that Kirman was then a "very extensive city, full of riches, and celebrated for the excellence of the "*shawls* and *arms* made in it." P. 222. "The trade of Kirman, though still "considerable, has never revived in a manner to be compared to what it was "previous to its last depopulation, and in all likelihood never will again, as "the resort of merchants to the sea-port town of Abooshuhr or Bushire, "farther up the gulph of Persia, daily gains ground, to the prejudice of Bunder "Abass, and, of consequence, Kirman. Its manufactures of shawls, match-"locks, and numuds or felts, are celebrated all over Asia, and are said to "afford employment to upwards of one third of the inhabitants, whether male "or female." P. 225.

185. Our author omits no opportunity of mentioning field sports, and especially hawking, of which he seems to have been passionately fond. The "falconi pellegrini," or peregrine falcons, although probably so called from their migrating, are a particular species. "The peregrine or passenger falcon," says the history of British birds "is rarely met with in Britain, and consequently "is but little known with us: it is about the size of the common falcon."

"Les

"Les perdrix de Perse" says Chardin "sont, comme je crois, les plus grosses "perdrix du monde, et du goût le plus excellent." P. 30.

186. The road from the city of *Kirman* towards the Persian gulf, here described, probably lay through the town of *Bam* or *Bumm*, which stands near the boundary line between what are considered as the cold and the warm regions of *Kirman*. "The province of Nurmansheer" says Pottinger "extends from the "waste dividing it from Beloochistan to the city of *Bumm*.....Its boundary to "the westward is the province of Kirman, of which, I believe, it is now deemed "a component district; to the eastward it has the desert, as already mentioned; "and, north and south, two ranges of mountains, the last of which are by much "the highest, and I imagine, at all seasons, crowned with snow, as they were "when I saw them, at which period it was exceedingly hot in the plain beneath." P. 199. These appear to be the Mountains of *Maren*, which, says Ibn Haukal, "belong to the cold region of Kirman; snow falls on them." P. 141. In another passage he mentions, that upon reaching a town on the *Bam* road, you turn to the right hand, in order to gain *Jireft*, a town not far from *Hormuz*, where the inhabitants "enjoy at once all the productions of both warm and cold "climates." P. 142. With respect to the degree of cold said to be experienced in this tract, it may be only referable to the feelings of persons accustomed to excessive heat. "To the southward of the great chain of mountains that I have "described above" Pottinger adds, "and between their bases and the sea, "lies the Gurmseer or hot country....Within the limits of Kirman this tract is "almost solely composed of saline sand, and the climate is peculiarly unhealthy. "It produces nothing but dates, which are of a very inferior quality, and is in "consequence nearly depopulated." P. 221.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the city of Kamandu, and district of Reobarle; of certain birds found there; of a peculiar kind of oxen; and of the Karaunas, a tribe of robbers.

After passing the descent of which mention has been made, you arrive at a plain that extends, in a southern direction, to the distance of five days journey; at the commencement of which there is a town named *Kamandu*,[187] formerly a large place and of much consequence, but

but not so at this day, having been repeatedly laid waste by the Tartars. The neighbouring district is called *Reobarle*.[188] The temperature of the plain is very warm. It produces wheat, rice and other grains. On that part of it which lies nearest to the hills, grow pomegranates, quinces, and a variety of other fruits, amongst which is one called Adam's apple,[189] not known in our cool climate. Turtle doves are found here in vast numbers, occasioned by the plenty of small fruits which supply them with food, and their not being eaten by the Mahometans, who hold them in abomination.[190] There are likewise many pheasants and francolins, which latter do not resemble those of other countries, their colour being a mixture of white and black, with red legs and beak.[191] Among the cattle also there are some of an uncommon kind, particularly a species of large, white oxen, with short, smooth coats (the effect of a hot climate), horns short, thick, and obtuse, and having between the shoulders a gibbous rising or hump, about the height of two palms.[192] They are beautiful animals, and being very strong are made to carry great weights. Whilst loading, they are accustomed to kneel down like the camel, and then to rise up with the burthen. We find here also sheep that are equal to the ass in size, with long and thick tails, weighing thirty pounds and upwards, which are fat and excellent to eat.[193] In this province there are many towns encompassed with lofty and thick walls of earth,[194] for the purpose of defending the inhabitants against the incursions of the *Karaunas*, who scour the country and plunder every thing within their reach.[195] In order that the reader may understand what people these are, it is necessary to mention that there was a prince named *Nugodar*, the nephew of *Zagataï* who was brother of the Grand *khan (Oktaï)*, and reigned in Turkestan.[196] This *Nugodar* whilst living at *Zagataï's* court, became ambitious of being himself a sovereign, and having heard that in India there was a province called *Malabar*,[197] governed at that time by a king named *As-idin sultan*,[198] which had not yet been brought under the dominion of the Tartars, he secretly collected a body of about ten thousand men, the most profligate and desperate he could find, and separating himself from his uncle without giving him any intimation of his designs, proceeded through *Balashan*[199] to the kingdom of *Kesmur*,[200] where he lost many of his people and cattle, from the difficulty and badness of the

the roads, and at length entered the province of *Malabar*.[201] Coming thus upon *As-idin* by surprise, he took from him by force a city called *Dely*, as well as many others in its vicinity, and there began to reign.[202] The Tartars whom he carried thither, and who were men of a light complexion, mixing with the dark Indian women, produced the race to whom the appellation of *Karaunas* is given, signifying in the language of the country, a mixed breed;[203] and these are the people who have since been in the practice of committing depredations, not only in the country of *Reobarle*, but in every other to which they have access. In India they acquired the knowledge of magical and diabolical arts, by means of which they are enabled to produce darkness, obscuring the light of day to such a degree, that persons are invisible to each other, unless within a very small distance.[204] Whenever they go on their predatory excursions they put this art in practice, and their approach is consequently not perceived. Most frequently this district is the scene of their operations; because when the merchants from various parts assemble at *Ormus*, and wait for those who are on their way from India, they send, in the winter season, their horses and mules, which are out of condition from the length of their journies, to the plain of *Reobarle*, where they find abundance of pasture and become fat. The *Karaunas*, aware that this will take place, seize the opportunity of effecting a general pillage, and make slaves of the people who attend the cattle, if they have not the means of ransom. Marco Polo himself[205] was once enveloped in a factitious obscurity of this kind, but escaped from it to the castle of *Konsalmi*.[206] Some of his companions, however, were taken and sold, and others died in their hands.

NOTES.

187. The geography of the country lying between the capital of the province of *Kirman* and the Persian gulf, is very imperfectly known, and even Pottinger's map, the most modern we possess, exhibits but one solitary name, in that tract, although the chains of hills are there laid down with an appearance of precision. It is difficult therefore to ascertain the place intended by *Kamandu* (in the B. M. and

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and Berlin manuscripts, *Camandi*, and in the Italian epitomes, *Edgamaĥ*), even if there were grounds to believe that this town, which had lost its consequence before our author's time, is still in existence.* It may perhaps be the *Memaun* of D'Anville's map, which is called *Mahân* by Ibn Haukal, or else the *Koumin* of the latter: but these are offered as mere conjectures.

188. *Reobarlé* (as the name appears also in the Basle edition and the Italian epitomes, but in the older Latin, *Rotbarle*, and in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, *Reobarda*) is obviously meant for *Rud-bâr*, رودبار, a descriptive term applied, in numerous instances, to towns or districts in Persia and the neighbouring countries. It signifies "a river in a valley, the channel of a torrent, "and also a place where many streams run;" and the district here spoken of as answering that description, would seem from the circumstances, to have occupied the banks of the river which in D'Anville's and Malcolm's maps, bears the name of *Div Rud*, and must be crossed in the way from *Kirman* to *Ormuz*. The journal of Capt. Christie mentions a place named *Rodbar*, which answers perfectly to the local description, but is at much too great a distance from the shore of the Persian gulf, to be that of which we are speaking. "*Seistan*" says this enterprising officer "is a very small province on the banks of the *Helmind*.... "separated from Mukran by an uninhabited desert...We entered it at the "town of *Rodbar*; there the banks of the river are well cultivated and fruitful, "having a fine rich soil, irrigated by the stream; but the utmost breadth of "this fertile stripe does not exceed two miles, whence the desert rises in lofty "cliffs, and extends over an uninterrupted tract, without water or vegeta- "tion....The country although now inhabited by Uffghans and Beloochees in "felt tents, still bears the marks of former civilization and opulence; and there "are ruins of villages, forts, and windmills along the whole route from *Rodbar* "to *Dushak*, the capital." Travels in Beloochistan, &c. Appendix p. 407.

189. Pomus Adami is a name that has been given to the fruit called pumplenose, shaddock, or citrus decumanus of Linnæus; but here it may probably be intended for the orange itself, or pomum aurantium, named by the Arabians and Persians *naranj* نارنج.

190. This objection to the flesh of doves, as food, may have been a local prejudice; for it does not appear that they are generally regarded as an unclean meat, by a Mahometan. But it is observed by Niebuhr: "Comme il ne peut "pas toujours être bien sûr, que l'animal ait été tué suivant les loix de la religi- "on, c'est peut-être par cette seule raison que les Arabes et les Turcs des villes "ne se soucient pas de gibier." Description de l'Arabie, p. 158.

191. The

191. The tetrao francolinus or francoline partridge of the Levant, has red legs and beak, as here described. Doctor Russell calls it francolinus olinæ, "known to the French by the name of *gelinot* (gélinotte)." The flesh, he says, is delicious, but the bird is not to be met with at less than a day's journey from the city. (Nat. Hist. of Aleppo.)

192. This species of ox, commonly employed at Surat and other places on the western coast of India, in drawing the carriages called *hakkries*, was probably introduced from thence to the eastern provinces of Persia. It has been described by many writers, and among others by Niebuhr. See Voyage en Arabie, &c. T. ii. p. 52. Tab. xii.

193. This extraordinary breed of sheep (ovis laticaudata) is the native of various parts of Asia and Africa, and has been often described. In the Nat. Hist. of Aleppo the following circumstantial account of it is given, with a plate. "They have two sorts of sheep" says Russell "in the neighbourhood of "Aleppo: the one called *Beduin* sheep, which differ in no respect from the "larger kinds of sheep in Britain, except that their tails are somewhat longer "and thicker: the others are those often mentioned by travellers on account of "their extraordinary tails; and this species is by much the most numerous. This "tail is very broad and large, terminating in a small appendage that turns back "upon it. It is of a substance between fat and marrow, and is not eaten "separately, but mixed with the lean meat in many of their dishes, and also "often used instead of butter. A common sheep of this sort, without the head, "feet, skin and entrails, weighs about twelve or fourteen Aleppo-*rotoloes* (of "five pounds), of which the tail is usually three rotoloes or upwards; but such "as are of the largest breed and have been fattened, will sometimes weigh "above thirty rotoloes, and the tails of these, ten (or fifty pounds); a thing to "some scarce credible. These very large sheep being, about Aleppo, kept "up in yards, are in no danger of injuring their tails; but in some other places, "where they feed in the fields, the shepherds are obliged to fix a piece of thin "board to the under part of the tail, to prevent its being torn by bushes, "thistles, &c; and some have small wheels, to facilitate the dragging of "this board after them; whence, with a little exaggeration, the story of having "carts to carry their tails." P. 51, ed. 1. Chardin's account of "les moutons "à grosse queüe" of Persia, whose tails, he says, weigh thirty pounds, corresponds exactly with the above. "La quarta sorte de animali che hanno" says Josaphat Barbaro, speaking of the Tartars, "sono castroni grossissimi, et "alti in gamba con un pelo lungo, i quali hanno code che passano dodeci "libre l'una. Et tal ne ho visto, che se strascinano una rota dietro, tenendo la "coda sopra....Di grassi di queste code condiscono tutte le lor vivande."

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Viaggio alla Tana, p. 13, 12mo. "The great stock of the pastoral tribes" says Elphinstone "is sheep, and those of the kind called in Persian *doomba*, and "remarkable for tails a foot broad, and almost entirely composed of fat." Account of Caubul, p. 143. By these authorities our author's description is fully justified.

194. Frequent mention is made by Hamilton of these mud-entrenchments. "The Ballowches" he says "appeared near the town of Gombroon, on a swift "march towards it, which scared the (Persian) governor so much, that, though "there was an high mud-wall between him and them, he got on horseback "and fled....The Ballowches came first to the west quarter of the town, where "our factory stands, and soon made passages through the mud-walls." New Account of the East Indies, Vol. i. p. 108. "The village of Bunpoor" says Pottinger "is small and ill built: it has been at one time surrounded by a low "mud-wall, with small bastions at intervals; but the whole is now gone to "decay." Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, p. 176.

195. The *Keraunas* we may presume to be the inhabitants of *Makrân* مکران, a tract of country extending from the vicinity of the Indus, towards the Persian gulf, and which takes its name from the word *karâna* کران, signifying a "shore, "coast, or border." They appear to differ little from the neighbouring people of *Balûchistan*, if they be not in fact the same race; and what our author states of them is a faithful picture of the predatory habits ascribed to the latter. "The *Boloujes*" says Ibn Haukal "are in the desert of Mount *Kefes*, and *Kefes* "in the Parsi language is *Kouje*; and they call these two people *Koujes* and "*Boloujes*. The *Boloujes* are people who dwell in the desert: they infest the "roads, and have not respect for any person." P. 140. "The *Ballowches* and "*Mackrans*" says Hamilton (who visited their country about the year 1716) "who inhabit the sea-coast from Cape Jasques to Indus, observing the weakness "of the (Persian) government, threw off the yoke of obedience first, and "then, in full bodies, fell upon their neighbours in Caramania (*Kirman*), who "were thriftier and richer than the maritime freebooters, and plundered their "fellow-subjects of what they had got by their painful industry." New Account of the East Indies, Vol. i. p. 104. Of the habits of this people we have the most particular account in the journal of Lieut. Pottinger, who says: "The "Nharooés are the most savage and predatory class of Belooches; and whilst "they deem private theft dishonourable and disgraceful in the extreme, they "contemplate the plunder and devastation of a country with such opposite "sentiments, that they consider it an exploit deserving of the highest com- "mendation; and steeled by that feeling, they will individually recount the "assistance they have rendered on such occasions, the numbers of men, women,

"and

" and children they have made captives and carried away or murdered, the " villages they have burned and plundered, and the flocks they have slaughtered " when unable to drive them off." P. 58. " We are now in Mukran," said a native of Beloochistan to the same traveller, " where every individual is a " robber by *caste*, and where they do not hesitate to plunder brothers and " neighbours." P. 139.

196. *Nikodar Oghlan* was the son of *Hulagu* and grand nephew of *Jagataï*; he succeeded his brother *Abaka* in the throne of Persia, by the name of *Ahmed khan*, and was the first of his family who made public profession of Islaemism. Of his previous life we know nothing from the native historians, excepting what we are told by *Haiton*, that in his youth he had been baptised, although he afterwards became a cruel persecutor of the Christians, and destroyer of their churches; insomuch that upon the occasion of his death the zealous monk exclaims: " et sic fuit interfectus canis ille pessimus Mahumetus (Ahmedus), ini- " micus fidei christianæ." If, however, the *Nikodar*, who pushed his fortune, as we are here told, on the side of India, did actually visit the court of *Jagataï*, who died in 1240, he must have belonged to the preceding generation, as it was not until 1282, that *Ahmed khan Nikodar* became the sovereign of Persia, and forty-two years is an interval too great to admit of our supposing *him* to have been the eastern adventurer. There may have been an earlier *Nikodar* amongst the numerous grandsons of *Jengiz-khan*, and in fact the consistency of the story requires that the event should have taken place long before our author's time.

197. I must here be indulged in a conjecture, which, however bold it may seem, will be justified by the sequel: that instead of *Malabar* or *Malawar* (as it is often written) the word should be and was in the original *Lahawar* لهاور, or, as commonly pronounced, *Lahore*; for through this province, and certainly not through *Malabar*, this adventurer must necessarily have passed in his way to *Dehli*. In aid of this presumption it may be urged, that Marco Polo, having personally visited both coasts of the peninsula, and appropriately described (in Book iii.) that of *Malabar*, could not on this occasion have been guilty of so strange a solecism in geography, as to place it in the road from the country of the Uzbeks to Hindustan. The reading of *Lahawar* makes the account consistent and satisfactory.

198. *Azz-eddin*, *Ghiyas eddin*, and *Moazz eddin*, with the addition of *Sultân*, were common titles of the *Patan* sovereigns of *Dehli*, as well as of the princes who governed the provinces of their empire.

199. *Badakhshan*

199. *Badakhshan* بدخشان, near the sources of the Oxus, lies on that side of *Jagataï's* country which is nearest to the heads of the Indus and Ganges, and consequently in the line of march towards *Dehli*. More particular mention is made of this district in Chapter xxv.

200. *Kesmur* can be no other than *Kashmir* قشمير, which lies in the direction from *Badakhshan* towards *Lahore*, *Sirhind*, and the capital. The more common route is by *Kabul*, but the object of this petty invader was, to keep amongst the mountains, and thereby conceal his intentions.

201. Here it becomes perfectly obvious that the country into which he penetrated upon leaving *Kashmir* was the *Panjáb*, of which *Lahawar* or *Lahore* is the principal city. To suppose it *Malabar* would be quite absurd; and in this, as in many other instances, our author has suffered not less from the presumption than from the ignorance of transcribers.

202. It will here be asked, where do we read in any native historian, of this conquest of *Dehli* by the Moghul Tartars, antecedent to the invasion of Tamerlane? Distinctly and to the full extent, we do not any where; but yet we shall find such an approximation of facts, as will prevent us from treating lightly the account given by our author, who might have received it from the mouths of persons but one generation removed from those who were concerned in the transactions. The event, we have seen, must have taken place within a few years before or after the death of *Jagataï* in 1240. Now we learn from the History of Hindustan, as translated by Dow from the text of *Ferishta*, that *Moazz-eddin Byram Shah*, king of *Dehli*, whose reign began in 1239 and ended in 1242, was involved in troubles with his vizir and principal *omrahs*, by whom a mutiny was excited amongst his troops. At this crisis "news arrived, that "the Moghols of the great *Zingis* had invested *Lahore*, that *Malek*, the viceroy "of that place, finding his troops mutinous, had been obliged to fly in the night, "and was actually on his way to *Dehli*; and that *Lahore* was plundered by "the enemy, and the miserable inhabitants carried away prisoners." "The "vizir, in the mean time, advanced with the army to the capital, which he "besieged for three months and an half. Rebellion spreading at last among "the citizens, the place was taken in the year 1241. *Byram* was thrown "into prison, where, in a few days, he came to a tragical end. The Moghuls, "after plundering the provinces on the banks of the five branches of the Indus, "returned to *Ghizni*." Thus we perceive that at the very period in question, an army of Moghuls did advance into provinces subject to the king of *Dehli*, and plundered his frontier cities, whilst his rebellious subjects, availing themselves

selves of the terror occasioned by the foreign invaders, overturned the government and put their prince to death.

203. Since writing Note 195, I am informed that one of the meanings of the Sanskrit word *karana* is, " a person of a mixed breed." This is an extraordinary proof of the genuineness of our author's account of these people, even though the natives should have amused him with a fanciful etymology, to which, in regard to the origin of nations, they are extremely prone. Admitting, however, that they were the descendants of this mixed breed, we must suppose that the profligate adventurers whom *Nikodar* led into India, did not settle there, but must have been brought away with their wives and children, and disbanded in the province of *Makran*, where they and the succeeding generations might very naturally become a colony of banditti.

204. The belief in such supernatural agency was the common weakness of the darker ages; nor ought we to be surprised at our author's credulity, when we reflect that so lately as the century before the last, the courts of justice in our own and the neighbouring countries condemned numbers to death for the imaginary crime of witchcraft; and that to have expressed a doubt of the practice of dealing personally with the devil, would have been regarded as little less than blasphemy.

Although the appearance and effects are materially different, it may be suspected that there is some connexion between this story of mists produced by enchantment, and the optical deception noticed by Elphinstone, in his journey across what may be considered as an extension of the same desert, notwithstanding the separation of its parts by the country through which the Indus takes its course. "Towards evening" he says "many persons were astonished with "the appearance of a long lake, enclosing several little islands..... It was, "however, only one of those illusions which the French call *mirage*, and the "Persians *sirraub*. I had imagined this phenomenon to be occasioned by a "thin vapour (or something resembling a vapour), which is seen over the "ground in the hot weather in India, but this appearance was entirely different, "and, on looking along the ground, no vapour whatever could be perceived.... "I shall not attempt to account for this appearance, but shall merely remark, "that it seems only to be found in level, smooth, and dry places." Account of Caubul, p. 16.

205. In the Latin version this is spoken by the author in the first person ("ego Marcus qui hæc scribo,") as if he perceived that it wanted all the weight of his personal authority to render it credible. The story however may amount to nothing more than that these robbers, having their haunts in the neighbourhood

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hood of mountains, availed themselves of the opportunity of thick mists, to make their attacks on the caravans with the more security; whilst their knowledge of the country enabled them to occupy those narrow defiles through which the travellers must unavoidably pass.

206. This castle of *Konsalmi*, or, according to another reading *Kanosalim*, is not now to be discovered in our maps, but it may be remarked that the Persian words *Khanah al-salam* signify "the house of safety or peace." "A small "but neat tower" says Elphinstone "was seen in this march (through the "desert,) and we were told it was a place of refuge for travellers, against the "predatory hordes who infest the route of caravans." P. 17.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the city of Ormus, situated on an island not far from the main, in the sea of India; of its commercial importance; and of the hot wind that blows there.

CHAP. XV. At the extremity of the plain beforementioned as extending in a southern direction to the distance of five days journey, there is a descent for about twenty miles, by a road that is extremely dangerous, from the multitude of robbers, by whom travellers are continually assaulted and plundered.[207] This declivity conducts you to another plain, very beautiful in its appearance, two days journey in extent, and is called the plain of *Ormus*. Here you cross a number of handsome streams, see a country covered with date-palms, amongst which are found the francoline partridge, birds of the parrot kind, and a variety of others unknown to our climate. At length you reach the border of the ocean, where, upon an island, at no great distance from the shore, stands a city named *Ormus*,[208] whose port is frequented by traders from all parts of India, who bring spices and drugs, precious stones, pearls, gold tissues, elephant's teeth, and various other articles of merchandise. These they dispose of to a different set of traders, by whom they are dispersed

dispersed throughout the world. This city indeed is eminently commercial, has towns and castles dependant upon it, and is esteemed the principal place in the kingdom of *Kierman*.[209] Its ruler is named *Rukmedin Achomak*,[210] who governs with absolute authority, but at the same time acknowledges the king of *Kierman*,[211] as his liege lord. When any foreign merchant happens to die within his jurisdiction, he confiscates the property, and deposits the amount in his treasury.[212] During the summer season the inhabitants do not remain in the city, on account of the excessive heat, which renders the air unwholesome, but retire to their gardens along the shore or on the banks of the rivers, where with a kind of ozier-work they construct huts over the water. These they enclose with stakes, driven in the water on the one side, and on the other upon the shore, making a covering of leaves to shelter them from the sun. Here they reside during the period in which there blows, every day, from about the hour of nine until noon, a land-wind so intensely hot as to impede respiration, and to occasion death by suffocating the person exposed to it. None can escape from its effects who are overtaken by it on the sandy plain.[213] As soon as the approach of this wind is perceived by the inhabitants, they immerge themselves to the chin in water, and continue in that situation until it ceases to blow.[214] In proof of the extraordinary degree of this heat, MARCO POLO says that he happened to be in these parts when the following circumstance occurred. The ruler of *Ormus* having neglected to pay his tribute to the king of *Kierman*, the latter took the resolution of enforcing it at the season when the principal inhabitants reside out of the city, upon the main land, and for this purpose dispatched a body of troops, consisting of sixteen hundred horse, and five thousand foot, through the country of *Reobarle*, in order to seize them by surprise. In consequence, however, of their being misled by the guides, they failed to arrive at the place intended, before the approach of night, and halted to take repose in a grove not far distant from *Ormus;* but upon recommencing their march in the morning, they were assailed by this hot wind, and were all suffocated; not one escaping to carry the fatal intelligence to his master. When the people of *Ormus* became acquainted with the event, and proceeded to bury the carcases, in order that their stench might not infect the air, they found them so baked

by

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by the intenseness of the heat, that the limbs, upon being handled separated from the trunks, and it became necessary to dig the graves close to the spot where the bodies lay.[215]

NOTES.

207. "In the mountains near *Hormuz*, it is said, there is much cultivated "land, and cattle, and many strong places. On every mountain there is a "chief; and they have an allowance from the sultan or sovereign; yet they "infest the roads of *Kirman*, and as far as the borders of *Fars* and *Sejestan*. "They commit their robberies on foot; and it is said that their race is of Arabian "origin, and that they have accumulated vast wealth." Sir W. Ouseley's transl. of Ibn Haukal, p. 140.

208. The original city of *Ormuz* or *Hormûz* (called by Ptolemy Ἀρμυζα πόλις, by the Latins *Armuza* and *Armuzia*, and by the Portuguese *Ormuz*; whilst the Arabians and Persians prefix the soft aspirate and write the name هرموز *Hormûz*) was situated on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Persia, in the province of *Mogostan*, and kingdom of *Kirman*. *Ibn Haukal*, who is understood to have written about the latter part of the tenth century, speaks evidently of this city, on the main, when he says: "*Hormuz* is the emporium of the merchants in "*Kirman* and their chief seaport: it has mosques and market-places, and the "merchants reside in the suburbs." P. 142. It was destroyed by one of the princes who reigned in *Kirman*, of the *Seljuk* dynasty, according to some accounts, or the *Moghul* according to others. The exact period is not satisfactorily ascertained. On this occasion the inhabitants removed, with their most valuable effects, to the neighbouring island of *Jerun* جرون, about thirteen geographical miles from the former situation, where the foundation of the new city of *Hormuz* or *Ormuz*, destined to acquire still greater celebrity than the former, was laid; although under the disadvantages of wanting water, and of a soil impregnated with salt and sulphur. *Abulfeda*, who wrote in the early part of the fourteenth century, and was a cotemporary of our author, describes the insular city, and says: "Qui eam vidit nostro hoc tempore, narravit mihi aliquis, antiquam "Hormuzum esse devastatam a Tartarorum incursionibus, et ejus incolas "transtulisse suas sedes in insulam in mari sitam *Zarun* dictam, a continente "vicinam, in antiquæ Hormuzæ occidentem; Hormuzæ nil superesse nisi parum "quid vilis plebeculæ." This island was taken from the native princes, in 1507, by the Portuguese, under the famous Alfonso Albuquerque. "In their hands," says

says Robertson, " Ormuz soon became the great mart from which the Persian " empire, and all the provinces of Asia to the west of it, were supplied with the " productions of India; and a city which they built on that barren island, desti- " tute of water, was rendered one of the chief seats of opulence, splendour, " and luxury in the eastern world." Historical Disquisition, p. 140. From them it was wrested, in 1622, by *Shah Abbas*, with the assistance of an English squadron. Its fortifications and other public structures were razed by that conqueror, and its commerce was transferred to a place on the neighbouring coast, called *Gambrún*, to which he gave the name of *Bandar Abbassi*. But in the mean time the discovery of the passage from Europe by the Cape of Good Hope operated to divert the general trade into a new channel, and that which was carried on by the medium of ports in the Gulf of Persia, rapidly declined. In the year 1765, when Niebuhr visited these parts, the island on which *Hormuz* stood, was possessed by a person who had been in the naval service of *Nadir Shah*, and the place was become quite insignificant.

209. By this must be meant, that Ormuz exceeded the other cities in opulence, and perhaps in population; but *Sirgan* or *Sirjan*, also called *Kirman*, was the capital of what we term the province of that name, and there the sovereign resided.

210. In the list of sultans of Ormuz furnished by Texeira in his translation of the annals of *Turan-shah*, we find one named *Rukn-eddin Mahmud*, who, although the dates are very imperfect, may be supposed to have reigned about the period of our author's visit to the gulf of Persia, and to be the prince here called *Rukmedin Achomak*. The latter name is evidently intended for *Achmet*, in which mode that of *Ahmed* has been commonly though improperly written; and it is well known that oriental writers themselves frequently commit errors by confounding the three names of *Ahmed*, *Muhammed*, and *Mahmud*, being all derivatives from the same root, *hemed* حمد, signifying " praise." The mistake therefore of our author amounts to no more than his having given to this sultan or *amîr*, *Rukn-eddin*, the surname of *Ahmed* instead of the cognate one of *Mahmud;* and as we have not the means of verifying Texeira's list, some doubt may be entertained whether the former is not the true reading.

211. No record of the kings of *Kirman* can be traced to a later date than the year 1187, when *Malik Dinar*, of the race of *Ali* (a *seyed*), expelled the last of the *Seljuk* princes, and established himself on the throne; but under *Hulagu* and his successors, who conquered Persia in the following century and formed a Moghul dynasty, it must have become again a province or fief of that empire, governed (as it is at the present day) by a branch of the

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reigning family. De Barros (Decade ii. liv. ii. cap. ii.) informs us that a king or chief of *Ormuz* (in the district of *Mogostan*, on the main) obtained from his neighbour, the *Malek* of *Kâez*, a cession of the island of *Jerun*, lying near his part of the coast, and established there a naval force, for the purpose of commanding the straits; that in the event of a war provoked by this assumption of power, he became master of the island of *Kâez* also; that the king of Persia (or, rather, the ruler of *Kirman*,) to whom the *Malek* had been used to pay tribute, marched an army into Mogostan and compelled the king of Ormuz to abandon his city on the continent and to take refuge in the island of *Jerun*, where he founded the new city of Ormuz; that upon his consenting to acknowledge vassalage and pay tribute (a share of the tolls on shipping) to the Persian king, he was suffered to remain in possession of both islands; and that in his new establishment he afterwards reigned thirty years.

The circumstances thus stated by De Barros agree in the material parts with what our author relates at this place, and, more particularly, in B. iii. chap. xliii; but the Portuguese historian refers all the transactions to the single reign of *Gordun-shah*, who, he says, obtained the cession of *Jerun* in 1273, and who, according to Texeira's list, where he is named *Azz-eddin Gordan shah*, died in 1318. There is reason, however, to believe that he gives an unfounded extension to this reign, and that the earlier events spoken of belonged to those of *Seif-eddin* and *Rukn-eddin*, who were probably the father and grandfather of that prince.

As the new Ormuz, when visited by our author about the year 1293, was unquestionably of great opulence and commercial importance, there is ground for presuming that its establishment was much earlier than the period assigned to it by De Barros, and for adopting the account given by De Guignes, who says: "Les Seljoucides (whose power in that quarter was extinguished in 1187) "par leurs incursions obligèrent les habitans de se retirer dans une isle voisine, "située à l'embouchure du golfe Persique, où ils bâtirent la ville qui subsiste "aujourd'hui sous le même nom." Liv. v. p. 345.

212. This odious right is known to have been exercised in Europe, in very modern days, under the name of "droit d'aubaine."

213. The hot wind known in Italy by the name of *il sirocco*, and in Africa by that of *Harmatan*, has been often described by travellers. In the deserts of the south of Persia its effects are perhaps more violent, as will appear from the following passages, which confirm in a striking manner our author's account. "L'air" says Chardin "est chaud et sec tout le long du Golphe Persique, "à prendre de la Caramanie, jusqu'au fleuve Indus. Et dans ces régions-là, "il y a des endroits où la chaleur est étouffante et insupportable à ceux même "qui

" qui y sont nez, et qui n'en sont jamais sortis. Il leur faut quitter leurs maisons " durant les quatre mois chauds de l'année, et se retirer vers les montagnes. " Et dans ce tems-là ceux qui pour leur malheur sont obligez de voyager en " ces païs brûlans, trouvent les villages déserts, excepté seulement quelques " pauvres et misérables créatures qu'on laisse pour en prendre soin..... Les " endroits où l'on se retire sont des vallées, des montagnes, et des bois de " *dattiers*." Again he says, " on appelle ce vent pestiféré *bad-samoum* (باد سموم " *bâdi-samûm*)..... Il se lève seulement entre le quinzième Juin et le quin- " zième Août, qui est le tems de l'excessive chaleur le long de ce Golphe: ce " vent est sifflant avec grand bruit; paroît rouge et enflammé; et tue les gens " qu'il frappe, par un manière d'étouffement, sur tout quand c'est de jour." T. ii. p. 7 et 9.

" The winds in this desert " says Pottinger " are often so scorching (during " the hot months from June to September) as to kill any thing, either animal " or vegetable, that may be exposed to them, and the route by which I " travelled is then deemed impassable. This wind is distingushed every where " in Beloochistan, by the different names of *Julot* or *Julo*, the flame, and *Badé* " *sumoom*, the pestilential wind. So powerfully searching is its nature, that " it has been known to kill camels or other hardy animals, and its effects on the " human frame were related to me, by those who had been eye-witnesses of them, " as the most dreadful that can be imagined; the muscles of the unhappy " sufferer become rigid and contracted; the skin shrivels; an agonizing sen- " sation, as if the flesh was on fire, pervades the whole frame, and in the last " stage it cracks into deep gashes, producing hemorrhage, that quickly end this " misery." P. 136.

214. For this practice of immersion we have the testimony of Pietro della Valle, who was in the Gulf of Persia during the siege of Ormuz, and visited the island immediately after its falling into the hands of the Persians. " *Hormuz* " (he writes in his letter of the 18th January 1623) comunemente si stima la più " calda terra del mondo. Non per rispetto del sito, che, stando venti sette " gradi in circa lontana dall' equinottiale, verso settentrione, non arriva alla " zona torrida....ma per la qualità propria della terra, che è tutta sale: e per " ciò, il riverbero de' raggi del sole in essa è tanto fervente, che di state non " si puo quasi soffrire; in particolar quando tiran quei venti velenosi, de' quali, " in un altra mia lettera dalla Persia, feci mentione. E mi dicono, che in certo " tempo dell' anno, le genti di *Hormuz* non potrebbero vivere, se non vi " stessero qualche hora del giorno *immersi fin'alla gola nell' acqua*, che, a questo " fine, in tutte le case, tengono in alcune vasche, fatte a posta." Although additional testimony be not wanting, I shall give that of Schillinger, an intelligent Swabian traveller, who visited these countries in the year 1700, and furnishes

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a good description of *Hormuz* and *Gambrûn*. "Wann die grosse Hitze einfallet," he says, "legen sich die innwohner den gantzen tag durch in darzu bequemte "*Wasser-tröge*, oder stehen in mit wasser angefüllten Fassern biss an hals, "umb also zu ruhen, und sich der unleydentlichen Hitze zu erwehren." Persianische Reis, p. 279.

215. The substance of this story is not by any means improbable. If, as we may presume, the king of *Kirman* did not possess any naval force, or one sufficiently strong to enable him to coerce these islanders, he would naturally have recourse to the expedient of entrapping the wealthy inhabitants, and retaining them as hostages for the payment of demands, when he could find them on the main land. This could only succeed to any extent at the season when they were driven thither by the excessive heats, and when they would be off their guard in consequence of the supposed impracticability of the march of troops under such circumstances. The event proved the impolicy of the measure. The magnitude of the enemy's loss was perhaps exaggerated by the Hormuzians. With regard to the state of the bodies, however extraordinary the circumstances may appear, they are fully corroborated by Chardin, who, speaking further of this wind, says, "son effet le plus surprenant n'est pas même la mort "qu'il cause; c'est que les corps qui en meurent, sont comme dissous, sans "perdre pourtant leur figure, ni même leur couleur, en sorte qu'on diroit qu'ils "ne sont qu'endormis, quoiqu'ils soient morts, et que si on les prend quelque "part, la pièce demeure à la main." He then proceeds to adduce some recent facts in proof of his assertion. (T. ii. p. 9. 4to.) The analogy between the two accounts is indeed so strong, that had our author been the later traveller of the two, he would infallibly have been accused of plagiarism: but there were no writers whom *he* could copy; whilst Chardin's reputation places *him* above any suspicion of that nature.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the shipping employed at Ormus; of the season in which the fruits are produced; and of the manner of living and customs of the inhabitants.

CHAP. XVI. THE vessels built at *Ormus* are of the worst kind, and dangerous for navigation; exposing the merchants and others who make use of them to great hazards. Their defects proceed from the circumstance of nails

nails not being employed in the construction; the wood being of too hard a quality, and liable to split or to crack like earthenware. When an attempt is made to drive a nail it rebounds, and is frequently broken. The planks are bored, as carefully as possible, with an iron augre, near the extremities; and wooden pins or trenails being driven into them, they are in this manner fastened (to the stem and stern). After this they are bound, or rather sewed together, with a kind of ropeyarn stripped from the husk of the Indian (coco) nuts, which are of a large size, and covered with a fibrous stuff like horse hair. This being steeped in water until the softer parts putrify, the threads or strings remain clean, and of these they make twine for sewing the planks, which lasts long under water.[216] Pitch is not used for preserving the bottoms of vessels, but they are smeared with an oil made from the fat of fish, and then caulked with oakum. The vessel has no more than one mast, one helm, and one deck.[217] When she has taken in her lading, it is covered over with hides, and upon these hides they place the horses which they carry to India. They have no iron anchors, but in their stead employ another kind of ground-tackle;[218] the consequence of which is, that in bad weather, and these seas are very tempestuous, they are frequently driven on shore and lost.

The inhabitants of the place are of a dark colour, and are Mahometans. They sow their wheat, rice, and other grain, in the month of November, and reap their harvest in March.[219] The fruits also they gather in that month, with the exception of the dates, which are collected in May. Of these, with other ingredients, they make a good kind of wine.[220] When it is drunk, however, by persons not accustomed to the beverage, it occasions an immediate flux; but upon their recovering from its first effects, it proves beneficial to them, and contributes to render them fat. The food of the natives is different from ours; for were they to eat wheaten bread and flesh meat their health would be injured. They live chiefly upon dates and salted fish, such as the thunnus, cepole (cepola tania), and others which from experience they know to be wholesome.[221] Excepting in marshy places, the soil of this country is not covered with grass, in consequence of the extreme heat, which burns up every thing. Upon the death of men of rank,

rank, their wives loudly bewail them, once in the course of each day, during four successive weeks; and there are also people to be found here who make such lamentations a profession, and are paid for uttering them over the corpses of persons to whom they are not related.[222]

NOTES.

216. We know little of the shipping of the Gulf of Persia previously to the conquest of *Hormuz* by the Portuguese; and since that period the influence and example of these and other Europeans, have much changed the system of Persian and Indian navigation; yet the account given by our author corresponds in every essential particular with the kind of vessel described by Niebuhr, in the following passage from his voyage: "A la fin quelques-uns de ces vaisseaux arrivèrent (à "*Djidda*) au commencement de Décembre. Il y en avoit un entre autres, qui "venoit d'*Omân*, et on nous conseilla de nous y embarquer: *Tarâd* est le nom "que l'on donne à cette sorte de vaisseaux. Nous nous hâtâmes de l'aller voir, "comptant de le trouver grand et commode: mais nous ne fûmes pas peu surpris, "lorsqu'on nous montra un bâtiment qui resembloit plutôt à un tonneau, qu'à "un vaisseau. Il n'avoit que 7 toises de long et 2½ de large. Il étoit sans "tillac. Il n'y avoit presque aucun clou; les planches étoient fort minces, et, "pour ainsi dire, *cousues* ensemble." T. i. p. 228. Such also are the boats employed at the present day on the coast of Coromandel, called *chelingues* by the French, and *masulah* boats by the English, which are thus described by Le Gentil: "Les bateaux dans lesquels se passent ces barres, se nomment *chelin-*"*gues*; ils sont faits exprès; ce sont des planches mises l'une au-dessus de l'autre, "et *cousues* l'une à l'autre, avec du fil fait de l'écorce intérieur du cocotier (de "la noix du coco); les coûtures sont calfatées avec de l'étoupe faite de la même "écorce, et enfoncée sans beaucoup de façons avec un mauvais couteau. Le "fond de ces bateaux est plat et formé comme les bords; ces bateaux ne sont "guère plus longs que larges, et il n'entre pas un seul clou dans leur construc-"tion." Vogage, T. i. p. 540. This twine, manufactured from the fibrous husk of the coconut (not from the bark of the tree, as M. Le Gentil supposed), is well known in India by the name of coire, and is worked into ropes for running-rigging and cables.

217. That a vessel should have only one helm or rudder may be thought superfluous information; but it is to be observed that the numerous *prows* which cover the

the seas of the further East, are steered, in general, with two helms or *kamûdis;* and that such vessels had recently been under the notice of our author, in his passage to the Straits of Malacca.

218. Neither are the vessels of the Malays commonly provided with iron anchors: which I presume to be what is meant by "*ferri di sorzer,*" although the term is not to be met with either in the general or the marine dictionaries. Their anchors are formed of strong and heavy wood, have only one arm or fluke, and are sunk by means of heavy stones attached to them. Yet where these people have intercourse with Europeans, and can afford the expense, they endeavour to procure our iron grapnals. The *chaloupes* in which the Newfoundland fishery is carried on, have wooden anchors loaded with stones.

219. We might not expect to read of wheat being cultivated in so hot a climate, but the fact is well ascertained. "Le pain de froment" says Chardin "est en "usage presque par toute l'Asie.....En Perse il y a divers endroits où l'on en "mange très-peu;.....cependent on y trouve du pain par tout." T. ii. p. 59. 4to. Hamilton speaks of large plains on the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, "that "produce plenty of wheat and barley, and have good pasturage for horses and "cattle." New Account of the East Indies, Vol. i. p. 89. It is well known that excellent wheat grows in the upper provinces of Bengal.

220. What has usually been termed palm-wine, or toddy, is a liquor extracted from trees of the class of palms, by cutting off the shoot for fructification, and applying to the wounded part, a vessel into which the liquor distils: but we read also of an inebriating liquor prepared from the ripe dates, by steeping them in warm water, until they undergo the vinous fermentation. Pottinger, speaking of the people of *Mukran* (adjoining to the province of *Kirman*) says: "They like-"wise drink great quantities of an intoxicating beverage, made from fermented "dates, which must be exceedingly pernicious in its effects." P. 306. In the Anabasis of Xenophon this liquor is spoken of as having been met with by the Greeks, in the villages of Babylonia; and in the Illustrations of that work by Major Rennell (p. 118), the subject is fully investigated.

221. "On en transporte le poisson sec par tout," says Chardin, "particulière-"ment le ton, l'esturgeon avec le caviar, le saumon, et une espèce de grandes "carpes qu'on appelle *destpich*, qui est de très-bon poisson.....On apporte sur "les côtes de ce Golphe d'un poisson dont la chair est rouge, et qui pèze deux à "trois cens livres, qu'on prend sur la côte d'Arabie, et qu'on sale comme le "bœuf." T. ii. p. 33. 4to.

222. These

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222. These excessive lamentations, so common in the east and not unknown in some parts of Europe, as well as the practice of hiring professional mourners, have been often described by travellers. "Les femmes sur tout" says Chardin "s'emportent aux excès de fureur et de désolation les plus outrez, qu'elles "entremêlent de longues-complaintes, de récits tendres et touchans, et de "doulerouses apostrophes au cadavre insensible." T. ii. p. 385. "It is usual" says Fryer "to hire people to lament; and the widow once a moon goes to "the grave with her acquaintance to repeat the doleful dirge." Account of East India and Persia, p. 94.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the country travelled over upon leaving Ormus and returning to Kierman by a different route; and of a bitterness in the bread occasioned by the quality of the water.

CHAP. XVII.

HAVING spoken of *Ormus* I shall for the present defer treating of India, intending to make it the subject of a separate Book,[223] and now return to *Kierman* in a northerly direction.[224] Leaving *Ormus* therefore and taking a different road to that place, you enter upon a beautiful plain, producing in abundance every article of food; but the bread which is made from wheat grown in the country, cannot be eaten by those who have not learned to accommodate their palates to it; having a bitter taste derived from the quality of the waters, which are all bitter and salsuginous. On every side you perceive warm, sanative streams, applicable to the cure of cutaneous and other bodily complaints. Dates and other fruits are in great plenty.

NOTES.

223. India forms the principal subject of the Third Book.

224. *Ormuz*

224. *Ormuz* and the province of *Kirman* being situated on the eastern side of Persia, towards that region which the oriental geographers denominate *Sind*, our author might have been expected, after treating of them, to proceed to a description of the countries he had visited or heard of, in the direction of the Indus; but as he would thereby have been led away from the remaining part of Persia, as well as from Khorasan and Transoxiana, he prefers taking a northern course and returns to the capital of the province of *Kirman*; which, it should be observed, is called by the same name, and not by that of *Serjan*, in the maps of Malcolm and of Pottinger.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the desert country between Kierman and Kobinam, and of the bitter quality of the water.

Upon leaving *Kierman* and travelling three days, you reach the borders of a desert extending to the distance of seven days journey, at the end of which you arrive at *Kobinam*.[225] During the first three days (of these seven) but little water is to be met with, and that little is impregnated with salt, green as grass, and so nauseous that none can use it as drink. Should even a drop of it be swallowed, frequent calls of nature will be occasioned; and the effect is the same from eating a grain of the salt made from this water.[226] In consequence of this, persons who travel over the desert, are obliged to carry a provision of water along with them. The cattle however are compelled by thirst to drink such as they find; and a flux immediately ensues. In the course of these three days not one habitation is to be seen. The whole is arid and desolate. Cattle are not found there, because there is no subsistence for them.[227] On the fourth day you come to a river of fresh water, but which has its channel for the most part under ground. In some parts, however, there are abrupt openings, caused by the force of the current, through which the stream becomes visible for a short space, and water is to be had in abundance. Here the wearied traveller stops

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to refresh himself and his cattle after the fatigues of the preceding journey.[228] The circumstances of the latter three days resemble those of the former, and conduct him at length to the town of *Kobinam*.

NOTES.

225. *Kobinam* (which name appears with little variation in the several copies) is the *Kabis* of D'Anville, the *Chabis* of Edrisi, the *Khebis*, *Khebeis*, and *Khubeis* خبيص of Ibn Haukal, and the *Khubees* of Pottinger. "*Khebeis*" says Ibn Haukal "is a town on the borders of this desert, with running water and "date trees. From that to *Durak* is one *merhileh*; and during this stage as "far as the eye can reach, every thing wears the appearance of ruin and deso- "lation; for there is not any kind of water." Ouseley's translation, p. 199. "Iter à Sirgian ad urbem *Chabis*" says Edrisi "sex est stationum..... Jacet "autem *Chabis* in extremitate maximæ illius solitudinis." P. 130. "It formerly "flourished" says Pottinger "and was the residence of a Beglerbeg on the "part of the chief of *Seistan*, but now is a miserable decayed place, and the "inhabitants are notorious robbers and outcasts who subsist by infesting the "highways of Khorasan and Persia, and plundering karawans." P. 229.

226. The salt-springs and plains incrusted with salt, which Pottinger met with in *Kirman* and the adjacent countries, are thus spoken of: "We crossed a river "of liquid salt, so deep as to take my horse to the knees; the surface of the "plain for several hundred yards on each side, was entirely hid by a thick "incrustation of white salt, resembling a fall of frozen snow, that crackled "under the horses hoofs." P. 237. "The whole of these mountains (of *Ko-* "*histan*) abound with mineral productions: in several places there are brooks "of liquid salt, and pools of water covered with a scum similar to the naphtha, "or bitumen, found near the Caspian sea." P. 312. "On the high road from "*Kelat* to *Kutch Gundava* there is a range of hills, from which a species of "salt, perfectly red in its colour, is extracted, that possesses very great "aperient qualities. Sulphur and alum are to be had at the same place." P. 323. It would seem from its effects that the salt of these deserts contains sulphate of magnesia, and the green colour noticed by our author may proceed from a mixture of sulphate of iron.

227. "On the east," says Ibn Haukal, "the desert of *Khorasan* partly borders "the province of *Makran* and partly *Seiestan*; to the south it has *Kirman* and "Fars, and part of the borders of *Isfahan*..... This desert is almost totally "uninhabited

" uninhabited and waste..... It is the haunt of robbers and thieves, and " without a guide it is very difficult to find the way through it; and one can " only go by the well-known paths. The robbers abound in this desert because " it is situated on the confines of so many different provinces. The principal " roads through it are those from *Isfahan* to *Rey*, from *Kirman* to *Sejestan*, " from *Fars* and *Kirman* to *Khorasan*; the road of *Yezd* on the borders of *Fars*; " the road of *Ruzi* and *Khubeis*, and another called *rahnu* or the new road " from *Khorasan* into *Kirman*." P. 192-194.

228. This place of refreshment may perhaps be *Shúr* شور, which Ibn Haukal terms a stream of water in the desert, on the road which begins from the *Kirman* side. In another place he says it is one day's journey from *Durak*, (mentioned in Note 225,) and describes it as a broad water-course of rain-water. No notice, however, is there taken of its passing under ground; and the identity, therefore, is not to be insisted upon; but the subterraneous passage of rivers is not very uncommon. The instance of most notoriety is *la Perte du Rhône*. In England, the Mole derives its name from that peculiarity; and in the lands of *Cool* near Gort, in Ireland, I have witnessed the circumstances of a stream exactly agreeing with those described in the text.

The stages on what Ibn Haukal terms the New road from *Kirman* towards the north-east, are thus spoken of: " From *Bermasir* (the *Bardshir* of D'Anville's " map) to *Resnan*, one stage: here are date trees. From this, passing into the " desert, no buildings appear. Thence to *Chesmeh Sirab* (a spring of clear water) " one stage. From that to the village of *Salem*, four stages of desert. They " say this village belongs to *Kirman*." P. 202.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the town of Kobinam, and its manufactures.

Kobinam is a large town,[229] the inhabitants of which observe the law of Mahomet. Here they make mirrors of highly polished steel, of a large size and very handsome.[230] Much *antimony* or zinc is found in the country, and they procure tutty which makes an excellent collyrium, together with spodium, by the following process. They take the crude ore from a vein that is known to yield such as is fit for the

 purpose,

purpose, and put it into a heated furnace. Over the furnace they place an iron grating formed of small bars set close together. The smoke or vapour ascending from the ore in burning attaches itself to the bars, and as it cools becomes hard. This is the tutty; whilst the gross and heavy part, which does not ascend, but remains as a cinder in the furnace, becomes the spodium.[231]

NOTES.

229. See Note 225.

230. For the existence of this particular manufacture I do not find any corresponding authority, in the meagre accounts we possess of this tract; but it is reasonable to suppose that the discovery of the mode of silvering plate glass may have had the effect of putting an end to the use of polished metal, for the purpose of mirrors, as well here as in other countries.

231. In Note 183 a reason was assigned for supposing that by the word "*andanico*" was meant antimony," which is stated by Chardin and others to be found in the quarter of Persia here spoken of; but from the process of making tutty and spodium so particularly described in this place, we should be led to infer that *lapis calaminaris* or zinc is the mineral to which our author gives that name, or rather, the name of which *andanico* is the corruption. How far the qualities of antimony and of zinc may render them liable to be mistaken for each other, I do not pretend to judge, but upon this point there seems to exist a degree of uncertainty that may excuse our author if he supposed that the former, instead of the latter, was employed in the manufacture of *tutia* or tutty. "The argillaceous earth" says Bontius "of which tutty is made, is found in great quantities in the province of Persia called *Kirmon*, as I have often been told by Persian and Armenian merchants." Account of Diseases, Natural Hist. &c. of the East Indies. Chap. xiii. p. 180. Pottinger, in the journal of his travels through Beloochistan towards *Kirman*, speaks of a caravansery "called *Soormu-sing* or the stone of antimony, a name which it derives from the vast quantities of that mineral to be collected in the vicinity." P. 38. That the collyrium so much in use amongst the eastern people, called *surmeh* سرمہ by the Persians, and *anjan* or *unjun* انجن by the natives of Hindustan, has tutty for its basis, will not, I suppose be disputed: but

but in the Persian and Hindustani dictionaries it will be found that *surmeh* and *unjan* are likewise the terms for antimony. Whatever may be the proper application of the names, he is at least substantially correct in the fact that tutty, employed as a collyrium or ophthalmic unguent, is prepared from a mineral substance found in the province of *Kirman*.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the journey from Kobinam to the province of Timochain on the northern confines of Persia; and of a particular species of tree.

LEAVING *Kobinam* you proceed over a desert of eight days journey, exposed to great drought; neither fruits nor any kind of trees are met with, and what water is found has a bitter taste. Travellers are therefore obliged to carry with them so much as may be necessary for their sustenance. Their cattle are constrained by thirst to drink such as the desert affords, which their owners endeavour to render palatable to them by mixing it with flour. At the end of eight days you reach the province of *Timochain*, situated towards the north, on the borders of Persia, in which are many towns and strong places.[232] There is here an extensive plain remarkable for the production of a species of tree called the tree of the sun, and by Christians "*arbor secco*, the dry or "fruitless tree." Its nature and qualities are these. It is lofty, with a large stem, having its leaves green on the upper surface, but white or glaucous on the under. It produces husks or capsules like those in which the chestnut is enclosed, but these contain no fruit. The wood is solid and strong, and of a yellow colour resembling the box.[233] There is no other species of tree near it for the space of an hundred miles, excepting in one quarter where trees are found within the distance of about ten miles. It is reported by the inhabitants of this district that a battle was fought there between Alexander and Darius.[234] The towns are well supplied with every necessary and convenience of life, the climate being temperate, and not subject to extremes either of heat

heat or cold.[235] The people are of the Mahometan religion. They are in general a handsome race, especially the women, who, in my opinion, are the most beautiful in the world.

NOTES.

232. It has already been shewn (in Note 165) that the *Timocain* or *Timochain* of our text, is no other than *Damaghân* دامغان a place of considerable importance on the north-eastern confines of Persia, having the ancient Hyrcania, from which it is separated by a chain of mountains, to the north, the province of *Khorasan* to the east, and the small province of *Kumis*, of which it is the capital, together with the salt-desert, to the south. In this neighbourhood it was that *Ghazan* the son of *Arghun*, heir to the throne of Persia, then occupied by his uncle, was stationed with an army to guard the important Pass of *Khowar* or the Caspian straits, at the period of the arrival of the Polo family from China; and thither they were directed to proceed, in order to deliver into his hands their precious charge, a princess of the house of *Kublaï*.

233. This tree, to which the name of *arbor secco* was applied, would seem to be a species of *fagus*, and to partake of the character of the chestnut. But from the following passages we shall be justified in considering it was intended for a variety of the *platanus* or plane-tree. The epithet of "*secco*" seems to imply nothing more than this; that when the form of the husk promises an edible nut, the stranger who gathers it is disappointed on finding no perceptible contents, or only a dry and tasteless seed.

In the voyage of Olearius, he thus describes a certain kind of tree: "Ils " (les Perses) aiment particulièrement une espèce d'arbre, incogneu en Europe, " appellée *tzinar* (chinâr چنار), tant à cause de sa beauté que de l'ombre qu'il " fait. Il est de la hauteur et grosseur du pin, ayant la feuille large et semblable " à celle de la vigne. Son fruit ressemble à nos marons, quand ils ont encore " leur brou, mais il n'est pas bon à manger. Son bois est brun et ondoyé." Voy. de Moscovie en Perse, p. 377, 4to. More directly to our purpose are the following remarks of Silvestre de Sacy upon the supposed unproductive quality of the *platanus*: "Ma seconde observation" says my learned friend " est relative à la prétendue stérilité du platane dont parle le même Kazwini, " quoique, dans un autre endroit, se contredisant lui-même, il fasse mention " du fruit de cet arbre. Je ne sais si effectivement le platane est stérile à " certaines latitudes; mais il semble que sa stérilité soit passée en proverbe

" parmi

" parmi quelques Orientaux : car dans un recueil de diverses sentences morales " des Sabéens ou Chrétiens de Saint-Jean, publié récemment par le savant " M. Lorsbach, on trouve celle-ci : ' L'homme vain et glorieux ressemble à " ' un beau platane, riche en rameaux, mais qui ne produit et n'offre aucun " ' fruit à son maître.' Au surplus, le sens de ce proverbe peut être que le " fruit du platane n'est bon à rien. M. L. remarque à cette occasion que " dans certains dictionnaires, le nom Syriaque du platane, est traduit par " *châtaignier*, et qu'il ne sait sur quel fondement." Relation de l'Egypte, Notes, p. 81. He then proceeds to assign the probable ground of this mistake amongst the lexicographers; but the uncertainty itself is sufficient apology for our author, who may be presumed to have given the description rather from the popular story than from his own examination, and who might have spoken of the tree as a *castaneus*, because of *that* he had more familiar knowledge, than of the *platanus*. It is deserving of remark that the name of *arbor secco* is said to have been applied to it by the Christians; who may have been those very Christians of St. John whose authority is quoted by M. Lorsbach. With respect to its native appellation of " tree of the sun," I find nothing that serves directly to confirm it; but as the district where it grew was probably on the borders of the desert of *Khorasan*, and as this name is formed from the old Persian word *Khor*, signifying " the sun," I cannot but suspect some allusion to that circumstance, and that the tree may, in fact, have been denominated the tree of *Khor-asan*. " Touchant l'origine de ce mot," says D'Herbelot, " le Géographe Persien " remarque que le mot de *Khor* ou *Khour* signifie soleil, et *assan*, lieu habité. " C'est pourquoy, par le mot de Khorassan, on entend une grande étenduë de " pays du côté du soleil, c'est-à-dire, du soleil levant."

234. The last battle fought between Alexander and Darius was at Arbela *(Arbîl)*, in Kurdistan, not far from the Tigris, but in the subsequent operations, the vanquished king of Persia was pursued from Ecbatana *(Hamadan)*, through the Caspian Straits or pass of *Khowar*, which Alexander's troops penetrated without opposition, into the province of Comisene *(Kumis)*, of which Hecatompylos (supposed to be *Damaghan)* was the capital; nor did the pursuit cease until the unfortunate monarch was murdered by his own subjects, not far from the latter city. Alexander himself advanced by a nearer way, but across a desert entirely destitute of water. Traditions respecting the Macedonian conqueror abound in this part of the country, instances of which will hereafter occur.

235. The mildness of the climate, and at the same time its extreme unhealthiness, along the southern shore of the Caspian, is noticed by Olearius, Chardin, and other travellers; but the district about *Damaghan*, here spoken of, is separated by a chain of mountains from the swampy tract between *Asterabad* and

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and *Ferhabad* (the places chiefly visited by Europeans during the reign of *Shah Abbas*, who frequently held his court in them,) and occupies a much more elevated region.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the old man of the mountain; of his palace and gardens; of his capture and his death.

CHAP. XXI.

HAVING spoken of this country, mention shall now be made of the old man of the mountain.[236] The district in which his residence lay, obtained the name of *Mulehet*, signifying in the language of the Saracens, the place of heretics, and his people that of *Mulehetites*[237] or holders of heretical tenets; as we apply the term of *Patharini* to certain heretics amongst Christians.[238] The following account of this chief, MARCO POLO testifies to his having heard from sundry persons. He was named *Alo-eddin*,[239] and his religion was that of Mahomet. In a beautiful valley enclosed between two lofty mountains, he had formed a luxurious garden, stored with every delicious fruit and every fragrant shrub that could be procured. Palaces of various sizes and forms were erected in different parts of the grounds, ornamented with works in gold, with paintings, and with furniture of rich silks. By means of small conduits contrived in these buildings, streams of wine, milk, honey, and some of pure water, were seen to flow in every direction. The inhabitants of these palaces were elegant and beautiful damsels, accomplished in the arts of singing, playing upon all sorts of musical instruments, dancing, and especially those of dalliance and amorous allurement. Clothed in rich dresses they were seen continually sporting and amusing themselves in the garden and pavilions; their female guardians being confined within doors, and never suffered to appear. The object which the chief had in view in forming a garden of this fascinating kind, was this: that Mahomet having promised to those who should obey his will the enjoyments of Paradise, where every species of sensual gratification should be found, in the society of beautiful

beautiful nymphs; he was desirous of its being understood by his followers, that he also was a prophet and the compeer of Mahomet, and had the power of admitting to paradise such as he should chuse to favour. In order that none without his license might find their way into this delicious valley, he caused a strong and inexpugnable castle to be erected at the opening of it; through which the entry was by a secret passage. At his court, likewise, this chief entertained a number of youths, from the age of twelve to twenty years, selected from the inhabitants of the surrounding mountains, who shewed a disposition for martial exercises, and appeared to possess the quality of daring courage. To them he was in the daily practice of discoursing on the subject of the paradise announced by the Prophet, and of his own power of granting admission; and at certain times he caused draughts of a soporific nature to be administered to ten or a dozen of the youths; and when half dead with sleep, he had them conveyed to the several apartments of the palaces in the garden. Upon awakening from this state of lethargy, their senses were struck with all the delightful objects that have been described, and each perceived himself surrounded by lovely damsels, singing, playing, and attracting his regards by the most fascinating caresses; serving him also with delicate viands and exquisite wines; until intoxicated with excess of enjoyment, amidst actual rivulets of milk and wine, he believed himself assuredly in paradise, and felt an unwillingness to relinquish its delights. When four or five days had thus been passed, they were thrown once more into a state of somnolency, and carried out of the garden. Upon their being introduced to his presence, and questioned by him as to where they had been, their answer was, "in paradise, through the favour of "your highness:" and then before the whole court, who listened to them with eager curiosity and astonishment, they gave a circumstantial account of the scenes to which they had been witnesses. The chief thereupon addressing them, said: "we have the assurances of our "Prophet that he who defends his lord shall inherit paradise, and if "you shew yourselves devoted to the obedience of my orders, that "happy lot awaits your." Animated to enthusiasm by words of this nature, all deemed themselves happy to receive the commands of their master, and were forward to die in his service.[240] The consequence of

this

this system was, that when any of the neighbouring princes, or others, gave umbrage to this chief, they were put to death by these his disciplined assassins; none of whom felt terror at the risk of losing their own lives, which they held in little estimation, provided they could execute their master's will. On this account his tyranny became the subject of dread in all the surrounding countries.[241] He had also constituted two deputies or representatives of himself, of whom one had his residence in the vicinity of Damascus, and the other in Kurdistan;[242] and these pursued the plan he had established, for training their young dependants. Thus there was no person however powerful, who having become exposed to the enmity of the Old man of the mountain, could escape assassination. His territory being situated within the dominions of *Ulaù* (*Hulagu*), the brother of the grand *khan* (*Mangu*), that prince had information of his atrocious practices, as above related, as well as of his employing people to rob travellers in their passage through his country, and in the year 1262, sent one of his armies to besiege this chief in his castle. It proved, however, so capable of defence, that for three years no impression could be made upon it; until at length he was forced to surrender from the want of provisions, and being made prisoner, was put to death. His castle was dismantled, and his garden of Paradise destroyed.[243]

NOTES.

236. The appellation so well known in the histories of the crusades, of "Old "man of the mountain," is an injudicious version (for which it would seem they were first indebted to our author or his early translators) of the Arabic title *Sheikh al Jebal* شيخ الجبل, signifying "Chief of the mountainous region." But as the word "*sheikh*," like "*signor*" and some other European terms, bears the meaning of "Elder," as well as of "Lord or Chief," a choice of interpretations was offered, and the less appropriate adopted. The places where this personage, who was the head of a religious or fanatical sect, exercised the rights of sovereignty, were the castles of *Alamút*, *Lamsir*, *Kirdkuh*, and *Maimun-diz*, and the district of *Rudbar*; all situated within the limits of that province which the Persians name *Kuhestan* کوهستان, and the Arabians *Al-Jebal* الجبل. "La position d' *Alamout*" says De Sacy, in his Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins et sur l'origine de leur nom, "située au milieu d'un pays de montagnes, fit appeler le "prince

" prince qui y régnoit *scheikh-aldjebal*, c'est-à-dire, le *scheikh* ou prince des mon-
" tagnes, et l'équivoque du mot *scheikh*, qui signifie également *vieillard* et *prince*,
" a donné lieu aux historiens des croisades et au célèbre voyageur Marc Pol, de
" le nommer le Vieux de la montagne."

237. This correct application of the Arabic term "*Mulehet* or *Mulehed* ملحد, is one of the many unquestionable proofs of the genuineness of our author's relation, and would be sufficient to remove the doubts of any learned and candid inquirers on the subject of his acquaintance with oriental matters. Under the article *Melahedah*, in the Bibliothèque Orientale of D'Herbelot, we read: " C'est le plurier de *Melhed*, qui signifie un impie, un homme sans religion. " *Melahedah Kúhestan*: Les Impies de la Montagne. C'est ainsi que sont " appellés les Ismaëliãns qui ont régné dans l'Iran, et particulièrement dans la " partie monteuse de la Perse."

This opprobrious epithet was bestowed by the orthodox musulmans upon the fanatic sect of Ismaelians, Batenians, or, as they style themselves, *Refík* رفيق or Friends, who, under the influence of an adventurer named *Hasan ben Sabbah*, began to flourish in Persia about the year 1090, during the reign of *Malik shah Jelal eddin*, third sovereign of the Seljukian dynasty. With respect to the two grand divisions of the musulman political faith, they professed themselves to belong to the *Shiahs* or *Rafedhi* رفضي (as they are termed by their adversaries) who maintain the legitimate right to the *khalifat* in the descendants of *Ali*. Their particular tenets, which appear to be connected with those of the more ancient *Karmats* and modern *Wahabis*, will be found in the following passage from the work of M. Jourdain, intitled, "Notice de l'Histoire Universelle de *Mirkhond*, " suivie de l'Histoire de la Dynastie des *Ismaéliens* de Perse, extraite du méme " ouvrage, en Persan et en François," Paris 1812, 4to.: " Le sultan *Sindgar* " étant venu à *Réï* et ayant envoyé quelques personnes à *Alamout* pour s'informer " de la croyance des Ismaéliens, ceux-ci répondirent aux envoyés: ' Voici quelle " ' est notre doctrine: il faut croire à l'unité de Dieu, et reconnoître que la " ' véritable sagesse et le sens droit consistent à agir conformément à la parole " ' de Dieu et au commandement de son envoyé et à régler sa conduite sur les " ' lois de la sainte religion, ainsi qu'elles sont exposées dans le livre de Dieu; " ' comme aussi il faut croire à tout ce qui est contenu soit dans l'alcoran, soit " ' dans les paroles du prophète, touchant l'origine des choses et la vie future, " ' les récompenses et les châtimens, et le jour de jugement et de la résurrection; " ' il n'est permis à personne de s'en rapporter à son propre jugement relative-
" ' ment à aucune des lois de Dieu, ni d'en changer une seule lettre." p. 52.
" Un des caractères particuliers de cette secte (says De Sacy, in his Mémoire on " the dynasty of the Assassins) c'est qu'elle expliquait d'une manière allégorique

" tous les préceptes de la loi musulmane; et cette allégorie était poussée si loin " par quelques-uns des docteurs Ismaéliens, qu'elle ne tendait à rien moins qu'à " détruire toute culte public, et à élever une doctrine purement philosophique " et une morale très-licencieuse, sur les ruines de toute révélation et de toute " autorité divine." p. 4. " Nous devons observer que *Hasan* et les deux princes " qui lui succédèrent dans la souveraineté sur les Ismaëliens de Perse et de Syrie, " quoique attachés aux dogmes particuliers de cette secte, ne laissaient pas " cependant de pratiquer fidèlement toutes les lois de l'Islamisme; mais sous le " quatrième prince de cette dynastie, il survint un grand changement dans la " religion des Ismaëliens. Celui-ci, nommé *Hasan* fils de *Mohammed*, prétendit " avoir reçu de l'Imam des ordres secrets, en vertu desquels il abolit les prati- " ques extérieures du culte musulman, permit à ses sujets de boire du vin, et les " dispensa de toutes les obligations que la loi de Mahomêt impose à ses secta- " teurs. Il publia que la connoissance du sens allégorique des préceptes dispense " de l'observation du sens littéral, et mérita ainsi aux Ismaëliens le nom de " *Molahed*, c'est à dire, *impies*, nom sous lequel ils sont le plus souvent désignés " par les écrivains orientaux." P. vii.

238. " Paterini, dicti præterea hæretici Valdensium sectarii, de quorum " appellatione sic Constitutio Frederici II. contra Hæreticos apud Vaddingum an. " 1254. n. 14. In exemplum Martyrum, qui pro fide catholica martyria subie- " runt, Patarenos se nominant, veluti expositos passioni: Jacobus Petr. Luc- " carus in Annalib. Ragusiensib. lib. 1. p. 17. tradit ex Chronicis Bosnicis et " Petro Livio Veronense, sic nuncupatos " *da Paterno Romano hæretico pessimo,* " *che ricovero in Bosna, e sparse semidella sua diabolica dottrina in questo regno,* " *e nel Ducato di Chelmo.*" " Quidam sic nuncupatos volunt quod Orationis " dominicæ recitatione salvari se putarent." Du Cange, Glossarium ad scrip- tores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis. The *Paterini* are more generally known by the names of Waldenses, Albigenses, and amongst the French writers by that of *Patalins* or *Patelins*.

239. *Ala-eddin*, the Ismaelian prince, was killed, after a long reign, about the end of the year 1255, and was succeeded by *Rukn-eddin ben Ala-eddin*, who reigned only one year before the destruction of his power under the circum- stances our author proceeds to relate. He is correct therefore in attributing the actions which roused the indignation of the world, to the former; but he does not appear to have been aware that it was the son against whom the attack of the Moghuls was directed; although the expedition must have been undertaken against *Ala-eddin*, the father. The mistake was very excusable at a period when there were no *gazettes* to which he could refer for more precise information.

240. This

240. This story, although evidently a romantic exaggeration and borrowed in a great degree from the excellent tale of *Abu Hassan*, in the "Thousand and one nights," was nevertheless the current belief of the people of Asia, who seem to have thought it necessary to assign extraordinary causes for an effect so surprising as that of the implicit devotion of these religious enthusiasts to the arbitrary will of their master. Its want of truth in point of historical fact, must not, therefore, be charged to the account of MARCO POLO, however we may affect to smile at his credulity. Divested of the marvellous, we find the education of these juvenile fanatics thus described by the author of L'Histoire des Huns: "Il fit élever plusieurs de ses sujets dans des endroits secrets et "délicieux, où il leur faisoit apprendre plusieurs langues, dans le dessein de "les envoyer ensuite en différens endroits pour assassiner les princes qu'il "n'aimoit pas, sans faire aucune distinction du Chrétien ni du Mahométan. "Il promettoit à ces jeunes gens, que s'ils exécutoient ses ordres, ils jouiroient, "après leur mort, de plaisirs éternels et plus délicieux que ceux dont ils "avoient joui dans les endroits où ils avoient été élevés. Aussi étoit-il "toujours obéi." Liv. vi. p. 341.

Although the name of Assassin, as applied to these people, does not occur in my author, and I am not called upon to discuss the subject of its etymology, which has been unsatisfactorily attempted by many writers, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of mentioning an ingenious and very probable conjecture proposed in the Mémoire before referred to: "Quant à l'origine du nom dont il "s'agit" says De Sacy "quoique je ne l'aie apprise d'aucun des historiens "orientaux que j'ai consultés, je ne doute point que cette dénomination n'ait "été donnée aux Ismaéliens à cause de l'usage qu'ils faisaient d'une liqueur où "d'une préparation enivrante, connue encore dans tout l'Orient sous le nom "de *haschisch* حشيش. Les feuilles de chanvre, et quelquefois d'autres parties "de ce végétal, forment la base de cette préparation que l'on employe de "différentes manières, soit en liqueur, soit sous forme de confections ou de "pastilles, soit même en fumigations. L'ivresse produite par le *haschisch* jette "dans une sorte d'extase pareille à celle que les orientaux se procurent par "l'usage de l'opium..... Ceux qui se livrent à cet usage sont encore appelés "aujourd'hui *Haschischin* et *Haschaschin*, et ces deux expressions différentes "font voir pourquoi les Ismaéliens ont été nommés par les historiens des "Croisades, tantôt *Assissini*, et tantôt *Assassini*." P. 9. Having stated an objection which he thinks might be made to this etymology on the grounds of the deliberate perpetration of the acts performed by the Ismaelians, so different from the frantic excesses of persons intoxicated with *bang*; he opposes to this the authority of MARCO POLO ("ce voyageur dont la véracité est aujourd'hui "généralement reconnue,") and gives an eloquent paraphrase of our author's description of the means employed by their chief to infatuate the senses of his

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his devotees. He then proceeds to say: "Quand on supposerait quelque "exagération dans le récit du voyageur Vénitien, quand même au lieu de "croire à l'existence de ces jardins enchantés, attestée cependant par plusieurs "autres écrivains, on réduirait toutes les merveilles de ce séjour magique à "un fantôme, produit par l'imagination exaltée de ces jeunes gens enivrés "par le *haschisch*, et que depuis l'enfance on avait bercé de l'image de ce "bonheur, il n'en serait pas moins vrai que l'on retrouve ici l'usage d'une "liqueur destinée à engourdir les sens, et dans laquelle on ne saurait mécon- "naître celle dont l'emploi, ou plutôt l'abus, est répandu aujourd'hui dans "une grande partie de l'Asie et de l'Afrique." From my own observation of the use and effects of opium and the preparation of hemp vulgarly called *bang*, amongst the people of the East, I can assert, in support of the foregoing inference, that although taken in large doses by those who resolve upon indiscriminate murder, they are also administered for the purpose of elevating the courage, by diminishing the terrors of death, in specific enterprises; but by far the most common object in having recourse to them, is to exhilarate the feelings by a luxurious species of intoxication; although attended with the ulterior effect of stupifying and enervating.

241. "Nous en avons des exemples," says D'Herbelot "dans *Amir Billah*, "khalife d'Egypte, qu'ils tuèrent l'an 524 de l'hégire, de J. C. 1129; dans la "personne de *Mostarsched*, khalife de Bagdat, l'an 529, et dans plusieurs autres. "Ce furent eux qui dès l'an 485 massacrèrent le fameux vizir des sultans "Selgiucides, *Nizám el mulk*." "Sous le règne de *Kia Burzuk*" says *Mirkhond*, in the version of M. Jourdain, "les *fédaïs* (dévoués) tuèrent plusieurs grands per- "sonnages de l'islamisme, tels que le *kadhi* de l'orient et de l'occident *Abou-saïd* "*Hérawi*, un fils du khalife *Mostali*, qui tomba en Egypte sous les coups de sept "*réfiks* (Ismaëliens); le *séid Daulet-schah*, reïs d'Ispahan; *Aksankar* gouverneur "de *Méraga*; *Mostarsched* khalife de Bagdad; le reïs de Tebriz; *Hasan ben-* "*Abi'lkasem*, *mufti* de Kazwin. Beaucoup d'autres hommes distingués dans la "religion et dans l'état, furent assassinés par ces exécrables *fédaïs*." p. 51.

These people were named *Batînah* باطينة or Batanians, from the word *batin* باطن interior, occult, in allusion to the mystical nature of their doctrine, and Ismaëlians (an appellation common to them with the Fatimites), from their considering Ismaël, the son of *Jàfar al-sadek*, who was descended in the direct line from *Ali*, as the original founder of their sect and as the seventh and last of the *imams*; in which they differ from the other *Shiahs*, who acknowledge twelve. "L'infusion "de la divinité dans la personne des *imams*" says De Sacy "est un dogme très- "ancien et commun à beaucoup de sectes musulmanes, de celle qu'on nomme "*Schiis* ou *Schias outrés*. Si les Ismaélis n'admettoient pas ce dogme, du moins "en étoient-ils bien peu éloignés."

242. I

242. "cannot discover any traces of an establishment of Ismaelians, under a regular chief, in *Kurdistan*, although *daïs* or missionaries of the sect were frequently employed there; but of the existence of the subordinate government in Syria here mentioned we have ample testimony. "*Hasan* et les princes qui "lui succédèrent pendant près de deux siécles" observes De Sacy "ne se "contentèrent pas d'avoir établi leur puissance dans la Perse. Bientôt ils "trouvèrent moyen de s'emparer de quelques places fortes en Syrie. *Maysat*, "place située dans les montagnes de l'Anti-Liban, devint leur chef-lieu dans cette "province, et c'est là que résidait le lieutenant du prince d'*Alamout*. C'est "cette branche d'Ismaëliens établie en Syrie qui a été connue des historiens "occidentaux des Crusades, et c'est à elle qu'ils ont donné le nom d'Assassins." Mémoire. p. 6. On another occasion he repeats: "Quant aux Ismaélis de Syrie, "ils doivent leur origine aux Ismaélis de Perse....Leur premier établissement "en Syrie date de l'an 523 de l'hégire (1128), et leur puissance prit fin dans cette "contrée en 670 (1171), par les armes du sultan *Bibars*." "De la Perse" says De "Guignes "ces Ismaéliens passèrent dans la Syrie, et se logèrent aux environs "de la ville de Tortose, au milieu des rochers et des montagnes, dans une "dixaine de châteaux inaccessibles. Ceux-ci étoient gouvernés par un chef dépen-"dant du roi qui étoit en Perse." Hist. gén. des Huns, Liv. vi. p. 342. I am the more particular in citing these authorities, to prove, in confirmation of what MARCO POLO asserts, that the Persian was the original government, although the Syrian branch became better known in Europe, and to its *sheikhs* the title of "Old "man of the Mountain" seems to have been generally, if not exclusively applied.

243. The circumstances attending the destruction of this sect, which, as we have seen in the preceding notes, had erected itself into an independent sovereignty, are noticed by Abu'lfaraj, Hist. Dynast. p. *330*. as well as by others amongst the Oriental writers who record the actions of the descendants of *Jengiz-khan*, but by none with so much historical detail as by *Mirkhond*, whose account of the dynasty of Ismaëlians of Persia has been translated and published at Paris, together with the original text, by M. Jourdain. As his narrative, however, does not readily admit of being compressed, I shall avail myself of the summary but judicious recital of the principal events given by De Guignes, in his Tables Chronologiques des princes qui ont régné dans l'Asie. "Les habi-"tans de *Cazvin* et du *Dgebal*" says this historian "exposés continuellement "aux ravages des Ismaéliens, en portèrent leurs plaintes à *Mangou khan*, qui "régnoit alors en Tartarie; ce grand *Khan* envoya son frère *Hulagou*, avec "ordre de les détruire, et la permission de pousser ses conquêtes jusques dans "l'empire des Khalifs. Mais *Batou khan* (son oncle) qui avoit des liaisons "avec les Ismaéliens, ordonna à *Houlagou* de ne pas aller plus loin. *Houlagou* "fut obligé de rester sur les bords du Gihon, jusqu'à la mort de *Batou* qui

"régnoit

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" régnoit dans le Captchaq. L'an 653 de l'hégire, de J. C. 1255, il passa le " Gihon, et fit marcher ses troupes vers les châteaux des Ismaéliens, qui étoient " amis de *Bereké khan*, successeur de *Batou khan*. Il les fit raser. *Rokneddin* " lui fit dire qu'il se soumettoit, mais *Houlagou* ordonna qu'il vînt en personne. " *Rokneddin* brouillé avec ses troupes, fut alors obligé de se sauver auprès " d'*Houlagou*. L'an 655 de l'hégire, de J. C. 1257, il fut envoyé à Caracorom, " où *Mangou khan* le fit égorger avec toute sa famille, et ordonna qu'on traitât " de même ceux qui étoient restés dans leur pays, aux environs de Cazvin." Liv. vi. p. 342. To this I shall add from Mirkhond: " *Holagou* commanda " qu'on exécutât cette ordre de *Mangou-khan* ..... Il envoya un de ses vizirs " à Kazwin pour veiller à ce qu'on y fît périr les fils, les filles, les frères, les " sœurs, enfin tous les parens de *Rocn-eddin* qui s'étoient établis dans cette " province. Il livra deux personnes de cette troupe à *Bolghan Khatoun* qui " les fit mourir pour venger son père *Djagataï* que les *fedaïs* avoient tué. La " race de *Kia Burzuk* fut donc détruite et il ne resta pas sur la terre un seul " rejeton de sa famille. *Holagou* donna un autre ordre pour que le général " de l'armée du *Khorasan* qui gouvernoit le *Kouhestan* ne laissât échapper à " l'épée aucun *Molhed* de cette province. Ce gouverneur les ayant fait sortir, " sous prétexte de les rassembler, les tua tous. Douze mille personnes de ces " insensés périrent dans cette exécution ..... Ce prince, après avoir terminé " les affaires des Ismaéliens, s'avança vers Bagdad." Hist. de la Dynastie des Ismaéliens de Perse, p. 69.

With regard to the date of 1262, which our author assigns to the commencement of these operations, there must be a mistake of about six years, as all the historians agree that *Hulagu's* expedition against the Mulhedites was prior to that against Baghdad, and the latter is known with sufficient certainty to have fallen in the year 1258. We have, at the same time, the circumstantial authority of Mirkhond for the reduction of the castles of the former in the years 1256 and 1257. This and similar inaccuracies may be excused on the grounds that the events having happened many years before the commencement of his travels, he must have depended upon the information of others for their dates, which may have been expressed according to modes of reckoning that required a calculation to reduce them to the Christian era.

It may be proper to notice here an extraordinary error in the Oriental History of Haiton the Armenian, Chap. xxiv. (as edited by Grynæus and copied by Müller) in respect to the time employed by *Hulagu's* army in its operations against these sectaries, which is stated by him to have been, " per viginti septem " annorum spatium;" but it is obvious that for " annorum" we should read " mensium;" as it appears to have been in the course of the third year that the castles, or hill-forts, of *Alamut* and *Kirdkuh* surrendered.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXII.

Of a fertile plain of six days journey, succeeded by a desert of eight, to be passed in the way to the city of Sapurgan; of the excellent melons produced there; and of the city of Balach.

LEAVING this castle[244] the road leads over a spacious plain, and then through a country diversified with hill and dale, where there is herbage and pasture, as well as fruits, in great abundance, by which the army of *Ulaù* was enabled to remain so long upon the ground. This country extends to the distance of full six days journey. It contains many cities and fortified places,[245] and the inhabitants are of the Mahometan religion. A desert then commences extending forty or fifty miles,[246] where there is no water; and it is necessary that the traveller should make provision of this article at his outset. As the cattle find no drink until this desert is passed, the greatest expedition is necessary, that they may reach a watering place. At the end of the sixth day's journey,[247] he arrives at a town named *Sapurgan*,[248] which is plentifully supplied with every kind of provision, and is particularly celebrated for producing the best melons in the world. These are preserved in the following manner. They are cut spirally, in thin slices, as the pumkin with us, and after they have been dried in the sun, are sent, in large quantities, for sale, to the neighbouring countries; where they are eagerly sought for, being sweet as honey.[249] Game is also in plenty there, both of beasts and birds.

Leaving this place, we shall now speak of another named *Balach*; a large and magnificent city.[250] It was formerly still more considerable, but has sustained much injury from the Tartars, who in their frequent attacks have partly demolished its buildings. It contained many palaces constructed of marble, and spacious squares, still visible, although in a ruinous state.[251] It was in this city, according to the report of the inhabitants, that Alexander took to wife the daughter of king Darius.[252] The Mahometan religion prevails here also.[253] To this place the limits

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of the Persian empire extend, in a north-eastern direction.[254] Upon leaving *Balach* and holding the same course for two days, you traverse a country that is destitute of every sign of habitation, the people having all fled to strong places in the mountains, in order to secure themselves against the predatory attacks of lawless marauders, by whom these districts are overrun. Here are extensive waters, and game of various kinds. Lions are also found in these parts.[255] Provisions however are scarce in the hilly tract passed during these two days, and the traveller must carry with him food sufficient both for himself and his cattle.

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244. By the words "*Partendosi da questo castello*" it is evident that Ramusio considered this fresh departure to be from *Alamut* or some other of the castles of the Ismaelians; but the Latin version says, "Recedendo à præfato loco," and it seems to be more probable from the context and more consistent with the distances afterwards mentioned, that our author does not here mean to refer to any of those hill forts, in his time no longer in existence, but to *Timochain* or *Damaghan*, which he had been speaking of when he digressed from the geographical subject to relate the history of the Mulhedites. Their destruction, which took place about thirty-eight years before his return, must have been a topic of much notoriety and interest in those days, and was on this occasion naturally suggested to him by the proximity of their territory to the province of *Kumis*, of which *Damaghan* was the capital; being separated from each other only by the pass of *Khowar* or Caspian straits.

245. From *Damaghán* his course was nearly east, or in the direction of *Balkh*, and seems to have lain through *Jan-Jerm* and *Nishapúr* towards *Meru-ar-rud*; but the number of days journies is evidently too small, unless we can suppose him to have travelled at double the rate of the ordinary caravans, or full forty miles per day; which is less probable than that an omission of some stages has been made in the narrative. Six days of common travelling would not have carried him further than the confines of the province of *Kumis*, about *Asad-abad* (where *Hulagu* first halted to receive the feigned submission of *Rukn-eddin*), much less to *Nishapúr*; and yet the well inhabited country in that line, must be considered as reaching some way beyond that celebrated city. It would seem most likely

likely that from thence he proceeded directly to *Sarkhes* or *Sarukhs*, which *Ibn Haukal* reckons five stages, as it is three from that place to *Meru-ar-rud*.

246. The country of *Khorasan*, through which the route, whether from *Alamut* or from *Damaghan* to the place next mentioned, must have lain, is said to be in general level, intersected with sandy deserts and irregular ridges of lofty mountains. "Le Khorassan" says D'Herbelot "est borné par un désert vers le "Couchant du côté du pays de Giorgian et du Gebal, ou de l'Iraque Persique. "Vers le Midi il a un autre désert entre la Perse, proprement dite, et le pays de "Comas (*Kumis*)."

247. It is quite necessary to the sense that this should mean six days journey from the eastern side of the desert just mentioned, as Rumusio appears, from the summary of the chapter, to have understood it.

248. Of the identity of this place, which at first might seem to be intended for *Nishapur*, there can be no doubt. "*Cheburgan*, ville de Corassane, près du "Gihon et de Balc" says Pétis de la Croix, the translator of *Sherefeddin*, "a "100 degrés de long. et 36°. 45′ de latitude." In the Tables of *Nassir-eddin*, from which the above situation is taken, it is named, *Ashburkan* اشبورقان, in D'Anville's map, *Ashburgan*, in Strahlenberg's, *Chaburga*, in Macdonald Kinneir's, *Subbergan*, and in Elphinstone's, *Shibbergaun*. By the last writer it is spoken of as a dependency of the government of *Balkh*.

249. The province of *Khorasan* is celebrated by all the eastern writers for the excellence of its fruits, and the importance here given to its melons is fully supported by the authority of Chardin. "Je commence" says this well informed traveller "par les melons, qui sont le plus excellent fruit de la Perse. On compte "en ce païs-là de plus de vingt espèces de melons. Les premiers sont appellez "*guermec*, comme qui diroit des échauffés. Ils sont ronds et petits....Il en "vient tous les jours d'autre sorte, et les plus tardifs sont les meilleurs. Les "derniers sont les blancs, dont vous diriez que ce n'est que du sucre. Ils sont "long d'un pied, et pèsent dix à douze livres....Les meilleurs du royaume "croissent en *Corasson*....On en apporte à *Ispahan* pour le roi, et pour faire des "présens. Ils ne se gâtent point en les apportant, quoi qu'il ait plus de trente "journées de chemin. Avec toutes ces sortes, on a les melons d'eau, ou pateques, "par tout le royaume, qui pèsent quinze à vingt livres, dont les meilleurs "viennent aussi de Bactriane." T. ii. p. 19. 4to. On the subject of the "*melon "du Khorasan*," see also Relation de l'Egypte, Notes, p. 126.

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250. *Balach* or *Balkh* بلخ, the *Bactra regia* of Ptolemy, which gave name to the province of Bactriana, of which it was the capital, is situated towards the heads of the Oxus, in the north-eastern extremity of *Khorasan*. It is one of the four royal cities of that province, and, perhaps more frequently even than *Nishapur*, *Herat*, or *Meru-shahjan*, has been the seat of government. Such it was when Persia and the neighbouring countries were conquered by the Arabs in the khalifat of *Othman*.

251. *Jengiz-khan*, who took this city by assault in 1221, from the Khorazmians, caused all the inhabitants to be massacred (as we are told by his historian, *Abu'l-ghazi*) and the walls to be rased to their foundation. In 1369 it was taken from the descendants of that conqueror by Tamerlane, whose family possessed it until they were obliged to give place to the Uzbek Tartars, between whom and the Persians (as D'Herbelot observes) it has since been the subject of perpetual contention. When Forster was at *Kabul*, in 1783, he informs us that "the "adjacent parts of Uzbek Tartary, of which *Balkh* is the capital, held a species "of dependency on *Timur shah*, and maintained a common intercourse with "*Kabul*," the seat of his government. "All the Asiatics" Elphinstone observes "are impressed with an idea of its being the oldest city in the world .... "This antient metropolis is now reduced to insignificance. Its ruins still cover "a great extent, and are surrounded with a wall, but only one corner is in-"habited." P. 464. The houses are described by Macdonald Kinneir as being of brick, and the palace of the *khan*, an extensive building, nearly all of *marble*, brought from quarries in the neighbouring mountains. Its population, he says, is now reduced to six or seven thousand men.

252. The Persian marriages of Alexander, with *Barsine* or *Statira*, the daughter of Darius, and with *Parisatis*, the daughter of Ochus, are generally understood to have taken place at Susa; but the tradition of the inhabitants of Bactra (if indeed, they had not been all destroyed by intermediate conquerors) may perhaps be more correct authority than that from which Quintus Curtius composed his history.

253. *Abu'lghazi* informs us that at the time of the destruction of *Balkh* by *Jengiz-khan*, it contained no fewer than twelve thousand mosques; which, although an exaggeration, shews at least the prevalence of Islaemism in that city.

254. *Khorasan* being so frequently subject to Persian dominion, and particularly under the descendants of *Hulagu*, who possessed it at the time our author travelled there, it was natural for him to consider it as an integral part of the Persian

Persian empire, although it is not accounted such by geographers, and has been often dismembered from it. Balkh is correctly stated as lying on the north-eastern frontier. BOOK I. CHAP. XXII. Notes.

255. Chardin enumerates lions amongst the wild animals of Persia, and especially in the frontier provinces. "Partout où il y a des bois," he says "commeen Hircanie et en Curdistan, il y a beaucoup de bêtes sauvages, des "*lions*, des ours, des tigres, des leopards, des porc-epy, et des sangliers." T. ii. p. 29. 4to.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the castle named Thaikan; of the manners of the inhabitants; and of salt-hills.

CHAP. XXIII.

At the end of these two days journey you reach a castle named *Thaikan*, where a great market for corn is held, being situated in a fine and fruitful country. The hills that lie to the south of it are large and lofty.[256] Some of them consist of white salt, extremely hard, with which the people, to the distance of thirty miles round, come to provide themselves, being esteemed the purest that is found in the world; but it is at the same time so hard that it cannot be detached otherwise than with iron instruments.[257] The quantity is so great that all the countries of the earth might be supplied from hence. The other hills produce almonds and pistachio nuts,[258] in which articles the natives carry on a considerable trade. Leaving *Thaikan* and travelling three days, still in a north-east direction, you pass through a well inhabited country, where there is plenty of fruit, corn, and vines. The people are Mahometans, and are blood-thirsty and treacherous. They are given also to debauchery, and to excess in drink, to which the excellence of their sweet wine encourages them.[259] On their heads they wear nothing but a cord, about ten spans in length, with which they

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they bind them round. They are keen sportsmen, and take many wild animals, wearing no other clothing than the skins of the beasts they kill; of which materials their shoes also are made.[260]

NOTES.

256. This account of *Thaikan* or *Taikân* طايقان (written *Caycam* in the manuscripts and *Taitham* in the Italian epitomes,) which is situated amongst the sources of the Oxus, will be found remarkably correct. "Of *Tokharestan*" says Ibn Haukal "the largest city (town) is *Taikân*, situated on a plain, in the vicinity "of mountains. It is watered by a considerable river, and has many orchards "and gardens." P. 224 "From *Taikân* to *Badakhshan* is seven days journey." P. 230. By Abulfeda it is thus spoken of, in Reiske's translation: "*Thayakan* "est secundum *ol Lobab*, urbicula in tractibus Balchæ, ad kuram Tocharestanæ "pertinens, amœnissima. Sed *ol Azzicus* urbem magnam appellat in valle "inter montes ..... Uberrimæ fertilitatis sunt ejus arbores." These authors clearly distinguish it from a place named *Talkan* طالقان, lying south-west of *Balkh*, near *Meru-er-rûd*, and situated on a steep rock; but Edrisi gives to the former the name of *Talkan*, and has been followed by modern geographers, and particularly by D'Anville, in whose map both places are written with the same letters. "Their course" says Lieut. Macartney, speaking of the streams of the Oxus, near whose junction *Talikan* (or *Taikân*) stands "is through a "mountainous country, but containing many excessively rich and fertile valleys, "producing all kinds of fruit in the greatest abundance." Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, Appendix, p. 650.

257. This kind of hard fossile salt is found in several parts, and is thus described by Chardin: "Dans la Médie et à Ispahan le sel se tire des mines, et "on le transporte par gros quartiers, comme la pierre de taille. Il est si dure "en des endroits, comme dans la Caramanie déserte (*Kirmân*) qu'on en employe "les pierres dans la construction des maisons des pauvres gens." T. ii. p. 23. "The road beyond", says Elphinstone, speaking of a place in the country of the Afghâns "was cut out of solid salt, at the foot of cliffs of that mineral, in some "places more than one hundred feet high above the river. The salt is hard, "clear, and almost pure." Account of Caubul, p. 37.

258. Both almonds and pistachio-nuts are enumerated by Chardin amongst the productions of the northern and eastern parts of Persia. "Il croît des "pistaches

" pistaches à Casbin et aux environs....Ils ont de plus les amandes, les noi-
" settes, &c. Le plus grand transport de fruits se fait de Yesde." T. ii. p. 21.

Notes.

259. This country has since been overrun by a different race of people. " The " Uzbeks " says Elphinstone " first crossed the Jaxartes about the beginning of " the sixteenth century, and pouring on the possessions of the descendants of " Tamerlane," who were themselves invaders " soon drove them from Bokhaura, " Khoarizm, and Ferghauna, and spread terror and dismay to the remotest parts " of their extended empire. They now possess besides Bulkh *(Balkh)*, the " kingdoms of Khoarizm (or Orgunge), Bokhaura and Ferghauna, and perhaps " some other little countries on this side of Beloot Taugh. I am told that they " are to be found beyond Beloot Taugh, and as far east as Khoten at least; but " of this I cannot speak with confidence. They belong to that great division of " the human race which is known in Asia by the name of Toork, and which, " with the Moguls and Manshoors, compose what we call the Tartar nation. " Each of these divisions has its separate language, and that of the Toorks is " widely diffused throughout the west of Asia." Account of Caubul, p. 465.

260. The manners of the present *Uzbek* inhabitants are by no means so rude as what is here described; yet Forster acquaints us that at *Herat*, in *Khorasan*, " surtouts of sheepskin, with the wool in the inside, are seen hanging in every " shop, and are used by all classes of people in the winter season." Travels, Vol. ii. p. 120. Sheep or goats being afterwards spoken of by our author, as wild animals abounding in this part of the country, he may be understood to mean their skins as furnishing clothing to the natives. See Chap. xxv.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the town of Scassem, and of the porcupines found there.

CHAP. XXIV.

After a journey of three days you reach a town named *Scassem*,[261] governed by a chief whose title is equivalent to that of our barons or counts; and amongst the mountains he possesses other towns and strong places. Through the midst of this runs a river of tolerable size. Here are found porcupines, which roll themselves up when the hunters set their dogs at them, and with great fury shoot out the quills or spines with

BOOK I. CHAP. XXIV.

with which their skins are furnished; wounding both men and dogs. The people of this country have their peculiar language. The herdsmen who attend the cattle have their habitations amongst the hills, in caverns they form for themselves; nor is this a difficult operation, the hills consisting, not of stone, but only of clay. Upon departing from this place you travel for three days without seeing any kind of building, or meeting with any of the necessaries required by a traveller, excepting water; but for the horses there is sufficient pasture. You are therefore obliged to carry with you every article for which there may be occasion on the road. Early on the third day you arrive at the province of *Balashan*.[262]

NOTES.

261. This name, which in the Latin texts as well as in that of Ramusio is *Scassem*, and in the Italian epitomes *Echasem*, is evidently the *Keshem* of D'Anville's map and the *Kishm-abad* of Elphinstone's, situated near the *Ghori* river which falls into the Oxus, and somewhat to the eastward of the meridian of *Kabul* or *Caubul*. Ibn Haukal, who describes it immediately after speaking of *Taikân* and before he enters upon *Badakhshan*, names it *Khesh* خش, and says it is "the largest town in this mountainous country." J. R. Forster (Voyages in the North, p. 125) supposes *Scassem* to be *Al-Shash*, on the river *Sirr* or *Jaxartes*, but against all probability, considering its vast distance from the last mentioned place; whilst *Keshem* or *Kishm* is not only in the vicinity, but in the direct route to that which is next described.

Our information respecting these regions, from the oriental geographers, is extremely meagre, and I am not aware of their having been visited by any modern European traveller. The loss of Mr. Browne (advantageously known to the world by his Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria) who was murdered in Persia in the year 1813, when on his way to explore the remains of antiquity in Bactriana and Sogdiana and to ascertain the actual state of these and the neighbouring provinces, is deeply to be lamented.

262. This place which in Ramusio's text is *Balaxiam*, in the Latin *Balascia*, and in the Italian epitomes *Balassia*, is unquestionably *Badakhshân* بَدَخشان, as the name is correctly written by Ibn Haukal and other geographers, although often pronounced *Balakhshân*. By D'Herbelot its situation is thus described: "Ba-

" dakschian et Balakhschian, pays qui fait une partie de la province de Thokha-
" restan, et qui s'étend vers la tête du fleuve Gihon ou Oxus, par lequel il est
" borné du côté du levant et du septentrion." In "l'Histoire généalogique des
" Tatars," we are told that, " la ville de *Badaghschan* est située dans la
" Grande Bucharie, au pied de ces hautes montagnes qui séparent les estats du
" Grand Mogol de la Grande Tartarie ..... C'est une ville fort ancienne et
" extrêmement fort par sa situation dans les montagnes." P. 54. " Budukh-
" shaun," says Elphinstone, in his Account of Caubul, " though an extensive
" country, seems to be but one great valley running up from the province of
" Bulkh *(Balkh)* to Beloot Taugh, between the highlands connected with the
" Pamere and the range of Hindoo Koosh." P. 628.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the province of Balashan; of the precious stones found there and which become the property of the king; of the horses and the falcons of the country; of the salubrious air of the mountains; and of the dress with which the women adorn their persons.

In the province of *Balashan* the people are Mahometans. It is an extensive kingdom, being in length full twelve days journey, and is governed by princes in hereditary succession, who are all descended from Alexander, by the daughter of Darius, king of the Persians. All these have borne the title of *Zulkarnen*, being equivalent to Alexander.[263] In this country are found the precious stones called *balass* rubies, of fine quality and great value.[264] They are imbedded in the high mountains, but are searched for only in one, named *Sikinan*.[265] In this the king causes mines to be worked, in the same manner as for gold or silver; and through this channel alone they are obtained; no person daring, under pain of death, to make an excavation for the purpose, unless as a special favour he obtains his majesty's license. Occasionally the king gives them as presents to strangers who pass through his dominions, as they are not procurable by purchase from others, and cannot be exported without his permission. His object in

restrictions is, that the rubies of his country, with which he thinks his credit connected, should preserve their estimation and maintain their high price; for if they could be dug for indiscriminately, and every one could purchase and carry them out of the kingdom, so great is their abundance that they would soon be of little value.[266] Some he sends as complimentary gifts to other kings and princes; some he delivers as tribute (to his superior lord); and some also he exchanges for gold. These he allows to be exported. There are mountains likewise in which are found veins of that stone *(lapis lazuli)* which yields the azure colour (ultramarine),[267] here the finest in the world. The mines of silver, copper, and lead are likewise very productive. It is a cold country. The horses bred here are of a superior quality and have great speed. Their hoofs are so hard that they do not require shoeing.[268] The natives are in the practice of galloping them on declivities where other cattle could not or would not venture to run. They asserted that not long since there were still found in this province horses of the breed of Alexander's celebrated Bucephalus, which were all foaled with a particular mark in the forehead. The whole of the breed was in the possession of one of the king's uncles, who, upon his refusal to yield them to his nephew, was put to death; whereupon his widow, exasperated at the murder, caused them all to be destroyed; and thus the race was lost to the world.[269] In the mountains there are falcons of the species called *saker* (falco sacer) which are excellent birds and of strong flight; as well as of that called *lanner* (falco lanarius). There are also goshawks of a perfect kind (falco astur, or palumbarius) and sparrow-hawks (falco nisus). The people of the country are expert at the chase both of beasts and birds. Good wheat is grown there, and a species of barley without the husk.[270] There is no oil of olives, but they express it from certain nuts and from the grain called *sesame*,[271] which resembles the seed of flax, excepting that it is light-coloured; and the oil this yields is better and has more flavour than any other.[272] It is used by the Tartars and other inhabitants of these parts.

In this kingdom there are many narrow defiles, and strong situations, which diminish the apprehension of any foreign power entering it with a hostile intention. The men are good archers and excellent sportsmen; generally

generally clothing themselves with the skins of wild animals; other materials for the purpose being scarce. The mountains afford pasture for an innumerable quantity of sheep, which ramble about in flocks of four, five, and six hundred, all wild; and although many are taken and killed, there does not appear to be any diminution.[273] These mountains are exceedingly lofty, insomuch that it employs a man from morning till night to ascend to the top of them. Between them there are wide plains clothed with grass and with trees, and large streams of the purest water precipitating themselves through the fissures of the rocks. In these streams are trout and many other delicate sorts of fish. On the summits of the mountains the air is so pure and so salubrious, that when those who dwell in the towns and in the plains and vallies below, find themselves attacked with fevers or other inflammatory complaints, they immediately remove thither, and remaining for three or four days in that situation, recover their health. MARCO POLO affirms that he had experience in his own person of its excellent effects; for having been confined by sickness, in this country, for nearly a year,[274] he was advised to change the air by ascending the hills; when he presently became convalescent. A peculiar fashion of dress prevails amongst the women of the superior class, who wear below their waists, in the manner of drawers, a kind of garment, in the making of which they employ, according to their means, an hundred, eighty, or sixty ells of fine cotton cloth; which they also gather or plait, in order to increase the apparent size of their hips; those being accounted the most handsome who are the most bulky in that part.[275]

NOTES.

263. We are not furnished with the requisite materials either for confirming or contradicting the claim of these princes to a descent so illustrious, which they themselves might probably find it difficult to establish; but there is abundant evidence that the pretensions have been actually maintained, from an early period, down to the present day. Abu'lfazl, speaking of the districts of *Sewad* and *Bijore*, which he describes as consisting of hills and wilds, and inhabited by the tribe of *Yousef Zy*, proceeds to say: "In the time of *Mirza Ulugh Beg*

BOOK I.

CHAP. XXV.

Notes.

" (1450) the tribe of *Sultan*, who assert themselves to be the descendants of the " daughter of Sultan Secunder Zulkernain, came from Cabul, and possessed " themselves of this country. They say that Secunder left treasure in Cabul " under the care of some of his relations; and some of their descendants, who " carry their genealogical table in their hands, now dwell in the mountainous " parts." *Ayin Akbari*, Vol. ii. p. 195. This filiation is also noticed by Lieut. Macartney, who says in his Memoir: " The king of Derwauz (near the sources " of the Oxus) claims his descent from Alexander the Great, and his pretensions " are admitted by all his neighbours." Account of Caubul, App. p. 628. It is remarkable that in the list of Ashkanian kings, who became possessed of the throne of Persia after the immediate successors of Alexander, and who boasted themselves descended from the daughter of Darius, we find the name of *Balasch* frequently occurring; and one of them is named *Balaschan* the son of Balasch. See Hist. gén. des Huns, Liv. vii. p. 399. It is almost unnecessary to observe that the word *zul'-karnein* signifies " having horns," and that it was given by the orientals to Alexander, whom they name *Sekunder*, from the appearance of his head on the Greek coins, which long circulated, and were afterwards imitated, in Persia.

264. In the Latin version of our author it is said expressly that these stones have their name from the country of which we are speaking: " Producit hæc " eadem provincia lapides pretiosos atque magni valoris, qui a nomine regionis " *balasci* vocantur." Every writer who has treated of it, mentions its two productions, the balass ruby (classed by the orientals as a species of Hyacinth) and the *lapis lazuli*. " Badakhshan " says Ibn Haukal " produces the ruby *(laàl* " لعل) and *lapis lazuli* (*lajaward* لاجورد). The mines are in the mountains." P. 225. " C'est dans ses montagnes " says D'Herbelot " que se trouve la mine " des rubis que les orientaux appellent Badakhschiani et Balakhschiani, et que " nous nommons rubis balays." " Nomen ejus " says Sebaldus Ravius " est " *balachsch (balakhsh)* البلخش, diciturque a Teifaschio adduci ex Balachschane, " quam regionem Barbari Badachschan vocent: estque secundum eum, pars " terræ Turcarum quæ ad Tartariam vergit. Eandum originem designat Paulus " Venetus." Specimen Arabicum, p. 101. It should be observed that the term " Barbari " is a translation of *aàjam* اعجم, by which the Arabians mean to denote, especially, their Persian neighbours: but the latter ought best to know how the name should be pronounced. " The part of Beloot Taugh within " Budukhshaun" says Elphinstone " produces iron, salt, and sulphur, as well " as abundance of lapis lazuli; but the celebrated mines of rubies, which occa- " sion Budukhshaun to be so often alluded to by the Persian poets, are situated " in the lower hills near the Oxus. They are not now wrought." P. 629.

265. It

265. It may be thought a vain attempt to find corresponding authority for the name of the particular mountain from whence these stones were procured; but one which strongly resembles that of *Sikinan* presents itself as belonging to a district in the vicinity of the places of which we have been speaking. "The "river *Jihun* (or Oxus)" says Ibn Haukal "rises within the territories of "*Badakhshan* and receives the waters of many other streams.... The *Wekh-* "*shab* comes out of Turkestan into the land of *Wekhsh*, near a mountain where "there is a bridge between *Khotlan* and the borders of *Weish-kird* (the *Vash-* "*gherd* of D'Anville).... Near *Wekhsh* there are some districts (of Mawar- "alnahr,) such as *Dekhan* and *Sekineh* سقينه: these two belong to the infidels.. ".. There are mines of gold and silver in *Wekhshab*." P. 239. By "infidels" are probably here meant the race of people named *Káfirs*, whose country and peculiarities are described in the Appendix to Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, under the head of Caufiristaun, p. 617; and whom some suppose to be the descendants of the Greeks of Bactriana.

266. Tavernier informs us that the king of Pegu, in like manner, monopolised all the perfect rubies of his dominions, and would not suffer any of them to be exported by his subjects.

267. Speaking of *Badakhsham*, Abulfeda says: "Inde effertur ol lazurd et ol "bellaur, seu lapis lazuli et beryllus." Geogr. p. 352. See also a passage to the same effect, from Ibn Haukal, in Note 264. "In questa città" says Barthema, "speaking of *Shiraz* "si trova gran quantità di gioie, cioè turchine, e balassi "infiniti, vero è che quivi non nascono, ma vengono da una città chiamata "*Balasan*; et in detta città si trova grandissima copia di *azzuro oltra marino*, "e tuttia, e muschio assai." Ramusio, Vol. i. fol. 156-2.

268. Elphinstone observes that "by far the best breeding country (for horses) "in the Caubul dominions is Bulkh (*Balkh*), and it is from that province (bor- "dering on *Badakhshan*) and the Toorkmun country lower down the Oxus, that "the bulk of those exported are brought." P. 296. The practice of shoeing horses seems to be unnecessary where the country is not stony nor particularly hard. In Sumatra they are never shodden, nor in Java, excepting in some instances for the paved streets of Batavia.

269. Although this account of the fate of the posterity of Bucephalus, may have been an idle tale with which our author was amused by the natives, it shews the strong impression made by the conquests of Alexander, in the countries adjoining to, or constituting a part of Bactriana.

270. The

270. The barley here described is the kind known by the appellations of "hordeum nudum," "hordeum glabrum," and "hordeum vulgare seminibus "decorticatis." Our author's expression of "*senza scorza*" is exactly therefore the specific name given to it by Linnæus.

271. In India, oil is chiefly procured from this grain, the sesamum orientale. Both walnuts and hazel nuts, from which oil may be extracted, are found in the northern parts of Persia.

272. It is said that in some of the southern countries of Europe, the olive oil which we prize when fresh and free from taste, is considered by the inhabitants as insipid in that state, and wanting the high flavour that recommends to their palates what we term rancid oil.

273. "Les provinces de Perse les plus abondantes en bétail," says Chardin, "sont la Bactriane, &c. J'y ai vû des troupeaux de moutons qui couvroient "quatre à cinq lieues de païs." T. ii. p. 29. 4to

274. The residence in *Badakhshan* to which our author here adverts, must have taken place at the period when he was sent on a mission by the emperor *Kublaï* to the province of *Khorasan* or of *Khorasmia*, of which mention is made in the latter part of the first chapter, and in Note 45.

275. In the Berlin manuscript the words are: "Unaquæque enim in suis femo-"ralibus habet panni brachia lxxx vel lx, &c." This was undoubtedly a most extravagant fashion, and might appear incredible to those who have not had the opportunity of witnessing the hoop-dresses worn by our own females of rank; by means of which ingenious contrivance, their lower garments are so extended as to form a front of several feet, but without a proportionate accession of depth; in which respect the dress of the *Badakhshan* ladies must be considered as the less monstrous of the two. The writer of this is old enough to recollect having seen the representatives of the two Persian wives of Alexander (Statira, from *istara* a star, and Roxana, from *roshana* splendour) who were probably natives of this eastern province, "strutting their hour upon the stage," in hoops of the most ample dimensions. In describing the dress worn by the *Belooche* women, Pottinger says: "Their trowsers are preposterously wide, and made of silk, or a "fabrication of that and cotton mixed." Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, p. 65.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the province of Bascid lying south of the former; of the golden ornaments worn by the inhabitants, in their ears; and of their manners.

LEAVING *Balashan* and travelling in a southerly direction for ten days, you reach the province of *Bascid*,[276] the people of which have a peculiar language. They worship idols; are of a dark complexion; and are skilled in the art of magic, a study to which they continually apply themselves. They wear in their ears pendent rings of gold and silver, adorned with pearls and precious stones.[277] The climate of the province is in some parts extremely hot.[278] The food of the inhabitants is meat and rice.[279]

NOTES.

276. From the southerly or rather, south-easterly situation of this place with respect to the province of *Badakhshan*, its distance of about two hundred miles, and other circumstances, I should infer that by *Bascia* (in the epitomes, *Bassia*) is meant *Pāishore* or *Peshawer*, a city not far from the principal confluence of the rivers that form the Sind or Indus. It is described by Forster as large and populous, and in consequence of its well chosen position, an important mart, the residence of wealthy merchants. He says, indeed, that it was founded by *Akbar*, whose reign began in 1556; but although that enlightened monarch might have improved *Paishore*, and did actually found *Attok*, lower down on the river, there is evidence in his own Institutes that the former was in existence before his time. It is there said: "*Bekram*, commonly called *Paishore*, enjoys a delightful spring-"season. Here is a temple called *Gorekehtery*, a place of religious resort, par-"ticularly for *jowgies*." Ayin Akbari, Vol. ii. p. 205. This is not the description of a city of recent date; nor if built by his master, would Abu'lfazl have mentioned it in such slight terms. It is probable, upon the whole, that Forster applied to *Paishore* what he had been told of *Attok*.

In the very curious narrative of the travels of Benedict Goez, a Portuguese Jesuit, who, in the year 1603, pursued from this point nearly the route described by our author, and strongly corroborates his account, we find him making a halt

of

of twenty days at *Passaùr*, in order to prepare for his further journey through *Kabul*, *Talkan*, and *Badakhshan*, to Kashgar and China. The circumstances of this journey are preserved in the Memoirs of P. Matth. Ricci, published, in Latin, by Nicolas Trigault, in 1615, by the title of "De Christiana Expeditione "apud Sinas." The copies of this work in my possession are; a French translation printed at Lisle, in 1617, a Spanish at Seville, in 1621, and an Italian at Naples, in 1622.

It is proper, at the same time, to observe, that a friend for whose opinion I have the greatest deference, thinks it more likely that *Bascia* should be intended for *Bijore* (the Bazira of Alexander's historians), situated about fifty miles to the north of *Paishore*, between *Kabul* and *Kashmir*, and formerly a place of greater extent and importance than it has been in modern times. For information respecting this place, see Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan (ed. 1793) p. 157—162. The name of this is by Elphinstone written *Bajour*.

277. It is evident that the people here described, if not actually Indians, are nearly allied to them. "The houses, food, and habits of life of the tribes of "Peshawer," says Elphinstone, "resemble those of the Eusofzyes. The dress "has also some resemblance, being a mixture of that of the Indians with that of "the Afghauns." P. 359.

278. "The heat of *Peshour*" says Forster "seemed to me more intense than "that of any other country I have visited in the upper parts of India.... The "atmosphere in the summer solstice becomes almost inflammable." Vol. ii, p. 50. "*Peshawer*" says Elphinstone "is situated in a low plain, surrounded "on all sides except the east, with hills. The air is consequently much confined, "and the heat greatly increased. In the summer of 1809.... the thermometer "was for several days at 112 and 113°, in a large tent artificially cooled." P. 132.

279. "The markets" Forster adds "are abundantly supplied with provi-"sions of an excellent kind, particularly the mutton, which is the flesh of the "large-tailed sheep." P. 50.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the province of Kesmur situated towards the south-east; of its inhabitants who are skilled in magic; of their communication with the Indian sea; and of a class of hermits, their mode of life, and extraordinary abstinence.

Kesmur is a province distant from *Bascid* seven days journey.[280] Its inhabitants also have their proper language.[281] They are adepts beyond all others in the art of magic; insomuch that they can compel their idols, although by nature dumb and deaf, to speak; they can likewise obscure the day, and perform many other miracles.[282] They are pre-eminent amongst the idolatrous nations, and from them the idols (worshipped in other parts) proceed.[283] From this country there is a communication (by water) with the Indian Sea.[284] The natives are of a dark complexion, but by no means black; and the women, although dark, are very comely.[285] Their food is flesh, with rice and other grains; yet they are in general of a spare habit. The climate is moderately warm.[286] In this province, besides the capital, there are many other towns and strong places. There are also woods, desert tracts, and difficult passes (in the mountains), which give security to the inhabitants against invasion.[287] Their king is not tributary to any power. They have amongst them a particular class of devotees, who live in communities, observe strict abstinence in regard to eating, drinking, and the intercourse of the sexes, and refrain from every kind of sensual indulgence, in order that they may not give offence to the idols whom they worship. These persons live to a considerable age. They have several monasteries in which certain superiors exercise the functions of our abbots, and by the mass of the people they are held in great reverence.[288] The natives of this country do not deprive any creature of life, nor shed blood, and if they are inclined to eat flesh-meat, it is necessary that the Mahometans who reside amongst them should slay the animal.[289] The article of coral carried thither from Europe is sold at a higher price than in any other part of the world.

If I were to proceed in the same direction it would lead me to India; but I have judged it proper to reserve the description of that country for a third book; and shall therefore return to *Balashan*, intending to pursue from thence the straight road to *Kataia*, and to describe, as has been done from the commencement of the work, not only the countries through which the route immediately lies, but also those in its vicinity, to the right and left.[290]

NOTES.

280. *Kesmur* or *Chesmur* (*Chesimur* in the Latin versions and *Cassimur* in the Italian epitomes) is undoubtedly intended for *Kashmîr* كشمير. The distance, indeed, from *Paishore* or *Peshawer*, as it cannot be less than two hundred miles, and in a mountainous country, should be more than seven days journey; but we must not look for strict accuracy in this respect; and our own maps differ considerably in the relative position of the two places.

For circumstantial accounts of this interesting country, the reader may consult the *Ayin Akbari*, Bernier's and Forster's travels, Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, and Elphinstone's Account of Caubul. In the age in which our author wrote, its population appears to have been chiefly Hindu; as in more ancient times it was esteemed one of the principal seats of that religion and of Sanskrit literature. The wealth derived from its celebrated manufacture, and its idolatrous sanctity, tempted the avarice and roused the fanatic zeal of the Mahometans, by whom it was invaded at an early period; but as it did not fall under the dominion of *Jengiz-khan* or his immediate successors, it is here spoken of as an independent kingdom. It was, however, brought under subjection to the Moghuls of Hindustan, by *Akbar*, in the year 1585, and became the favourite summer residence of that family. Upon the decline of the empire, *Kashmîr* was seized by the rude hand of the *Afghâns*, who, as Forster observes, "possessing "neither the genius nor liberality of the Moghuls, have suffered its elegant struc- "tures to crumble into ruins." Vol. ii. p. 14.

281. "The language of *Kashmire*" says Forster "evidently springs from the "Sanskrit stock, and resembles in sound that of the Mahrattas." P. 22. "The "Cashmerians" says Elphinstone "are a distinct nation of the Hindoo stock, "and differ in language and manners from all their neighbours." P. 506.

282. The arts of necromancy and magic have prevailed amongst all nations of the world, at a certain stage of civilization, or rather of barbarism. In the East they

they seem to have taken deeper root, and to have flourished longer than in Europe, where they disappeared before the enlightened doctrines of Christianity and the progress of rational knowledge and experimental science. The precepts of the *korân* although strongly directed against every species of divination, have not had the effect of banishing the practice, and astrologers are publicly countenanced in Mahometan countries, and consulted upon all undertakings. Our author seems to ascribe these arts in a particular manner, if not exclusively, to the Indians; and Abu'lfazil also, speaking of the people of *Kashmîr*, says: "They are predictors and astrologers like the Hindoos." In Durie's very amusing narrative of his adventures in the *Afghân* country, we find the following passage: "The fakeers of Hindostan, who go to their countries, do not fail in "their endeavours to make them (the *Afghâns*) believe false and incredible repre- "sentations, and they are weak enough to give a good deal of credit to them. "They hold the people of Bengal as perfect magicians, and the Europeans (whom "they reckon as wise, intelligent, and equitable) as perfect chemists, well versed "in the art of making gold." Account of Caubul, Appendix, p. 614.

283. This is consistent with what we are told in the *Ayin Akbari*; that "the "Hindoos regard all Cashmeer as holy land, where forty-five places are dedi- "cated to *Mahadeo*, sixty-four to *Bishen*, three to Brahma, and twenty-two to "*Durga* (the goddess of mountains)." Vol. ii. p. 156. It is therefore by no means improbable that the brahmans of this remote and sacred country may have supplied southern India with many of those images of their deities, in stone and copper, with which the temples abound: for idols of home manufacture, we may presume, have less honour in their own country, than those imported from distant places of holy repute.

284. "Most of the trade of the country" says the *Ayin Akbari* "is carried on "by water." The river *Jeilum* or *Behut*, which flows through the valley of *Kashmîr*, and is there navigable, falls into the Indus, after uniting its waters with those of the *Chenâb* and the *Râvi*, not far from the city of *Multân*: but as its course, after leaving that valley, is through a mountainous country, the navigation must be interrupted in some places.

285. If the population of *Kashmîr* was at that time Hindu, as we have every reason to suppose, although it had been occasionally subdued by Mahometans, it may be thought difficult to reconcile to the customs of those people, what is here said of their food consisting in part of flesh: but in fact the Hindu castes are not practically so strict in regard to meats, as the precepts of their religion would lead us to believe. Add to this, that the Kashmirians being noted at all periods, for their light and dissolute character, it is not among them (however holy their

land) that we are to look for a strict observance of the *védas*. Forster may perhaps be thought to rate their morality too low, when he says: "A Kashmirian "must have been grievously embarrassed to justify his conduct, when he ascribed "it to any principle of religion; for he is a Hindoo, a Mahometan, and would "become a Christian if a priest were at hand, according to the fashion or interest "of the day." Vol. ii. p. 15.

"Many bramins of Bengal, Hindostan, and Cashmire" says Colonel Wilks "eat the flesh of fawn, mutton, and whatever is slain in sacrifice." Historical Sketches of the South of India, p. 505. "The Hindôos here," says Pottinger, speaking of the inhabitants of *Kelat* in *Beloochistan*, "are by no means strict in "their observance of the brahminical laws, and I was astonished to find, that "both the brahmins and their disciples eat every kind of flesh-meat except beef, "even though killed by a moosulman." Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, p. 78.

286. The temperateness of its climate has always been a subject of panegyric, and was the occasion of its being the summer residence of the Moghul emperors of Hindustan. "The whole of this *soobah*" says the *Ayin Akbari* "represents "a garden in perpetual spring." Vol. ii. p. 152.

287. The valley of *Kashmîr*, imbosomed within the *Hindu-koh* or Indian Caucasus, is nearly surrounded by lofty mountains, and is consequently difficult of access, to an army; but yet from the unwarlike character of the natives, it has been exposed to frequent invasions. "The fortifications with which nature "has furnished it" Abu'lfazl adds "are of an astonishing height."

288. These monks appear to resemble the *talapoins* of Ava and Siam, and *gylongs* of Tibet, who reside in communities, under the discipline of a superior, termed a *sankra* in the former countries, and a *lama* in the latter. Like them also they were evidently buddhists; and although that proscribed sect may have since disappeared from *Kashmîr*, as from most of the other provinces of Hindustan, Abu'lfazl, who wrote in the sixteenth century, notices some remains of them in his days. "The third time" he says "that the author followed the "imperial stirrup to the delightful territory of Kashmir, he met with some old "men of this religion." Vol. iii, p. 158. In another place he tells us that "the "most respectable people of this country are the *rîshis*, who although they do not "suffer themselves to be fettered with traditions (stories of the *puranas*) are doubtless true worshippers of God. They revile not any other sect, and ask nothing "of any one; they plant the roads with fruit trees to furnish the traveller with "refreshment; they abstain from flesh; and have no intercourse with the other "sex. There are near two thousand of this sect in Kashmir." Vol. ii. p. 155. It should be observed, however, that although he speaks of "many ancient "idolatrous

"idolatrous temples built of brick and stone, some of which are in perfect "preservation and others in ruins," he makes no specific mention of monasteries; but these may well be supposed to have ceased to exist under the mussulman governments that preceded the tolerant reign of Akbar.

289. *Abu'lfazl*, speaking of the priests of the religion of Buddha, in *Kashmir*, observes, that although they will not kill an animal, they do not refuse any kind of food that is offered to them; and whatever dies of itself they consider to be killed by God, and therefore eat it. Vol. iii, p. 158. Amongst the Hindus many castes are allowed to eat of certain kinds of animal food, who yet are restrained from shedding blood.

290. Our author here gives a consistent and intelligible account of the plan he pursues in his description of the several countries that came within the scope of his observation or knowledge; and it is only to be regretted that he has not drawn a clearer line of distinction between those places which he actually saw himself, and those respecting which he collected information from others. I am inclined to believe that he did not visit the *Panjab* (or country embraced by the streams which form the Indus), and that what he relates of *Peshawer* and *Kashmir*, was furnished to him during his long residence at *Badakhshan*, by persons who frequented those places for the purposes of trade.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the province of Vokhan; of an ascent for three days, leading to the summit of a high mountain; of a peculiar breed of sheep found there; of the effect of the great elevation upon fires; and of the savage life of the inhabitants.

LEAVING the province of *Balashan* and travelling in a direction between north-east and east, you pass many castles and habitations on the banks of the river, belonging to the brother of the king of that place, and after three days journey reach a province named *Vokan*; which itself extends in length and width to the distance of three days journey.[291] The people are Mahometans, have a distinct language, are civilised

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civilised in their manners, and accounted valiant in war. Their chief holds his territory as a fief dependent upon *Balashan*. They practise various modes of taking wild animals. Upon leaving this country and proceeding for three days, still in an east-north-east course, ascending mountain after mountain, you at length arrive at a point of the road, where you might suppose the surrounding summits to be the highest land in the world. Here between two ranges, you perceive a large lake, from which flows a handsome river that pursues its course along an extensive plain, covered with the richest verdure. Such indeed is its quality that the leanest cattle turned upon it would become fat in the course of ten days. In this plain there are wild animals in great numbers, particularly sheep of a large size, having horns three, four, and even six palms in length. Of these the shepherds form ladles and vessels for holding their victuals; and with the same materials they construct fences for enclosing their cattle and securing them against the wolves, with which, they say, the country is infested, and which likewise destroy many of these wild sheep or goats.[292] Their horns and bones being found in large quantities, heaps are made of them at the sides of the road, for the purpose of guiding travellers at the season when it is covered with snow. For twelve days the course is along this elevated plain, which is named *Pamer*;[293] and as during all that time you do not meet with any habitations, it is necessary to make provision at the outset accordingly. So great is the height of the mountains that no birds are to be seen near their summits; and however extraordinary it may be thought, it was affirmed, that from the keenness of the air, fires when lighted do not give the same heat as in lower situations, nor produce the same effect in dressing victuals.[294]

After having performed this journey of twelve days, you have still forty days to travel in the same direction, over mountains and through vallies, in perpetual succession, passing many rivers and desert tracts, without seeing any habitation or the appearance of verdure. Every article of provision must therefore be carried along with you. This region is called *Beloro*.[295] Even amidst the highest of these mountains there live a tribe of savage, ill-disposed, and idolatrous people, who subsist upon the animals they can destroy, and clothe themselves with the skins.

NOTES.

291. After having traced our author's line of description through countries where the writings of other travellers enabled us to recognize his steps, if we should now find ourselves in a region of greater uncertainty, the change is not to be attributed so much to any additional obscurity on his part, as to the want of corresponding information on ours; this tract being very imperfectly known to us. With respect, however, to the name and situation of *Vokhan* (the orthography of which differs little in the several versions) we are not entirely without lights both ancient and modern. It is identified in the first instance by its connexion with a place named *Weishgerd* or *Weishkird*, concerning which Ibn Haukal says: "the river *Wekhshab* comes out of Turkestan, into the land of *Wekhsh*, "near a mountain where there is a bridge between *Khotlan* and the borders of "*Weishkird*. From that it runs towards *Balkh*, and falls into the Jihoon at "*Termed*." p. 239. In the following passage from the work of Edrisi we find the *Vokhan* of our text brought into contact with the places here mentioned: "De regionibus finitimis *Vachas* (*Wekhsh* or *Wakhsh* وخش) et *Gil* جيل sunt "*Vachan* (*Vokhan* وخن) et Sacqita (*Sakitah* سقيتة) in terra *Torc*. Inter Vachan et "Tobbat intercedit iter octodecim dierum. In Vachan extant fodines argenti." p. 141. *Weishgerd* here appears to be the country, intermediate between *Badakhshan* and *Vokhan*, which our author tells us was governed by a brother of the king of the former.

What Edrisi states respecting this valley, as well as our author's account of it, are fully justified by the memoir explaining the map prefixed to the account of Caubul, where Lieut. Macartney, speaking of the river Ammu or Oxus, says: "This river....has its source from the high lands of *Pamer*. It issues from a "narrow valley, two or three hundred yards broad, in *Wukhan*, the southern "boundary of *Pamer*. This valley is inclosed on three sides by the high snowy "mountain called *Pooshtikhur*, to the south, east and west. The stream is seen "coming from under the ice." Appendix, p. 646. The mere verification of the name and position of a district so secluded, must be allowed to furnish an unexceptionable test of the genuineness of our traveller's relation.

292. From the length of the horns of these animals and the uses to which they were applied, we might suppose them to be a species of ibex or mountain goat; and although called *montoni* in the first instance, they are afterwards spoken of as *becchi* or boucs. In Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, this conjecture is justified, where he says: "Goats are common in all the mountainous parts of the coun- "try, and are by no means scarce in the plains. Some breeds have remarkably "long

" long and curiously twisted horns." P. 144. J. Rh. Forster observes that these animals are termed *Mouflons* and *Muffioni*, by the French and Italian writers.

293. We find the elevated plain of *Pamer*, *Pamire*, or *Pamîr*, in all the maps of Persia and the neighbouring countries. In that which accompanies Macdonald Kinneir's Geogr. Memoir, it occupies a place corresponding to the bearings we should infer from our author's description. " Though the Pamer ridge" says Lieut. Macartney " is inferior in height to the *Hindoo Koosh* ridge, the land " on which it runs, appears to me much higher, for in travelling to the north " from the latter, the ascent appears to be very considerable, and as a proof of " it, all the rivers which have their source in this ridge, have a southerly course " till they meet the high land of *Hindoo Koosh*, after which they run west and " west-north-west after joining the Oxus." Account of Caubul, p. 638. " The " *Budukshan* ridge" adds the same intelligent officer " runs from north-north- " east to south-south-west, between the Hindoo Koosh and Pamer ridges." " The " Budukshan ridge appears, from all accounts, to be a very considerable one, " and covered for the greater part of the year with snow. The hill of *Pooshti-* " *khur* is covered with snow all the year through." " The whole of the country " between the Hindoo Koosh and Pamer ridges, appears to be groupes of hills." " The hills are well wooded, and the low ones along their base are well stocked " with fruit-trees of various kinds." P. 639.

294. Birds, as well as all other animals, in their natural state, frequent those parts where they can most readily procure their food; and this not being furnished to them in very elevated regions, they are in such situations proportionably rare. With respect to the action of fire, every person's experience shews, that in places exposed to excessive cold, a much greater quantity of fuel is required, to produce the same effect as a small quantity where the temperature is moderate. De Luc observes that on high mountains fire burns more sluggishly, and its effects are less powerful, than at the level of the sea. Recherches sur les Modifications de l'Atmosphère, No. 903, 919.

295. This alpine region, named by eastern geographers *Belûr* or *Belór* بلور, is laid down in Strahlenberg's map, from whence, apparently, it has been transferred to those of D'Anville; but its position relatively to *Pamîr* and *Badakhshan* will be found still more conformable to our author's account, in the recent constructions of Macdonald Kinneir and Macartney. " Our maps" says Elphinstone " call the range which runs from Mooz Taugh to Hindoo Koosh, Belur " Tag, which is evidently a corruption of the Turkish words Beloot Taugh or " cloudy mountains.... Beloot Taugh forms the boundary between the political " divisions of Independent Toorkistaun and Chinese Toorkistaun. It also forms " these

" these two countries into two natural divisions, since it separates their streams." Account of Caubul, p. 87.

With respect to the nature of the country, it is spoken of by the same writer in terms little differing from those employed in the text. " Izzut oollah " he says " gives a frightful picture of the cold and desolation of this elevated tract, " which extends for three marches on the highest part of the country between " Yarkund and Ley (or Ladauk)." Note, p. 113. That this applies to the same region, although the places named are different, appears from the following passage in the appendix: " This ridge" says Macartney " is the one I have " before mentioned, as having been passed at several distant points, and answers " to the *Pamer* ridge. The road from *Leh* leads along it for twelve days " journey on the road to *Yarkund.*" p. 646.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of the city of Kashcar, and of the commerce of its inhabitants.

CHAP. XXIX.

At length you reach a place called *Kashcar*, which, it is said, was formerly an independent kingdom, but is now subject to the dominion of the Grand *khan.*[296] Its inhabitants are of the Mahometan religion. The province is extensive, and contains many towns and castles, of which *Kashcar* is the largest and most important.[297] The language of the people is peculiar to themselves. They subsist by commerce and manufacture, particularly works of cotton. They have handsome gardens, orchards, and vineyards. Abundance of cotton is produced there, as well as flax and hemp. Merchants from this country travel to all parts of the world; but in truth they are a covetous, sordid race,[298] eating badly and drinking worse. Besides the Mahometans there are amongst the inhabitants several Nestorian Christians, who are permitted to live under their own laws, and to have their churches.[299] The extent of the province is five days journey.

NOTES.

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296. *Kashgar* or *Kashghar* كاشغر is a well known city and emporium for the trade carried on between Tartary, India, and China. It is situated in that part of Turkistan which Europeans term the lesser Bucharia, and was formerly the capital of a kingdom of the same name. It was amongst the places overrun by the irresistible arms of *Jengiz-khan*, and upon the division of his empire, was included in the patrimony of his son *Jagataï*. About a century after our author's time it was conquered by Tamerlane, and in 1683, by the *Kontaish* or great *khan* of the Kalmucks, from whom the eastern part of the lesser Bucharia was wrested, in 1718, by the Chinese, and a few years since an *amdan* or provincial officer of that nation resided at *Kashgar*. Its commercial importance seems to be inferior at present to that of *Yerken* or *Yarkund*, in the same country.

297. " Al Bergendi dit " says D' Herbelot " qu'elle est fort grande, et qu'elle " passe pour la capitale de tout le pays ; que ses habitans sont Mussulmans, et " que beaucoup de scavans-hommes en sont sortis." Macdonald Kinneir's Itineraries speak of it as being situated on a well cultivated plain, near a fine river, but not navigable ; on the southern side of a range of mountains called *Teeruck Duan*.

298. The people of Bucharia, in the central parts of Asia, appear to resemble in their commercial habits and parsimony, the Armenians who frequent the principal cities of India, and whom Forster, in his travels, describes as being industrious, servile, and dishonest ; pursuing the different roads of traffick with unremitting ardor, and invariably measuring their pleasures by the mere extent of their wealth. Vol. ii, p. 117.

299. An ample account of the Nestorian church or sect is given by Joseph Simon Assemanus in his Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, T. iv. For our present purpose the following brief notice by Bergeron, of its origin and tenets, together with those of the Jacobites, will suffice : " Les Nestoriens " étoient ainsi nommez de Nestorius Patriarche de Constantinople, en 430, qui " entre autres erreurs divisoit la personne de Jésus Christ, qui est une : car il " nioit la Divinité de Jésus, né de la Vierge, faisans deux Christs, l'un Fils de " Dieu, et l'autre de Marie : ce qui fut condamné au 3e. Concile Oecuménique " d'Ephèse. Leur Patriarche étoit en Babylone de Chaldée, ou Baldach, com- " me nôtre Rubruquis remarque de son tems, et étoit lors sous la servitude des " Perses, Turcs et Tartares ; et s'étendoit cette hérésie depuis Constantinople " jusqu'en l'Inde orientale, et Tartarie, comme elle fait encore aujourd'hui " (1735) ;

" (1735); et leur Patriarche réside maintenant à Mosul ou Ninive." " Les " Jacobites étoient une branche de l'Eutichianisme; ils sont ainsi appellez d'un " Jacob, disciple de Dioscore, Eutichien, en 452, et ne reconnoissent la dis- " tinction des deux natures en Christ, après l'union hypostatique, mais disent " qu'elles furent alors confuses. Leur Patriarche d'Antioche réside à Caramet, " ou Caramit, près de Merdin, en Mesopotamie. Ils ne veulent recevoir le 4e. " Concile Oecuménique de Chalcedon, qui avoit condamné l'hérésie d'Eutyches, " et usent de la langue Syriaque." Traité des Tartares, p. 67. Assemanus, under the head of " Primates Orientis " speaks of the " Metropolita Turchista- " næ " and the " Episcopus Cascaræ." T. ii, p. 458-9.

In the Annals of Eutychius patriarch of Alexandria we find the following account of the revival of the doctrines of Nestorius, about a century after his death. "Atque ita obliterata est sententia Nestorii donec illam longo post " ipsum temporis spatio resuscitaret *Barsuma* برصوما Metropolita Nisibinensis " tempore Justini (Justiniani يوستينيانوس in the Arabic text) Romanorum impera- " toris et Kobadi Phiruzi filii regis Persarum, eamque in Oriente, ac præcipue " apud Persaram incolas adstrueret; unde est quod multi sint Nestoriani in " Oriente." Versione Edw. Pocockii, t. ii. p. 12.

CHAPTER XXX.

Of the city of Samarcan, and of the miraculous column in the church of St. John the Baptist.

CHAP. XXX.

SAMARCAN is a noble city, adorned with beautiful gardens, and surrounded by a plain in which are produced all the fruits that man can desire.[300] The inhabitants, who are partly Christians and partly Mahometans, are subject to the dominion of a nephew of the Grand *khan*, with whom, however, he is not upon amicable terms, but on the contrary there is perpetual strife and frequent wars between them.[301] This city lies in the direction of north-west.[302] A miracle is said to have taken place there, under the following circumstances. An hundred and twenty-five years ago, a prince named *Zagatai*, who was own brother to the (then reigning) Grand *khan*, became a convert to Christianity; greatly to the delight of the Christian inhabitants of the

BOOK I. CHAP. XXX.

place, who under the favour and protection of the prince, proceeded to build a church, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist. It was so constructed that all the weight of the roof (being circular) should rest upon a column in the centre, and beneath this, as a base, they fixed a square stone which, with the permission of the prince, they had taken from a temple belonging to the Mahometans, who dared not to prevent them from so doing. But upon the death of *Zagatai*, his son who succeeded him shewing no disposition to become a Christian, the Mussulmans had influence enough to obtain from him an order that their opponents should restore to them the stone they had appropriated; and although the latter offered to pay them a compensation in money, they refused to listen to the proposal, because they hoped that its removal would occasion the church to tumble down. In this difficulty the afflicted Christians had no other resource than with tears and humility to recommend themselves to the protection of the glorious St. John the Baptist. When the day arrived on which they were to make restitution of the stone, it came to pass that through the intercession of the Saint, the pillar raised itself from its base to the height of three palms, in order to facilitate the removal of the stone; and in that situation, without any kind of support, it remains to the present day.[303] Enough being said of this, we shall now proceed to the province of *Karkan*.

NOTES.

300. It is obvious here, that in order to introduce the description of a place so important as *Samarkand* سمرقند, which our author had probably visited in one of his official journies, he departs from the course he was pursuing towards *Kataia*, and makes what may be considered as an excursion into the greater Bucharia or Transoxiana. This celebrated city was taken from the Persians by the khalif *Walid*, in the year 704, and from the sultan of *Khaurizm*, in 1220, by *Jengiz-khan*, who gave it up to pillage and destroyed many of its buildings. From this, however, it might have recovered in the course of fifty or sixty years that intervened before the period of which we are speaking. By *Timur* or Tamerlane it was restored to all its ancient splendour, about the year 1370, and became the capital of his vast dominions; but falling subsequently into the hands of the Uzbek Tartars, with whom it remained at the close of the last century, its consequence

sequence had much declined. We are told by Malcolm, on the authority of a native whom he employed, that "since it was taken from the tribe of *Yuz* (the "Uzbeks) by *Shah Murad Bey*, it has recovered something of its former great-"ness."

The plain of *Sogd*, in which it stands, is much extolled by eastern writers for its beauty and fertility. "Les Orientaux disent" says D'Herbelot "que cette "plaine ou vallée est un des quatre paradis, ou lieux les plus délicieux du "monde.... Ce que le rend si agréable, est qu'elle est de tous les côtez cou-"verte, ou de jardins pleins d'une variété et beauté admirable de fruits, ou de "terres labourées et de pasturages toujours verts." This description is confirmed by Macdonald Kinneir's Itineraries, where Samarkand is said to have on one side a fruitful and verdant plain extending to *Bokhara*, and to be supplied with "all kinds of fruit in plenty and great excellence."

301. The dissentions here spoken of must have reference to the following circumstances stated by De Guignes in his "Histoire générale des Huns." After describing the confused succession of princes that took place upon the death of *Zagataï*, he proceeds to say: "*Algou*, fils de *Baidar*, parvint ensuite au trône. "Pendant son règne, ou après sa mort, *Caidou*, dont il est si souvent parlé dans "l'histoire de *Kublai*, s'empara de cet empire. Comme il étoit fils de *Caschi*, "fils de *Oktai-khan*, *Kublai* craignant que ce prince en s'affermissant dans ces "pays ne lui enlevât pour toujours une partie de son empire, envoya *Berrak* fils "de *Jasuntou*, qui chassa *Caidou* et monta sur le trône de *Zagataï*. Le troisième "année de son règne ce prince embrassa le Mahométisme, et se fit appeller sul-"than *Dgelaleddin*. Il est le premier de cette branche des Mogols qui se soit "fait Musulman." Liv. xvii. p. 310. Respecting this *Barak-khan* see Note 16.

302. *Kashgar* being the place last mentioned, it might be presumed that he speaks of the bearing of *Samarkand* from thence, but as the actual direction, instead of being north-west *(maestro)*, is nearly west-south-west, we are justified in looking rather to *Badakhshan*, where he had long resided and from whence he professes to begin his account of the route to *Kataia*. The latitude of *Samarkand*, as taken with the famous mural quadrant of *Ulug Beig*, the grandson of Tamerlane, is 39° 37′ N., and its longitude, as estimated by Major Rennell, is about 64° 15′ E. of Greenwich, or 7½° W. of *Kashgar*. By D'Anville they are placed several degrees further to the eastward.

303. This is one of the stories, in the way of episode, that have tended to bring our author's work into disrepute. *Zagataï* was in fact, as he says, the brother of *Oktaï*, who succeeded his father as grand khan of the Moghuls; but we have no authority for his having embraced Christianity, although the Christians

experienced

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experienced much indulgence under *Jengiz-khan* and his immediate successors, and *Mangu*, his grandson, the nephew of *Zagataï*, is said by Rubruquis and Haiton to have been baptised. This favour, however, from princes who had no settled faith of their own, seems to have proceeded more from hatred of the Mahometans, who were their political rivals, and against whom they often acted in union with the crusaders, than from any religious conviction or bias; and accordingly when many of the countries where Islaemism prevailed were reduced to peaceful subjection, we find the Moghul princes conforming to the creed of the majority of the people whom they governed, and in the fourth generation becoming zealous mussulmans. But doubtful or improbable as the circumstance of *Zagataï's* conversion may be, the difficulty it occasions would be more easily surmounted than that of the anachronism; for as he began to reign about the year 1227 and died in 1240, the time elapsed at the period when Marco Polo's travels were written could not be more than about seventy years, even if the event took place at the commencement of his reign; whereas the space of one hundred and twenty-five years, as stated in the text, would carry it back to 1173, when his father was only nine years of age, and the family obscure. This species of absurd error I can neither account for nor palliate, otherwise than by supposing that the date, which does not appear in the Latin versions or Italian epitomes, has been an interpolation in one of the manuscripts followed by Ramusio.

The Nestorian annals speak of this city as a metropolitan see. "*In* epistola "Theodosii Patriarchæ" says Assemanus "decimo quarto loco Metropolanus "Samarcandæ ponitur: in tabula Amri, decimo octavo. Sciagathajus, à quo "regio illa Zagathaja dicitur, in urbe Samarcanda basilicam S. Joannis Baptistæ "ædificavit, teste M. Paulo Veneto." T. iv. p. DCCLXXIV.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the province of Karkan, the inhabitants of which are troubled with swollen legs and with goitres.

CHAP. XXXI. Departing from thence you enter the province of *Karkan*,[304] which continues to the distance of five days journey. Its inhabitants, for the most part Mahometans, with some Nestorian Christians,[305] are subjects of the beforementioned Grand *khan*. Provisions are here in abundance, as is also cotton. The people are expert artisans. They are in general afflicted

afflicted with swellings in the legs, and tumours in the throat, occasioned by the quality of the water they drink.[306] In this country there is not any thing further that is worthy of observation.

NOTES.

304. The visit to *Samarkand* being excursive, or out of the line of his present route, our author leads us back to a place in the Lesser Bucharia which at that time belonged to the kingdom of *Kashgar*, noticed in the preceding chapter. The *Carchan* or (allowing for Italian orthography) *Karkan* of Ramusio, the *Carcham* of the Basle edition, *Carthan* and *Carchan* of the older Latin, *Barcam* of one Italian epitome, and *Earcam* in that of the earliest date, are intended for the district, or rather its chief town, which is most generally known by the name of *Yerken;* although its orthography has been exposed to as much variation amongst the writers of latter times, as in the copies of our author's work. By the Portuguese missionary Benjamin Goez the word is written *Hiarchan*, by Du Halde *Yarkian*, by Strahlenberg, in his map, *Jerken*, *Hyarchan*, or *Gurkan*, by D'Anville *Jërken*, by De Guignes *Yerken*, and by our modern travellers from the side of Hindustan, *Yarkund.*

" *Hiarchan* cour royale du royaume de *Cascar*" says Goez, who was there in the year 1605, " est une ville très-fréquentée et très-célèbre, ou pour la multitude " des marchands qui y abordent, ou pour la diversité des marchandises qu'on y " apporte. Le convoi de marchands de *Cabul* finit en ceste cour, et là on dresse " une autre compagnie pour aller vers le *Catay*." Histoire de l'expédition Chrestienne, &c. par Trigault, p. 478. By P. Gerbillon we are informed that the city of *Yarkian* was taken from the Uzbeks, and sacked, about the year 1688, by *Caldan*, chief of the Eluths. Du Halde, T. iv. p. 42. " La ville de *Jerkeen*" says the translator of Abu'lghazi's Hist. généalogique " est à présent la capitale " de la Petite-Bucharie, autrement appellée le pays de Caschgar....Comme la " ville de *Jerkeen* est le dépôt de tout le commerce qui se fait à présent entre les " Indes et le nord de l'Asie, de mesme que de celuy qui se fait d'un costé entre " la Grande-Bucharie et la Chine, il est naturel qu'elle doit estre fort riche et " très-bien peuplée." p. 408. " It appears" says Lieut. Macartney " that " after five days journey north-east of Cashmeer an evident ascent commences, " which is very great for three or four days journey, after which it is less on to " *Leh* (or *Ladâk*). The ascent continues even on to the great ridge which " separates Tibet from *Yarkund*." Account of Caubul, p. 646. Appendix. Many interesting particulars respecting *Yerkim* or *Yerken*, and *Hashar* or *Kashgar*, at the period (1757) when they were conquered from the Eluths by the arms of the late emperor *Kien-long*, will be found in the Mémoires concern. les Chinois,

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Chinois, t. i. p. 381-400. It would seem that in the course of the last three centuries the commercial importance of *Yerken* or *Yarkund* has much exceeded that of *Kashgar* and occasioned the latter to be but little noticed by travellers.

305. It appears from the report of the Chinese General, that at the time of the conquest the population was entirely Mahometan. " Tout supputé" he says " le nombre des familles Mahométans, dépendants de *Hashar*, est de " seize mille, ce que j'ai évalué à cent mille bouches, comme il conste par les " registres publics. Pour ce qui est de la police et du gouvernement particulier " de ces Mahométans, voici ce que j'ai trouvé d'établi parmi eux." Mém. t. i. p. 386. " La religion dominante dans cette ville," says Bentinck in his notes to Abu'lghazi, " de même que dans toutes les autres villes de la Petite " Boucharie, est le culte Mahometan; cependant toutes les autres religions y " jouissent d'un liberté entière; parce que les Callmoucks font une affaire de " conscience de ne souffrir point qu'on inquiète personne chez eux à cause de sa " religion." p. 409. But notwithstanding the toleration here boasted of, Christianity has long since disappeared from that part of Tartary.

306. The permanent œdematous swelling of the leg to a monstrous size, is a disorder well known in several parts of the east, and vulgarly termed in India the Cochin leg. For an account of this species of *elephantiasis* see Cordiner's Description of Ceylon, vol. i. p. 182. Respecting the cause of those glandulous tumours at the throat called *goitres*, much has been written by travellers and medical persons, who in general attribute it to the quality of the water, although the notion of its proceeding from snow-water has been exploded. I have elsewhere ventured to express an opinion that these affections of the glands of the throat are occasioned by he dense mists which settle in the vallies between high mountains, and are not dispersed until a late hour of the day. Hist. of Sumatra, p. 48. ed. 3. See an ingenious paper on this subject by Dr. Reeves, published in the Phil. Trans. for the year 1808, vol. xcviii. p. 111.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the City of Kotan, which is abundantly supplied with all the necessaries of life.

CHAP. XXXII. FOLLOWING a course between north-east and east, you next come to the province of *Kotan*,[307] the extent of which is eight days journey. It is

is under the dominion of the Grand *khan*, and the people are Mahometans. It contains many cities and fortified places, but the principal city, and which gives its name to the province is *Kotan*. Every thing necessary for human life is here in the greatest plenty. It yields likewise cotton, flax, hemp, grain, wine, and other articles. The inhabitants cultivate farms and vineyards, and have numerous gardens.[308] They support themselves also by trade and manufactures; but they are not good soldiers. We shall now speak of a province named *Peyn*.

NOTES.

307. The name of *Kotan*, which is *Cotam* in Ramusio's and the Basle editions (the *m* being in almost every instance substituted for the *n* final, as in Portuguese), and *Cota* in the early Italian epitomes, is indubitably *Khoten* ختن (the *Yu-tien* and *Ho-tien* of the Chinese, who soften the Tartar pronunciation), a place familiar to us, by name at least, as that from whence a great part of Asia is supplied with musk, which the natives rank amongst the most exquisite perfumes, and the Persian poets never cease to extol. Beyond this circumstance our information concerning it is very imperfect. D'Herbelot most strangely confounds it with *Khataï*, and adds: "Il y a pourtant lieu de croire que le Khotan est dans la Chine." "La "ville de *Chateen*" says the translator of Abu'lghazi, correctly, "est située "dans le royaume de *Caschgar* qu'on appelle présentement la Petite Bucharie, "à l'est de la ville de *Jerkehn*.... Elle appartient au Contaisch Grand-Chan "des Callmoucks, et est encore à présent dans un état assez florissant, à cause "du grand commerce qui s'y fait entre les Bouchares habitants de la ville, les "Callmoucks, et les marchands des Indes et du Tangut, qui viennent en foule "de tous côtés. Les habitants de la ville font pour la plus part profession du "culte de Mahomet.... La ville est bastie de brique, et ses environs sont ex-"trêmement fertiles. C'est la même ville que quelques historiens orientaux "appellent *Chotan*." P. 193. "*Khoten*" says Malcolm "was formerly of "some importance, and its chiefs are often mentioned. It was conquered, with "Kashgar, Yarkund, and other provinces in the same quarter, by the Chinese, "in 1757, and now forms part of that great empire. A respectable inhabitant "of Tartary, who visited the town of Khoten about twenty years ago, describes "it as in a flourishing state, though inferior in size to the city of Yarkund, from "which it is distant about one hundred and forty miles: Khoten is still, "according to this traveller's account, celebrated for its musk." Hist. of Persia, Vol. i, p. 324, note. The Chinese general appears to regard it as a place of

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small consequence when, in writing to the emperor from the camp before *Hashar (Kashgar)* he says: "Je supplie votre Majesté de ne rien exiger cette année de "*Hotien (Khoten)*, d'*Aksou*, de *Sailim*, de *Koutché*, et des autres petites villes "de ces cantons. Elles sont presque entièrement ruinées." Mém. T. i. p. 392.

308. Although we do not meet with direct authority for the cultivation of the vine at *Khoten*, there can be little doubt of the fact, as we read of vineyards at *Hami* or *Khamil*, to the eastward, as well as at *Kashgar*, to the northward of this place, and within what the Chinese commander terms the same canton or district. "Ceux qui ont des jardins ou des vignes" he writes "sont inscrits "de sept en sept, et par chaque sept ils sont obligés de donner mille livres de "raisins secs, de ceux dont la couleur est entre le jaune et le bleu." He afterwards describes them as "ces sortes de raisins sans pepins qui sont si agréables "au goût. On fait sécher tout ce qui s'en est trouvé, et au printemps prochain, "on les portera à votre Majesté." Mém. T. i. p. 389-90.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the province of Peyn; of the chalcedonies and jasper found in its river; and of a peculiar custom with regard to marriages.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Peyn is a province of five days journey in extent, in the direction of east-north-east.[309] It is under the dominion of the Grand *khan*, and contains many cities and strong places, the principal one of which is likewise named *Peyn*. Through this flows a river, and in its bed are found many of those stones called chalcedonies and jasper.[310] All kinds of provision are obtained here. Cotton also is produced in the country. The inhabitants live by manufacture and trade. They have this brutal custom, that if a married man goes to a distance from home, and is absent twenty days, his wife has a right, if she is inclined, to take another husband; and the men, on the same principle, marry wherever they happen to reside. All the beforementioned provinces, that is to say, *Kashcar*, *Kotan*, *Peyn*, and as far as the desert of *Lop*, are within the limits of Turkistan.[311] Next follows the province of *Charchan*.

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309. Our author's course of description now leads us to places situated on the eastern side of *Khoten* and in the neighbourhood of the great sandy desert, where we are left without any guidance excepting the scanty notices with which he has furnished us. The information of the Arabian and Persian geographers does not extend to this unfrequented region, and although its thinly scattered towns may be mentioned by Chinese writers, the names they give are so peculiar to their own language, that without the aid of local circumstances, it is difficult to recognize them. " Les anciens géographes Chinois " says the historian of the Huns " parlent de plusieurs autres petits royaumes ou villes dans le voisinage " de Khoten ; mais toute cette partie méridionale de la Tartarie ne nous est pas " assez connue pour entreprendre de fixer ces villes." T. i. P. ii. p. 17. It appears from the narrative of Goez, that his visit to *Khoten* was only an excursion from *Yarkund*, to which city he returned, and consequently his further route, which was by *Aksu*, must have lain to the northward of the line here described.

The situation assigned by D'Anville to *Peyn* or *Pe-yn* (which in the epitomes is *Poim* or *Poin*) being seven degrees of longitude from *Khoten*, seems to be too far to the eastward, and to approach too nearly to the frontier of China. In this opinion, which applies equally to the intermediate places which are the subject of the following chapters, I am warranted by that of Major Rennell, who says : " I think that our maps are in a great error with respect to the positions of the " countries lying between Bucharia and China ; all of which, in my idea, have " been made to recede too much from Bucharia towards China." Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, p. 191.

310. The jasper, or a hard kind of stone resembling jasper, is noticed by several writers as the production of this part of Tartary, and Goez speaks of its being procured from the bed of the river at *Khoten*, which may probably be the same stream that afterwards runs to *Peyn*. " On ne fait aucun plus grand ou " plus fréquent trafic pour tout ce voyage" says this enterprising missionary " que des pieces de certain marbre luisant que nous avons accoustumé d'appeller " *jaspe*, au défaut de quelque autre nom plus propre. Ilz portent ce marbre au " roy, à cause de grand prix d'argent qui leur en rend le roy de Catay, croyant " que cela est convenable à sa dignité royale. Le roy permet de vendre ce qui " luy est moins agréable aux autres personnes privées, et le débitent avec tant " de gain, que la seule espérance d'iceluy fait estimer tous les despens, peins et " travaux d'un si long voiage bien emploiez. Ilz font plusieurs et divers meu- " bles de ce marbre, des vases, des paremens d'habits, et des ceintures, où ils

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" gravent fort proprement des feuilles et des fleurs....Les Chinois appellent ces " marbres, dont aujourd'huy tout le royaume est plein *yusche*; il y'en a de deux " sortes: L'un plus prétieux, qu'on tire de la rivière de *Cotàn* assez prez de la " cour, quasi de mesmes que les plongeurs peschent les pierres prétieuses, et on " les tire quasi en forme de gros cailloux de rivière. L'autre espèce qui est de " moindre prix se retire des montagnes, et se taille en forme de grandes pierres " en lames." Chap. xii. p. 478. See an account of these celebrated stones, called *yu* or *yu-she* in the Abbé Grosier's " Description de la Chine." They are pronounced by the late Duc de Chaulnes to be a kind of *agate*. One of them accompanied the present sent by the emperor *Kien-long* to the king of England.

311. The eastern limits of *Turkistan* or Turquestan are not well defined; but it may be considered generally as extending throughout that tract of central Asia in which dialects of the *Turki* or Turko-Tatarian language are spoken, and as the *Bukhar* or Bucharian, although much mixed with Persian words, is one of these dialects, it follows that our author is warranted in considering places that belong to what Europeans term the lesser Bucharia and eastern writers the kingdom of *Kashgar*, as forming a part of Turkistan, which consequently reaches to the borders of the great desert of *Kobi*. For the convenience of geography it is distinguished into Chinese and Independent Turkistan, separated from each other by the great mountainous range of *Belur-tag* and *Mush-tag* or Imaus. Elphinstone refers to this division when he says: " Those (caravans from the side of " India) which go to Chinese Toorkistaun, set off from Cashmeer and Peshawer: " Caubul is the great mart of independent Toorkistaun." Account of Caubul, p. 293.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of the province of Charchan; of the kinds of stone found in its rivers; and of the necessity the inhabitants are under of flying to the desert on the approach of the armies of the Tartars.

CHAP. XXXIV. *Charchan* is also a province of Turkistan, lying in an east-north-east direction (from *Peyn*). In former times it was flourishing and productive, but has been laid waste by the Tartars. The people are Mahometans. Its chief city is likewise named *Charchan*.[312] Through this

this province run several large streams, in which also are found chalcedonies and jaspers, which are carried for sale to *Katai*,[313] and such is their abundance that they form a considerable article of commerce. The country from *Peyn* to this district, as well as throughout its whole extent, is an entire sand,[314] in which the water is for the most part bitter and unpalatable; although in particular places it is sweet and good. When an army of Tartars passes through these places, if they are enemies, the inhabitants are plundered of their goods; and if friends, their cattle are killed and devoured. For this reason, when they are aware of the approach of any body of troops, they fly, with their families and cattle, into the sandy desert, to the distance of two days journey, towards some spot where they can find fresh water, and are by that means enabled to subsist. From the same apprehension, when they collect their harvest, they deposit the grain in caverns amongst the sands; taking monthly from the store so much as may be wanted for their consumption: nor can any persons besides themselves know the places to which they resort for this purpose, because the tracks of their feet are presently effaced by the wind.[315] Upon leaving *Charchan* the road lies for five days over sands, where the water is generally, but not in all places, bad. Nothing else occurs here that is worthy of remark. At the end of these five days you arrive at the city of *Lop*, on the borders of the great Desert.

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312. *Charchan* (in Ramusio *Ciarciah*, in the Basle edition and older Latin *Ciartiam*, and in the Italian epitome *Ciarchian*) appears to correspond with the *Schachan* of Strahlenberg's map, although its situation seems to be rather that of *Karashai*. In D'Anville's map the name is written *Sertem*, with the addition of the words "dans Marc-Paul *Ciartiam*." De Guignes speaks of a district named *Chen-chen*, to the south of *Hami* and near the lake of *Lop*, which can be no other than this. See Hist. gén. des Huns, t. i. part. ii. p. xi.

313. The name of the place to which these jaspers are said to be carried is in Ramusio's text *Ouchah* or *Oukah*, but evidently by mistake. In the Basle edition the

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the words are, "quos negotiatores deferunt ad provinciam *Cathai*," and in the manuscripts it is *Catay*, which is known to be the fact.

314. In the Italian epitomes it is here said, rather more precisely: "Questa "provincia e tutta piena de sabion per la mazor parte: e da Cata (*Kataia*) infino "a Poin (*Peyn*) e molto sabion."

315. It is to be feared that Turkistan is not the only country where the peaceable inhabitants have suffered as much from the visits of those who professed to be their friends, as from their avowed enemies. The expedient said to be resorted to for screening themselves from contributions, is natural and highly probable.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Of the town of Lop; of the desert in its vicinity, and of the strange noises heard by those who pass over the latter.

CHAP. XXXV. THE town of *Lop* is situated towards the north-east, near the commencement of the great Desert, which bears the same appellation.[316] It belongs to the dominions of the Grand *khan*, and its inhabitants are of the Mahometan religion. Travellers who intend to cross the desert, usually halt for a considerable time at this place, as well to repose from their fatigues, as to make the necessary preparation for their further journey. For this purpose they load a number of stout asses and camels with provisions and with their merchandise. Should the former be consumed before they have completed the passage, they kill and eat the cattle of both kinds;[317] but camels are commonly here employed in preference to asses, because they carry heavy burthens and are fed with a small quantity of provender.[318] The stock of provisions should be laid in for a month, that time being required for crossing the desert in the narrowest part. To travel it in the direction of its length would prove a vain attempt, as little less than a year must be consumed, and to convey stores for such a period would be found impracticable.[319] During these thirty days, the journey is invariably over either sandy plains or barren mountains; but at the end of each day's march, you stop at a place

place where water is procurable; not indeed in sufficient quantity for large numbers, but enough to supply fifty or an hundred persons, together with their beasts of burthen. At three or four of these halting places the water is salt and bitter, but at the others, amounting to about twenty-eight, it is sweet and good. In this tract neither beasts nor birds are met with, because there is no kind of food for them.[320]

It is asserted as a well-known fact that this desert is the abode of many evil spirits, which amuse travellers to their destruction, with most extraordinary illusions. If, during the day time, any persons remain behind on the road, either when overtaken by sleep, or detained by their natural occasions, until the caravan has passed a hill and is no longer in sight, they unexpectedly hear themselves called to by their names, and in a tone of voice to which they are accustomed. Supposing the call to proceed from their companions, they are led away by it from the direct road, and not knowing in what direction to advance, are left to perish. In the night time they are persuaded they hear the march of a large cavalcade on one side or the other of the road, and concluding the noise to be that of the footsteps of their party, they direct theirs to the quarter from whence it seems to proceed; but upon the breaking of day, find they have been misled and drawn into a situation of danger. Sometimes likewise during the day, these spirits assume the appearance of their travelling companions, who address them by name and endeavour to conduct them out of the proper road. It is said also that some persons, in their course across the desert, have seen what appeared to them to be a body of armed men advancing towards them, and apprehensive of being attacked and plundered, have taken to flight. Losing by this means the right path, and ignorant of the direction they should take to regain it, they have perished miserably of hunger. Marvellous indeed and almost passing belief are the stories related of these spirits of the desert, which are said at times to fill the air with the sounds of all kinds of musical instruments, and also of drums and the clash of arms; obliging the travellers to close their line of march and to proceed in more compact order.[321] They find it necessary also to take the precaution before they repose for the night, to fix an advanced signal, pointing out the course they are afterwards to hold; as well as to attach

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attach a bell to each of the beasts of burthen for the purpose of their being more easily kept from straggling. Such are the excessive troubles and dangers that must unavoidably be encountered in the passage of this desert.

NOTES.

316. The lake of *Lop* appears in the Jesuits' and D'Anville's maps. In the latter we find also a town named "Tantabée ou Tankabash, résidence de l'ancien "khan de Tagazgaz, ville de *Lop* dans Marc-Paul;" but his authority for this supposition does not appear. "Ces deux villes dont je viens de parler" says De Guignes speaking of Ciartiam or *Charchan* and *Lop* "paroissent être les mêmes "que celles de Kan-tcheou et de Hankiun-tcheou que les envoyés Chinois trouvè-"rent dans leur route de Cha-tcheou à Khoten, mais il me paroît impossible d'en "assigner la véritable position." P. xvii.

Instead of the name of *Lop* which this desert bears in Ramusio's as well as in most of the other versions, the word in the early Italian epitomes is *Job*; and this variation of orthography gives rise to the conjecture, that it may have been intended for *Kobi*, which is said to be the original Tartar name. "Tout cet "espace" says Du Halde "n'est qu'un terrain sec et sablonneux, le plus stérile "qui soit dans toute la Tartarie. C'est ce que les Chinois appellent ordinaire-"ment *Chamo* (*Shamo*), quelquefois *Kan-hai*, comme qui diroit *mer* de sable. "Les Tartares le nomment *Cobi*." T. iv. p. 26.

317 "E forza" says Ambrogio Contareno, speaking of another desert "che "cadauno porti qualche vettuaglia per loro vivere: ma Tartari poco se curano "per rispetto che menano con detta carovana gran quantita di cavalli, ed ogni "giorno ne amazavano per suo viver; perche la sua vita è sempre di carne e "latte." Viaggio in Persia, p. 84, 12mo.

318. "Il est très-incommode aux voyageurs" adds Du Halde "et dangereux "pour les chevaux, dont on perd presque toujours quelques-uns en passant ce "désert: aussi les Tartares de ces quartiers se servent beaucoup plus de cha-"meaux, parce que ces animaux peuvent se passer de boire cinq à six jours, et "vivent de peu. Sans cela il leur seroit difficile de voyager vers l'ouest." P. 26.

319. In the Jesuits' map prefixed to Du Halde's "Description de la Chine," the desert is made to extend, with a partial interruption, from the meridian of Peking, westward to the thirty-fifth degree of longitude reckoned from that city.

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The impracticability therefore of travelling over it in that direction, as observed by our author, is evident.

320. The general conformity of this description, as it regards the dreary aspect of the country and the nature of the halting places, with the account given by that excellent traveller John Bell of Antermony, who crossed another part of the same desert, in his route from *Selinginsky* to *Peking*, will be found very striking; and it is remarkable that the number of days employed was in the one case thirty, and in the other twenty-eight. The most material difference between them is, that Bell, during several days of his journey, met with sheep, and afterwards herds of antelopes, as well as a flock of plover, whereas our author saw neither beasts nor birds in his passage. But it is not improbable that the desert may be more barren and inhospitable towards its western extremity; and it is at the same time reasonable to suppose that the line of road taken by the Chinese government for their communication with the Russian dominions, should be through that part where there was the best chance of finding the means of subsistence. It is also possible that some changes may have taken place in the course of four hundred and fifty years, and that a breed of sheep may have been carried to those spots which exhibited symptoms of vegetation. "On the 4th October 1720" says this unaffected narrator, "after every man had drunk his fill of the pure and "wholesome water of the *Tola*, and filled his bottle with it, we departed with "some regret, as we could hope for no more rivers or brooks, till we came to "the wall of China. We soon entered the desert commonly named by the "Mongalls, the *hungry desert*. How far it deserves that title will be seen as we "advance....In the evening we reached some pits of brackish water, where we "pitched our tents....The 5th we set out again, and in the evening came to "some fountains of pretty fresh water. The country was quite level, and ap-"peared to the eye as plain as the sea. The soil was dry, barren, and gravelly; "and neither tree nor bush to be seen; a prospect not very agreeable....The "6th we proceeded eastward through the same sort of flat country. The weather "was very fine and the roads excellent....This day we saw several large flocks "of antelopes, and some Mongalls in their tents....It is not a little surprising "that notwithstanding the barren appearance of this unsheltered plain, the "cattle are in good condition, but particularly the sheep. The short grass, "though in many places thinly scattered, must be of very nourishing quality. "This will naturally proceed from the climate and soil, which every where par-"takes of a nitrous quality, as plainly appears from the scurf of salt round the "edges of the lakes and ponds, and the taste of the water, generally brackish in "the springs and pits....The 10th we came to the springs called *Korpartu*. The "soil appeared so barren, that none of the common methods of improvement "could make it bear any kind of grain, or even alter its present condition....In

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* Notes.

"the evening of the 11th we arrived at *Khododu*; where we found the water "clear, and pretty fresh, bursting in a strong spring from the gravelly earth, and "running in a stream to a considerable distance, till it loses itself in the sand. "This was the first running water we had seen since we left the *Tola*....Next "morning several flocks of gray plover came to drink at the spring; of which "our people killed as many as our present circumstances required. These poor "harmless birds seemed insensible of danger....The 14th we came to a place "called *Kadan-kachu*, where we were obliged to dig a pit four feet deep, in "order to procure water; which was very bad, having both a disagreeable smell, "and bitter taste. We could however get none for our cattle, as the high wind "filled the pits with sand, as fast as we could dig them. This sand is of a whitish "colour, and so light and dry, that it is driven by the wind into your face and "eyes....The 16th we left the deep sand, and travelled along the same sort of "dry gravelly ground as formerly. The variety of objects in this dreary waste "are so few, that in this as well as in other respects, it much resembles the "sea....The 24th we came in the evening to a pond of brackish water, called "*Korunteer*, upon the extremity of a dismal bank of sand, running across our "road. The day following we entered on the sand bank, along a narrow and "crooked passage between two hillocks....Our cattle being a little refreshed, "though they had been very indifferently fed among the sand, where nothing "was to be seen but some tufts of withered grass, we set out again. Along this "bank there is not the least track or path of any kind; for the smallest blast of "wind immediately effaces it, and renders all the surface smooth....At the place "where we passed the sand, it was not above twenty English miles in breadth, "which took up three days. I am informed this bank of sand runs a great way "southward, and in some places is above thirty leagues broad....The 28th we "proceeded along the plain to the springs called *Chabertu*....The next day we "travelled another stage to the wells of *Saminsa*; where we found better water "than usual. The length and thickness of the grass showed that the soil now "began to mend....The 31st of October we came to a place where, to our "great satisfaction we found a small brook of fresh water, and some Mongalian "huts. I observed that from the sand bank eastward, the soil became gradually "better every day. This was now the fortieth day since we left the border; "during which time we had not halted one day, nor seen a single house; and "the twenty-eighth from the time we quitted the river *Tola*, and entered the "desert, in which we had neither seen river, tree, bush, nor mountain. Though "we were obliged now and then to fetch a compass, on account of the watering "places, yet, in general, our course deviated but little from the southeast point." Bell's Travels, Vol. i. p. 316-330, 4to. It will be noticed that our countrymen more frequently met with brackish or otherwise unpleasant water, than the Venetian; but the latter had been longer accustomed to a Tartar life, and perhaps

haps considered water as passably sweet, in which the more discerning palate of the medical man might detect salt or bitter particles.

Notes. *

321. We find in the works of the Chinese geographers that these idle stories are the subject of general belief in the part of Tartary here described. "On "peut, dit *Ma-touan-lin*, aller de la Chine dans l'*Eyghour* par un chemin bien "plus court que l'ordinaire; mais il faut passer pour cela une plaine de sable qui "a plus de cent lieues d'étendue. De tous côtés on ne voit que le ciel et le sable, "sans qu'il y paroisse le moindre vestige de chemin. Ceux qui la veulent passer "ne peuvent trouver d'autres marques que des ossemens d'hommes et d'animaux, "ou de la crotte de chameau. Durant le passage on entend tantôt chanter, "tantôt pleurer, et il arrive souvent que les voyageurs, que la curiosité porte à "en découvrir les causes, s'égarent et se perdent entièrement. Ce sont des "voix de lutines, et de follets. De là vient que les voyageurs et les marchands "aiment mieux prendre le chemin de *Hhami*, ou bien *Camil*, quoique plus long "de beaucoup. Ces sables commencent du côté de l'orient à la ville de *Na-che-*"*tchim*, de laquelle on voit le col ou passage, nommé *Yu-men-kouan*, qui est fort "proche delà. Après avoir marché trois jours dans les sables, on arrive à la "vallée dite des démons. Là il faut sacrifier à un dieu, à la manière du pays, "pour obtenir que le vent cesse. On marche encore cinq jours, et on arrive à un "temple. De-là on traverse six peuples différens; ensuite on arrive à la capitale "d'*Eyghour*....N'est-ce point-là ce que nos cartes appellent le désert de *Lop*?" *Visdelou*, Hist. de la Tartarie. D'Herlelot, T. iv. 4to. p. 309. Thus we find that our author only repeats what he might have heard "asserted as well known facts," and we are not to hold his understanding cheap for having listened to such improbable tales; because it is notorious that in the most civilised countries of Europe, a few generations back, superstitious apprehensions, equally out of the course of rational experience, prevailed amongst all classes of society. In the days of our great dramatic bard the impression was still strong in England, but by the charms of his active fancy he succeeded in converting to a subject of amusement, a system which had been regarded with something approaching to religious awe.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Of the province of Tanguth; of the city of Sachion; of the custom observed there upon the birth of a male child; and of the ceremony of burning the bodies of the dead.

BOOK I. CHAP. XXXVI.

When the journey of thirty days across the desert has been completed, you arrive at a city called *Sachion*,[322] which belongs to the Grand *khan*. The province is named *Tanguth*.[323] The people are worshippers of idols.[324] There are Turkomans among them, with a few Nestorian Christians and Mahometans. Those who are idolaters have a language distinct from the others.[325] This city lies towards the east-north-east. They are not a commercial but an agricultural people, living upon the productions of the soil. There are in this country a number of monasteries and abbeys, which are filled with idols of various descriptions.[326] To these, which they regard with the profoundest reverence, they also offer sacrifices; and upon the birth of a son, they recommend him to the protection of some one of their idols. In honour of this deity the father rears a sheep in his house until the expiration of a year, when, upon the day of the idol's peculiar festival, they conduct their son, together with the sheep, into its presence, and there sacrifice the animal. The flesh they allow to seethe until they have finished a long prayer, the subject of which is to entreat the idol to preserve the health of their child;[327] and they believe that during this interval it has sucked in all the savoury juices of the meat. The remaining substance they then carry home, and assembling all their relations and friends, eat it with much devout festivity. The bones they preserve in handsome urns. The priests of the idol have for their portion, the head, the feet, the intestines, and the skin, together with some parts of the flesh. In respect to the dead, likewise, these idolators have particular ceremonies. Upon the decease of a person of rank, whose body it is intended to burn,[328] the relations call together the astrologers, and make them acquainted with the year, the day, and the hour in which he was born; whereupon these proceed to examine the horoscope, and having ascertained

tained the constellation or sign, and the planet therein presiding, declare the day on which the funeral ceremony shall take place. If it should happen that the same planet be not then in the ascendant, they order the body to be kept a week or more, and sometimes even for the space of six months, before they allow the ceremony to be performed. In the hope of a propitious aspect, and dreading the effects of a contrary influence, the relations do not presume to burn the corpse until the astrologers have fixed the proper time.[329] It being necessary on this account that, in many cases, the body should remain long in the house, in order to guard against the consequences of putrefaction, they prepare a coffin made of boards a palm in thickness, well fitted together and painted, in which they deposit the corpse, and along with it a quantity of sweet-scented gums, camphor, and other drugs; the joints or seams they smear with a mixture of pitch and lime, and the whole is then covered with silk.[330] During this period the table is spread every day, with bread, wine and other provisions, which remain so long as is necessary for a convenient meal, as well as for the spirit of the deceased, which they suppose to be present on the occasion, to satisfy itself with the fumes of the victuals. Sometimes the astrologers signify to the relations that the body must not be conveyed from the house through the principal door, in consequence of their having discovered from the aspect of the heavens, or otherwise, that such a course would be unlucky, and it must therefore be taken out from a different side of the house.[331] In some instances, indeed they oblige them to break through the wall that happens to stand opposite to the propitious and beneficent planet, and to convey the corpse through that aperture; persuading them that if they should refuse to do so, the spirit of the defunct would be incensed against the family and cause them some injury. Accordingly when any misfortune befalls a house, or any person belonging to it meets with an accident or loss, or with an untimely death, the astrologers do not fail to attribute the event to a funeral not having taken place during the ascendency of the planet under which the deceased relative was born, but, on the contrary, when it was exposed to a malign influence; or to its not having been conducted through the proper door. As the ceremony of burning the body must be performed without the city, they erect from space to space, in the road by which the

the procession is to pass, small wooden buildings, with a portico which they cover with silk; and under these, as it arrives at each, the body is set down. They place before it meats and liquors, and this is repeated until they reach the appointed spot; believing as they do, that the spirit is thereby refreshed and acquires energy to attend the funeral pile. Another ceremony also is practised on these occasions. They provide a number of pieces of paper, made of the bark of a certain tree, upon which are painted the figures of men, women, horses, camels, pieces of money, and dresses, and these they burn along with the corpse, under the persuasion that in the next world the deceased will enjoy the services and use, of the domestics, cattle, and all the articles depicted on the paper.[332] During the whole of these proceedings, all the musical instruments belonging to the place, are sounded with an incessant din.[333] Having now spoken of this city, others lying towards the north-west, near the head of the desert, shall next be mentioned.

NOTES.

322. Having crossed a narrow part of the great desert, in a direction from the towns of the kingdom of *Kashgar* towards the nearest point of China, our author's course naturally leads him to a place named *Cha-tcheou*, according to the French, or *Sha-cheu* according to our orthography. "A l'Est du lac de *Lop*" says De Guignes "on trouve une ville que M. Paul appelle *Sachion*, la *Cha-tcheou* ou "*ville de sable* des Chinois." p. xii. The corruption of this name, from *Sha-cheu* to *Sachion*, will appear to have arisen chiefly from the difficulty of distinguishing the *u* from *n* in manuscripts; and it will be found that a great proportion of the Chinese names for towns, in the subsequent parts of the work, are affected by the same error. The place is situated about four degrees to the westward of *So-cheu*, (an important garrison at the western extremity of the province of *Shen-si*) and commands the entrance of a famous pass or gorge of the mountains, named *Yang-kuan*. In the history of *Jengiz-khan* by Pétis de la Croix it is observed that his occupation of this strong post was of the greatest advantage to his subsequent operations against the southern provinces of China. P. 481. It may appear an objection to this identifying of *Sachion* with *Sha-cheu*, which lies in the direct way to, and not very distant from the Chinese province of *Shen-si*, that in the next chapter he proceeds to speak of a place not intermediate, but on the contrary still further from the borders, and in a different direction. But it must be recollected

lected that our author's work is not a simple itinerary, and that he professes to describe parts not in the line of his original journey, but which he might have visited subsequently, whilst in the service of the emperor. Here too we may remark that he does not give any estimation of distance, as if the route were continuous, but breaks off in order to speak of other places, "at the head of the "desert."

323. It is not unusual to consider the names of *Tangut* تنگوت and *Tibet* تبت, both of which have been adopted by the Persians from the Moghuls, as synonymous; but the former applies to a larger portion of Tartary, bordering upon the western provinces of China, and including *Tibet* in its southern division, whilst its northern contains the districts of which our author now proceeds to speak. According to Du Halde's definition however, it does not extend quite so far northward as the situation assigned to *Cha-tcheou* in the Jesuits' map. "Il paroît" he says, on the authority of P. Regis "que ce nom de *Tangouth* qu'on trouve aussi "sur nos cartes d'Asie, est un nom commun à tous les pays, depuis les terres des "Tartares *Kokonor* contigues aux terres de *Si-ning*, ville de la province de "*Chensi*; allant de là Sud-Ouest, jusqu'à la source du Gange; et qu'ainsi il com"prend non seulement le Thibet, mais encore les larges plaines et tous les déserts "qui sont à son Nord et à son Ouest, qu'on trouve dans la carte bordez par des "chaînes de montagnes....L'on voit dans les relations des voyages des Peres, "d'Orville et Greber qu'en l'année 1661 il y avoit parmi ces Tartares une forme "de gouvernement monarchique, un roy, une cour, des officiers dont ils décri"vent les habits et les manières; de sorte que le *Tangouth* leur parut un puissant "royaume, qui selon eux, en comprenoit plusieurs, et entr'autres le royaume de "*Barantola* (Tibet)." T. iv. p. 463.

324. The inhabitants of the countries on the western side of the desert of *Lop* or *Kobi* were described by our author as being chiefly Mahometans; but upon crossing that tract and entering the province of *Tangut* or *Sifan*, as it is termed by the Chinese, he properly speaks of the people as idolaters. By idolatry is here meant the religion generally known as that of the Grand *Lama* or spiritual sovereign, whom his followers believe to be immortal, by means of successive regeneration of the same individual in different bodies, but do not worship, as has been supposed. Their adoration is paid to a number of images of deities, but principally to one, which is often of a colossal size, and is named by them *Shakia-muni*. This is the *Buddha* of the Hindu mythology, whose doctrines are more extensively disseminated throughout the east, than even those of Mahomet. In Ava and Pegu the same idol is worshipped by the name of *Gautama* (equally with *Shakia* an epithet or attribute of *Buddha*), in Siam by that of *Samana-kodom*, in Cochin-China and Tonkin by that of *But* and *Thika-mauni*, in Japan by that of *Shaka*

BOOK I. CHAP. XXXVI. Notes.

Shaka and *Amida Buth*, and in China, where the same system prevails amongst the bulk of the population, by that of *Fo* or *Fuh*. Many of the other objects of worship appear to belong to the Brahmanic mythology, and some are of a local character. It is evident at the same time that with respect to forms and ceremonies, of which their will be occasion to say more hereafter, many of them have been adopted from the Nestorian Christians.

325. This we term the language of Tibet, which is monosyllabic in its principle, like the Chinese, but in every other respect differs from it. The written character bears more commonly the appellation of *Tangut* or Tangutian, and in its alphabetic arrangement acknowledges a *nagri* or Sanskrit origin. "La langue "qu'on parle au Thibet" says Du Halde from the writings of P. Regis "est en- "tièrement différente de celle des Tartares, soit *Mongous*, soit *Mantcheoux*; elle "est presque la même que celle des peuples nommez *Si-fan*, et elle n'en diffère "qu'en certains mots et en quelques pronunciations. Le pays des *Si-fan* confine "avec trois provinces de la Chine; sçavoir celle de *Chensi*, celle de *Setchuen*, "et celle de *Yunnan*.... C'est par cette raison que la langue et l'écriture du "Thibet est fort souvent nommez par les Chinois langue et écriture des *Si-fan*. "On nomme aussi leur écriture, caractères ou écriture du *Tangouth*." T. iv. p. 463. The learned Adelung says, on the contrary, that the *Sifan* or *Tufan* who inhabit the mountainous tract between China and Tibet, are not of a Tibetian race, but belong to the Mongol stock. Mithridates, th. i. p. 71. Of this however he gives no proof from specimens of the language, nor does he adduce any authority, and there appears therefore no good reason for doubting the assertion of the Jesuits, who had the means of being correctly informed.

326. Of the numerous and capacious buildings erected in a country where every fourth male of a family is devoted to the monastic life, we find frequent mention in the writings of travellers, and particularly in the recent accounts of Bogle's mission in 1774, and Turner's in 1783, to the court of the southern Grand Lama. The plates annexed to the latter, from drawings executed by Mr. S. Davis (who now so worthily holds the situation of a Director of the East-India Company) will furnish the curious reader with a perfect idea of the exterior appearance of these monasteries, some of which contain from two to three thousand *gylongs* or monks. An engraving of the same subject appears also amongst the plates connected with Lord Macartney's Embassy to China: various circumstances relative to the interior of the establishments will be found in Turner's pleasing narrative, and a general description, with a ground-plan, in the Alphabetum Tibitanum of Georgi, p. 407. In the Mém. conc. les Chinois, T. xiv. we read the following account of the great *miao* or abbey of *Putala*, at *Lhassa*: "Il a 367 pieds quatre pouces de hauteur. Le couronnement, ou, pour mieux "dire,

" dire, la partie la plus élevée, en est dorée en entier. Les bâtimens qui en sont " l'accompagnement sont partagés en plus de dix mille chambres ou cellules " pour loger autant de *lamas*. Les statues de *Fo*, et les tours élevées en son " honneur, y sont sans nombre. Toutes ces statues et ces petites tours sont faites " d'or, d'argent et de cuivre, suivant les facultés de ceux qui en ont fait présent." P. 219. In the same work, speaking of the *miao* of *Teshu-lumbu* or *Jigatsé* visited by Bogle and Turner, it is said: " Il y a dans ce *miao* plus de trois mille cham- " bres ou cellules, et plus de deux mille cinq cens *lamas* de résidence ordinaire. " Les statues de *Fo* y sont sans nombre. De ce *miao* principal dépendent " cinquante et un autres *miao*, qui sont comme ses annexes, et dans lesquels il " peut y avoir en tout environ quatre mille *lamas*." P. 222.

327. The ceremony here described, in which the sacrifice of the sheep appears to be intended as a ransom for the child, who, at his birth may have been devoted rather than recommended to the guardian deity, is consistent with what is remarked by the younger De Guignes, of a practice amongst the neighbours of these people. " Comme les Chinois " says this traveller " implorent les génies " dans toutes les circonstances de la vie, il n'est pas surprenant qu'ils les invo- " quent pour en obtenir la conservation de leurs enfans. Lorsqu'ils craignent " de les perdre, ils les consacrent à quelque dieu." Voyages à Peking, &c. T. ii. p. 359. A similar custom is said to exist in Bengal.

328. It is only on the bodies of personages of the highest rank, that the honours of the funeral pile are bestowed; those of the inferior orders being exposed in unfrequented places, and sometimes on the tops of mountains, to be devoured by birds and other wild animals. " Mos est " says the Alphabetum Tibetanum " ut summorum Lhamarum, aliorumque paucorum cadavera vel " sandalo, quod cum aloes ligno nonnulli confundunt, comburantur, vel balsamo " condita sacris in loculis reponantur." P. 443. " Je dis les cendres " says P. Gerbillon; " car la coûtume des Tartares est de brûler les corps et d'en conserver " les os et les cendres: quoiqu'il y ait à présent plusieurs Tartares qui ne les " brûlent point, personne ne manque de le faire, lorsque ce sont des gens morts " à la guerre ou en voyage hors de la Chine, et les Chinois mêmes en usent " quelquefois ainsi." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 238. P. Martini, in his description of the Chinese province of *Yunnan*, whose ancient inhabitants appear to have had the same manners as their neighbours the *Si-fan* (identified with the people of Tibet), says " La pluspart brûlent les corps morts, et les réduisent en cendres, " sans les enterrer, dont ces Chinois sont fort soigneux." Thevenot, P. iii. p. 195.

329. The implicit deference paid to the skill of astrologers in determining the days and hours proper for the performance of all acts, publie and domestic,

solemn or trivial, is general throughout the East. "Being governed in all the "concerns of life" says Turner, speaking of Tibet "by an awful regard to the "dictates of superstition, it is no wonder that we find this people placing implicit "confidence in a series of lucky and unlucky days. Devoted to astrology, they "yield a willing homage to its professors" P. 319.

330. These preparations for the funeral ceremony bear a near resemblance to those of the Chinese, as described by Du Halde: "Les cercüeils des personnes "aisées, sont faits de grosses planches épaisses d'un demi pied et davantage, et "se conservent long-tems: ils sont si bien enduits en dedans de poix et de bitume, "et si bien vernissez en dehors, qu'ils n'exhalent aucune mauvaise odeur. On "en voit qui sont cizelez délicatement, et tout couverts de dorures....Il est "défendu aux Chinois d'enterrer leurs morts dans l'enceinte des villes, et dans "les lieux qu'on habite; mais il leur est permis de les conserver dans leurs mai-"sons, enfermez dans des cercüeils tels que je les ai dépeints: ils les gardent "plusieurs mois, et même plusieurs années comme en dépôt, sans qu'aucun "magistrat puisse les obliger de les inhumer." T. ii. p. 124. The motive for thus keeping the bodies unburied for a long and uncertain time is not explained by the Chinese historian, but we may well suppose it to be regulated, as among the people of *Tangut*, by the calculation of lucky and unlucky seasons.

331. This custom is found to prevail also amongst the Chinese, with whom the inhabitants of a country so near to the borders of the empire, as that which our author is now describing, must have much in common. "C'est parmi eux" adds Du Halde "un usage de faire de nouvelles ouvertures à leurs maisons, quand on "doit transporter le corps de leurs parens décédez au lieu de leur sépulture, et "de les refermer aussi-tôt, afin de s'épargner la douleur que leur causeroit "le fréquent souvenir du défunt, qui se renouvelleroit toutes les fois qu'ils "passeroient par la même porte où est passé le cercüeil." P. 128. Nor is the prejudice here described confined to the eastern parts of the world; for in a town or village of North Holland (as I was informed on the spot) a corpse is never carried out through the front or principal door, but from the rear of the house.

332. Could we suppose the missionaries to have derived their knowledge of the customs of these people from the writings of our author, the parallel could not be more complete than it will be found in the following passages from the same work: "Lorsqu'on a fixé le jour des obsèques, on en donne avis à tous les parens "et amis du défunt, qui ne manque pas de se rendre au jour marqué. La "marche du convoi commence par ceux qui portent différentes statues de carton, "lesquelles représentent des esclaves, des tygres, des lions, des chevaux, &c.. "..Quand on est arrivé au lieu de la sépulture, on voit à quelques pas de la "tombe,

" tombe, des tables rangées dans des salles qu'on a fait élever exprès; et tandis " que les cérémonies accoûtumées se pratiquent, les domestiques y préparent un " repas, qui sert ensuite à régaler toute la compagnie." P. 127. " Ce prince a " défendu d'observer désormais dans son empire, cette coûtume extravagante " qu'avoient les Tartares, de brûler les richesses, et même quelquefois des do- " mestiques des grands seigneurs, lorsqu'on faisoit leurs funérailles en brûlant " leurs corps." P. 128. " Il est vrai que l'idolatrie ayant été introduite dans " l'empire, les bonzes ou *Taossëe*, que des vuës intéressées engageoient à " tromper le peuple, ont mêlé dans ces cérémonies plusieurs pratiques super- " stitieuses, telles que sont celles de brûler du papier doré, en forme de monnoye, " et mêmes des étoffes de soye blanche, comme si ces choses pouvoient leur servir " dans l'autre monde; de prêcher que les ames se trouvent sur les tablettes où " leurs noms sont écrits, et qu'elles se repaissent de la fumée des viandes et des " parfums qu'on brûle." T. ii. p. 130. See also, on the same subject, t. iv. p. 239.

333. All accounts of the ceremonies of these people notice the loud clangour of their music. " At the instant of our entrance" says Turner " we heard the " deep tone of many sonorous instruments, which were summoning the religious " to their morning orisons." P. 230. " The priests" says Bogle " continued at " different intervals to recite their offices in a low voice, accompanying them with " the tinkling of bells, and the sound of tabors and trumpets."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Of the district of Kamul, and of some peculiar customs respecting the entertainment of strangers.

Kamul is a district situated within the great province of *Tanguth*, subject to the Grand *khan*, and contains many towns and castles, of which the principal city is also named *Kamul*.[334] This district lies in the intermediate space between two deserts; that is to say, the great desert already described, and another of smaller extent, being only about three days journey across.[335] The inhabitants are worshippers of idols, and have their peculiar language.[336] They subsist on the fruits of the earth, which they possess in abundance, and are enabled to

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supply the wants of travellers.[337] The men are addicted to pleasure, and attend to little else than playing upon instruments, singing, dancing, reading, writing according to the practice of the country, and the pursuit, in short, of every kind of amusement.[338] When strangers arrive and desire to have lodging and accommodation at their houses, it affords them the highest gratification. They give positive orders to their wives, daughters, sisters, and other female relations to indulge their guests in every wish, whilst they themselves leave their homes, and retiring into the city, send from thence whatever necessaries may be wanted; but for which, it is to be understood, they expect payment: nor do they return to their houses so long as the strangers remain in them. This abandonment of the females of their family to accidental guests, who assume the same privileges and meet with the same indulgences as if they were their own wives, is regarded by these people as doing them honour and adding to their reputation; considering the hospitable reception of strangers, who (after the perils and fatigues of a long journey) stand in need of relaxation, as an action agreeable to their deities, calculated to draw down the blessing of increase upon their families, to augment their substance, and to procure them safety from all dangers, as well as a successful issue to all their undertakings. The women are in truth very handsome, very sensual, and fully disposed to conform in this respect to the injunction of their husbands. It happened at the time when *Mangu kaan* held his court in this province, that the above scandalous custom coming to his knowledge, he issued an edict strictly commanding the people of *Kamul* to relinquish a practice so disgraceful to them, and forbidding individuals to furnish lodging to strangers, who should be obliged to accommodate themselves at a house of public resort or *caravanserai*. In grief and sadness the inhabitants obeyed for about three years the command of their master; but finding at length that the earth ceased to yield the accustomed fruits, and that many unfortunate events occurred in their families, they resolved to dispatch a deputation to the Grand *khan*, in their names to beseech him that he should be pleased to suffer them to resume the observance of a custom that had been solemnly handed down to them by their fathers, from their ancestors in the remotest times; and especially as since they had failed in the exercise of these offices

offices of hospitality and gratification to strangers, the interests of their families had gone progressively to ruin. The Grand *khan* having listened to this application, replied: "Since you appear so anxious to "persist in your own shame and ignominy, let it be granted as you "desire. Go, live according to your base customs and manners, and "let your wives continue to receive the beggarly wages of their prosti-"tution." With this answer the deputies returned home, to the great delight of all the people, who to the present day observe their ancient practice.[339]

NOTES.

334. *Kamul*, which the Tartars are said to pronounce *Khamil*, or *Hamil* with a strong asperation, is the *Hami* of the Jesuits map, softened in the Chinese pronunciation, as the title of *khan* is changed to *han*. "M. Paul" says De Guignes "donne au pays de *Hami* le nom de *Camoul*." T. i. P. ii. p. viii. "Le dernier roy des Eluths" say the Mémoires du P. Gerbillon "s'étoit rendu "maître d'*Yarkan*, de *Tourfan*, et de *Hami*, que nos géographes appellent "*Cami*. Après la défaite du roi (par les Chinois) ceux de *Hami*, qui sont les "plus voisins de la Chine, se mirent sous la protection de l'empereur." Du Halde, T. iv. p. 53. In the narrative of B. Goez it is stated, that after leaving a place named *Cialis* (the *Juldus* of Strahlenberg's map), and passing another named *Puciàn*, also belonging to the kingdom of *Cascàr*, they reached *Turphan* and remained there a month. "Après ils parvindrent à *Aramuth*, et puis à "*Camul*, place garnie de bonnes deffences. Ilz reposèrent icy avec leurs "chevaux un autre mois....Estans partis de *Camul* ilz arrivèrent dans neuf "jours à ces murs septentrionaux du royaume de la Chine, en un lieu nommé "*Chiaicuon (Kia-yu-kuan)*...Aians donc enfin esté reçus dans l'enclos de ces "murailles, ilz arrivèrent en un jour en la ville de *Socieu (So-cheu)*." Histoire de l'Expédition Chrestienne, par Trigault, p. 482-5. The distance, however, from *Hami* to *So-cheu*, the most western town of China, being by the maps about 280 miles, would render it a journey, for a caravan, of more than ten days. It may be proper to remark that the *Kabul* mentioned by the ambassadors who were sent by *Shah Rokh*, the son of Tamerlane, to the emperor of China, from whence their road lay across the desert, is not the place so named in *Afghanistan*, but evidently, from the relative circumstances, the *Kamul* of our author. The error is more likely to belong to the translation than to the Persian original. See Thevenot, Relations de Voyages, T. ii. Ambassade, p. 2.

335. This

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335. This account of the position of *Kamul* will be found to correspond exactly to that of *Hami*, which together with *Turfan*, occupies a tract of cultivable land that seems nearly to divide the great desert of *Kobi* into two parts. See the Jesuits' maps accompanying Du Halde's "Description de la Chine."

336. At the period of *Shah Rokh's* embassy, which was about a century and a half later than our author's visit to this place, it was under a Mahometan government. "L'émir Fakr-eddin" says the journal of the route "y avoit fait "bâtir une mosquée très-belle et très-magnifique. Près de la mosquée les "idolâtres avoient un temple, autour duquel il y avoit des idoles de diverses "grandeurs, et d'étranges figures." Ambassade p. 2.

337. "Le pays" says Gerbillon "est fort chaud en été; il y croît quantité "de bons fruits." P. 54. The Abbé Grosier observes that "the country of "*Hami*, though surrounded by deserts, is accounted one of the most delightful "in the world. The soil produces abundance of grain, fruits, leguminous plants, "and pasture of every kind. The rice which grows here is particularly esteemed "in China....There is no fruit more delicate or more in request than the melons "of *Hami*, which are carried to Peking for the emperor's table.... but the most "useful and most esteemed production of the country is its dried raisins." General Descript. of China, Vol. i. p. 333.

338. "Leurs divertissemens" says P. Amiot, speaking of the inhabitants of this part of the country, "consistent en chants et en danses. Ils se mettent par "bandes de cinq ou six hommes et femmes pêle-mêle, se prennent par la main, "et tournent ensemble, en faisant de tems en tems quelques sauts." Mém. concern. les Chinois, t. xiv. p. 152. The manners of the more southern districts, as described by Turner, partake of the same kind of freedom. "The day" he says "was far advanced, when a servant appeared with some musical instru"ments. *Gyap* gave into my hand a flagelet, and desired me to use it. I was "unable. He then took it, and accompanied *Gyeung* upon the cittaur, a "stringed instrument, and they played several pleasing airs together. At "length *Gyeung* accompanied the instrument with her voice, which was by no "means inharmonious." Embassy to Tibet, p. 343. We should not have expected to find reading and writing classed amongst light and effeminate occupations; but allowance must be made for the prejudices of a person educated in a Tartar court. A detailed account of the manner and instruments of writing amongst these people will be found in the Alphabetum Tibetanum, p. 561-67.

339. *Kamul* or *Hami* being a place much frequented by caravans to and from China, and where, on account of the abundance of provisions as well as from political

political considerations, they were in the practice of making a considerable halt, the concourse of strangers must have been great, and the natural effect of this was dissoluteness of manners amongst the female and rapacity amongst the male inhabitants, who would be desirous of extracting from these rich travellers as large a share as possible of their commercial profits, for which purpose they could not employ any means more effectual than the arts of female blandishment. In Elphinstone's account of Caubul he gives a description of manners prevailing in the tribes that inhabit the eastern part of the Paropamisan mountains, so nearly similar to what our author mentions, that I am gratified by the occasion of verifying his statement by authority so respectable. "The women" he says "are often handsome....It is universally agreed that they are by no means remarkable for chastity; but I have heard different accounts of their libertinism. "In the north east, which is the most civilized part of the country, the women "would prostitute themselves for money, while their husbands were out of the way "!...In other parts of the country there prevails a custom called *Kooroo Bistaun* "(قروبستام?), by which the husband lends his wife to the embraces of his guests." "This" he adds in a note "is Moghul: one of the laws of the *Yasa* forbids "adultery. The inhabitants of *Caiader* applied for and received an exemption "on account of their old usage of lending their wives to their guests." P. 483. A Greek writer of the middle ages, quoted by Gibbon, imputes to the people of England, in his days, a similar depravity of manners; on which the historian observes, that "his (the Greek's) credulity and injustice may teach an important "lesson; to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend "our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character "of man." Decline and Fall, &c. Vol. vi. p. 393. But on the other hand we are also bound to guard against that systematic incredulity which rejects probable evidence, because the fact is not within the scope of our own limited experience, as being equally injurious with a too ready belief, to the cause of truth.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Of the city of Chinchitalas.[340]

NEXT to the district of *Kamul* follows that of *Chinchitalas*, which in its northern part borders on the desert, and is in length sixteen days journey.[341] It is subject to the Grand *khan*, and contains cities and several

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several strong places. Its inhabitants consist of three religious sects. A few of them confess Christ, according to the Nestorian doctrine; others are followers of Mahomet; and a third class worship idols. There is in this district a mountain where the mines produce steel, and also zinc or antimony.[342] A substance is likewise found of the nature of the salamander, for when woven into cloth, and thrown into the fire, it remains incombustible.[343] The following mode of preparing it, I learned from one of my travelling companions, named *Curficar*, a very intelligent Turkoman, who had the direction of the mining operations of the province. The fossil substance procured from the mountain consists of fibres not unlike those of wool. This, after being exposed to the sun to dry, is pounded in a brass mortar, and is then washed until all the earthy particles are separated. The fibres thus cleansed and detached from each other, they then spin into thread, and weave into cloth. In order to render the texture white, they put it into the fire, and suffer it to remain there about an hour; when they draw it out uninjured by the flame and become white as snow. By the same process they afterwards cleanse it when it happens to contract spots; no other abstergent lotion than an igneous one being ever applied to it.[344] Of the salamander under the form of a serpent, supposed to exist in fire, I could never discover any traces in the eastern regions. It is said that they preserve at Rome a napkin woven from this material, in which was wrapped the *sudarium* of our Lord, sent as a gift from one of the Tartar princes to the Roman Pontiff.

NOTES.

340. This chapter is unaccountably omitted in Ramusio's version, and is here translated from the Latin. That it was accidental and not an intentional suppression may be inferred from his allowing the name of the place of which the chapter treats, to remain in the enumeration of districts and towns at the conclusion of Chap. xli, where it is written *Chinchitalas*. In the Basle edition the word is *Chinchinthalas*, in the older Latin *Chynchynculas*, in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts *Chimchimcalas* and *Chinchincalas*, in the early Italian epitomes *Ringuitalas*, *Chiguitalas*, and *Chinguitalas*, and in the old English version *Hingnitala*.

341. Mention

341. Mention is made in l'Hist. générale des Huns of a place named *Chen-chen*, which has good pretensions to be thought the *Chinchintalas* of our author. *Tala*, it should be observed, signifies in the Moghul-Tartar language "a plain," and *talai* or *dalai*, "a sea or extensive lake:" *talas* may therefore be considered as an appellative, distinct from the proper name. "Ce pays" says De Guignes "qui "dans les historiens Chinois porte les deux noms de *Leou-lan* et de *Chen-chen*, "est situé au midi de *Hami*. Il formoit anciennement un petit royaume dont "la capitale étoit *Kan-ni-tching* voisine du lac de Lop. Tout ce pays est stérile, "plein de sables, et l'on y rencontre peu de bonnes terres. On y comptoit en- "viron quinze cents familles. Ces peuples cherchent les pâturages où ils "nourissent des ânes, des chevaux et des chameaux. Ils tirent des pays voisins "leurs denrées: ils ont les mêmes mœurs que les peuples du Tibet qui sont leurs "voisins au Sud-est....Je pense que c'est dans ce canton qu'il faut placer la "province que M. Paul appelle *Chin-chin-talas*, voisine du grand désert, et où il "y avoit des Nestoriens, des Mahometans et des idolatres." T. i. P. ii. p. xi.

342. Respecting this mineral, which in the Latin is *andanicum* or *audanicum*, and in the Italian of the epitomes, *andranico* and *andronico*, see Notes 183 and 231.

343. In the Latin text the phrase is more positive than I have rendered it: "itemque salamandræ, de quibus fit pannus;" and this passage is often adduced as an instance of our author's credulity. But as he immediately afterwards speaks of the material from which the cloth was manufactured as a fossil or earthy mineral, and describes the *asbestos* and its properties with reasonable accuracy, we may fairly give him credit for a figurative or jocular expression, when he terms it the salamander; and especially as he closes the account of it with saying, that the fabled serpent of that name was not to be found in the east. The following remark by Claude Visdelou will be found to apply to the subject in a peculiar manner, and shews that the idea of a living salamander was not unknown to the Chinese *naturalists*: "On ne sçauroit douter que la toile qu'on lave au "feu, ne soit celle que les Grecs appellent *asbeston*. On ne convient pas parmi "nous sur la matière dont on fait cette toile. Les Chinois n'en conviennent pas "mieux entr'eux; car outre les opinions cy-dessus rapportées, il y en a qui "disent, qu'elle est tissue du *poil de certains rats, qui vivent dans les flammes* que "vomissent certaines montagnes. Ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que dans la Tarta- "rie il se trouve des pierres dont on tire ce fil après les avoir brisées." Biblioth. Orient. T. iv. p. 397.

344. The *asbestos* is described as "a fossile stone that may be split into threads "or filaments, from one to ten inches in length, very fine, brittle, yet somewhat "tractable, silky, and of a greyish colour. It is indissoluble in water, and

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" endued with the wonderful property of remaining unconsumed in the fire. " L'asbeste a eu autrefois " says M. Brongnart " des usages assez remarquables. " Les anciens, qui brûloient les corps, l'ont employé comme drap incombustible " pour conserver les cendres des corps sans mélange. Lorsque les filamens " de cette pierre sont assez longs, assez doux et assez flexibles, on parvient à " les filer, sur-tout si on les mêle avec du lin. On peut en tisser une toile qui " a une solidité et une flexibilité convenable, lors même qu'elle a été privée par " le moyen du feu, du fil végétal qu'elle contenoit. Lorsque cette toile est " salie, le feu lui rend son premier éclat." Traité élémentaire de Minéralogie, t. i. p. 482. The substance is found in Great Britain and several other parts of Europe.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Of the district of Succuir, where the Rhubarb is produced, and from whence it is carried to all parts of the world.

CHAP. XXXIX. Upon leaving the district last mentioned and proceeding for ten days in the direction of east-north-east, through a country where there are few habitations, and little of any kind worthy of remark, you arrive at a district named *Succuir*, in which are many towns and castles; the principal one being likewise named *Succuir*.[345] The inhabitants are in general idolaters, with some Christians.[346] They are subject to the dominion of the Grand *khan*. The extensive province which contains these and the two districts which shall be next mentioned, is called *Tanguth*, and throughout all the mountainous parts of it the most excellent kind of Rhubarb is produced, in large quantities, and the merchants who procure loadings of it on the spot, convey it to all parts of the world.[347] It is a fact that when they take that road, they cannot venture amongst the mountains with any beasts of burthen excepting those accustomed to the country, on account of a poisonous plant growing there, which if eaten by them has the effect of causing the hoofs of the animal to drop off; but those of the country, being aware of its dangerous quality, take care to avoid it.[348] The people of

Succuir

Succuir depend for subsistence upon the fruits of the earth and the flesh of their cattle, and do not engage in trade. The district is perfectly healthy, and the complexion of the natives is brown.

NOTES.

345. The *Succuir* of Ramusio, *Suchur* of the Bâsle edition, *Succuyr* of the older Latin, *Sucuir* of the B.M. and Berlin manuscripts, and *Sucur* of the Italian epitomes, appears from all the circumstances mentioned, to be intended for *So-cheu*, a fortified town in the extreme western part of the province of *Shen-si*, or frontier of China in that quarter. Formerly, however, it did not belong to the empire, but to an independent Tartar nation. "Les places les "plus occidentales de la province de *Chensi*," says De Guignes, "ayant fait "partie de la Tartarie, nous croyons devoir les nommer ici d'autant plus que "ce que nous en diront pourra servir à éclaircir M. Paul..... Sous le régne "des *Soui*, on appella tout ce pays *So-tcheou*.... Il passa ensuite sous la domi- "nation des peuples du *Toufan*, et quelque tems après, les Chinois le reprirent; "il fait aujourd'hui partie du *Chensi*." T. i. P. ii. p. ix.

The first notice we have of this place, after the time of our author, is by *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors, in 1420. "*Sekgiou* (which De Guignes, perhaps from a "different translation, writes *Sokjou*) est une ville grande et forte, en forme de "quarré parfait....cette ville est donc la première de Khataï, éloignée de "quatre-vingt-dix-neuf journées de la ville de Kan-Balik, qui est le lieu de la "résidence de l'empereur, par un païs très-peuplé, car chaque journée on loge "dans un gros bourg." Relations de Thevenot, T. ii. Our next information is from Johnson, the companion of A. Jenkinson, who travelled about the year 1558, and was told at Bokhara, by a native merchant, that the distance from that place, which he calls *Boghar*, to *Taskan (Tashkund)*, was fourteen days journey; from thence to *Oćient (Khojend* on the Jaxartes*)*, seven days; from thence to *Cascar (Kashgar)*, twenty days; from thence to *Sowchick (So-cheu)*, thirty days: which *Sowchick*, he adds, "is the first border of Cathay." Hakluyt's voyages, p. 388. In "l'Histoire de l'Expédition Chrestienne à la Chine," drawn up by Trigault from the papers of Matthieu Ricci, we find also, that about the end of the year 1605, Benedict Goez arrived, by the way of Cascar, Hyarcan, and Camul, at *So-cieu* on the Chinese frontier, where he was detained till his death which happened in 1607. That all these independent accounts relate to the same place, will not be doubted; and it will be obvious to the reader, that the *cuir* of *Su-cuir* is simply an error of transcription for the *cieu* of *So-cieu*, as an Italian would write the name.

346. During

346. During the long interval of three centuries that had elapsed between our author's time and that of Benedict Goez, an entire change appears to have taken place with respect to the Christian population which he no longer found to exist; an effect that was produced by the ascendency of the Mahometans in that quarter. "*So-cieu*" says his interesting narrative "a son propre gouverneur, "et est divisée en deux parties; en l'une demeurent les Chinois (que les Sara- "zins appellent ici *Cataiens)*, et les Sarazins, qui viennent du roiaume de Cascàr, "et autres semblables de l'occident, pour trafiquer, font leur résidence dans l'autre." P. 486.

347. The abundant growth of rhubarb in the mountainous region that forms the western boundary of China, is noticed by all the writers who have treated of these provinces. "La rhubarbe" says Du Halde "croit en abondance, non "seulement dans le province de *Se-tchuen*, mais encore dans les montagnes de "*Chen-si*, nommées *Sue-chan* 'montagnes de neige': elles s'étendent depuis "*Leang-tcheou* jusqu'à *Sou-tcheou*, et à *Si-ning-tcheou;* on en tire une incroy- "able quantité de ces seules cantons, où plusieurs fois les missionnaires, en "faisant la carte pendant les mois d'Octobre et de Novembre, ont rencontré "des bandes de chameaux chargez de sacs faits en forme de rez de corde pleins "de rhubarbe." T. i. p. 25.

In the writings of Professor Pallas will be found a particular account of the trade in this article, which the Russians at *Kiakhta* procure from the country of which we are speaking, through the agency of merchants from Bucharia residing on the spot. "These Bucharians" he says "belong to the town of *Selin*" (the *Si-nin* of the Jesuits map) "which is situated to the south-west of *Koko-noor* or "the 'blue lake,' towards Tibet, and, together with all the other towns of "lesser Bucharia, such as *Kaschkar, Yerken, Atrar,* &c. is subject, at the pre- "sent day, to the Chinese dominion." In a note he adds: "The river upon "which the town stands and from whence it derives its name, is the rapid *Selin-* "*gol*, formed by the junction of two mountain-streams, and which discharges "itself into the *Khattun-gol*, or, as it is called by the Chinese, the *Khoango* or "*Khongo.*" Reise, iii. theil, p. 155. This last name being meant for the *Hoang-ho* or yellow river, we have a striking instance of the difference between the Tartar and the Chinese pronunciation; what is a strong guttural in the one, being an aspirate in the other language.

348. I do not find any confirmation of this assertion, with respect to the hoofs of cattle, (which may have been only a popular story), but it has been remarked amongst the effects of the poison of arsenic on the human body, that it causes the nails to fall off from the hands and feet.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XL.

Of the city of Kampion, the principal one of the province of Tanguth; of the nature of their idols, and of the mode of life of those amongst the idolaters who are devoted to the services of religion; of the almanack they make use of; and the customs of the other inhabitants with regard to marriage.

KAMPION, the chief city of the province of *Tanguth*,[349] is large and magnificent, and has jurisdiction over all the province.[350] The bulk of the people worship idols, but there are some who follow the religion of Mahomet, and some Christians. The latter have three large and handsome churches in the city.[351] The idolaters have many religious houses, or monasteries and abbeys, built after the manner of the country, and in these a multitude of idols, some of which of wood, some of clay, and some of stone, are covered with gilding. They are carved in a masterly style. Among these are some of very large size, and others are small.[352] The former are full ten paces in length, and lie in a recumbent posture; the small figures stand behind them, and have the appearance of disciples in the act of reverential salutation.[353] Both great and small are held in extreme veneration. Those persons amongst the idolaters who are devoted to the services of religion, lead more correct lives, according to their ideas of morality, than the other classes, abstaining from the indulgence of carnal and sensual appetites.[354] The unlicensed intercourse of the sexes is not in general considered by these people as a serious offence; and their maxim is, that if the advances are made by the female, the connexion does not constitute a crime, but it is held to be such when the proposal comes from the man. They employ an almanack, in many respects like our own, according to the rules of which, during five, four, or three days in the month, they do not shed blood, nor eat flesh or fowl; as is our usage in regard to Friday, the Sabbath, and the vigils of the saints.[355] The laity take to themselves as many as thirty wives, some more, some fewer, according to their ability to maintain them; for they do not receive any dowry with

BOOK I. CHAP. XL.

with them, but on the contrary settle dowers upon their wives, in cattle, slaves, and money.[356] The wife who is first married always maintains the superior rank in the family; but if the husband observes that any one amongst them does not conduct herself well to the rest, or if she becomes otherwise disagreeable to him, he can send her away. They take to their beds those who are nearly related to them by blood, and even espouse their mothers-in-law.[357] Many other mortal sins are regarded by them with indifference, and they live in this respect like the beasts of the field. In this city MARCO POLO remained, along with his father and uncle, about the space of one year, which the state of their concerns rendered necessary.[358]

NOTES.

349. If it be admitted, on the proofs adduced in Note 345, that *Su-cuir* is intended for *So-cheu*, it will follow that *Kam-pion*, or as it appears in other versions, *Kan-pion*, *Kam-pition* and *Kam-picion*, is the city of *Kan-cheu*, the *Kam-giou* of the Persian ambassadors, the *Kam-chick* of Johnson, and *Kan-ceu* of Goez. Johnson mentions its being at the distance of five stages from the former.

In the Note above referred to it has been observed, that the western part of the province of *Shen-si*, which projects into Tartary, belonged, at a former period, to the people named *Tû-fan*; but as our author describes *Kam-pion* or *Kan-cheu* to be a city of *Tangut*, it becomes necessary to establish the identity of these nations, and at the same time to shew the probability that the manners prevailing there were not Chinese, at that period, but more nearly such as are found, at this day, amongst the people of Tibet. "Ce royaume des Tou-fan" says De Guignes "est ce que nous appellons précisément le Tibet ou le Boutan, que l'on "distingue en grand et petit Tibet. C'est un pays plein de montagnes, où peu de "voyageurs ont pénétré." Hist. des Huns, T. i. Liv. iii. p. 164. "Le gouverne- "ment présent des *Si-fan* ou *Tou-fan*" says Du Halde "est bien différent de ce "qu'il étoit autrefois....Du côté de l'Orient non seulement ils possédoient plu- "eurs terres qui font maintenant partie des provinces de *Se-tchuen* et de *Chen-si*, "mais encore ils avoient poussé leurs conquêtes dans la Chine." T. i. p. 42. "L'année 1227, suivant l'histoire Chinoise, est l'époque de la ruine entière des "*Tou-fan*. Depuis ce tems-là ils sont demeurez dans leur ancien pays, sans nom, "sans force, et trop heureux d'y vivre en repos." "Quoique la forme de leur "gouvernement

" gouvernement ait changé parmi les peuples de *Tou-fan*, leur religion a toujours " été la même." P. 52. " Les livres et les caracteres dont se servent leurs chefs, " sont ceux du Thibet, pays du grand Lama." " Ils ont des manières et ils " usent de cérémonies bien différentes de celles des Chinois." P. 42.

350. The relative importance of *Kan-cheu*, with respect to *So-cheu* and other towns in that part of *Shen-si*, has continued the same at all periods. *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors observe, that the governor who resided there was superior to all the other governors of bordering places; and Goez says, " En l'une de ces villes de " la province de Scensi nommée *Kanceù*, demure le viceroy avec les autres prin- " cipaux magistratz." P. 486.

351. The disappearance in the course of three centuries, or even in a much shorter period, of these churches, which were probably built of wood, is no argument against their having existed in our author's time. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that the Jesuits obtained a footing in China, and began to investigate the subject of an earlier dissemination of Christianity in that part of the world. During this interval an entire revolution had taken place in the Chinese government, and the *Yuen* or Moghul-Tartar family, distinguished for its tolerance or indifference in matters of religion, had been succeeded by the native dynasty of the *Ming*, whose princes were influenced by a different policy, and proscribed the *lamas*, as well as the Christian priests, to whom their predecessors were thought to have been too much attached. About this period also the Mahometans becoming numerous at *Kashgar* and other places on the borders of the desert, were active, and apparently successful in their endeavours to exterminate their rivals. A strong picture is drawn by Goez, of the intolerant insolence of these bigots, in the towns through which his route lay, from Hindustan, by the way of Lahore and Kabul, to China.

352. In all countries where the religion of *Buddha* prevails, it appears to be an object of religious zeal, to erect images representing him of an enormous magnitude, and not unfrequently to cover them with gilding. This we find to be the practice in Japan, Siam, and Ava, as well as in Tartary and China. *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors notice a huge idol at *Turfan* (corrupted to *Tarkan* in the translation of their journal, by mistaking the letter ب for ت). " La plûpart " des habitans" they observe " sont idolâtres; ils ont un grand temple et " une grande idole dans l'endroit le plus apparent de ce temple. Ils disent " que c'étoit la figure de Schak-monni." Ambassade, &c. p. 2. *Shaka-muni* is one of the Hindu names of *Buddha*. P. Gerbillon, who accompanied the Emperor of China into Tartary, speaks also of such gigantic images, one of which being measured with a quadrant, was found to be fifty-seven Chinese feet in

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in height. In the province of *Fokien*, a missionary writes: "L'on voit une "statue de bronze doré, qui représente *Foé* sous la figure d'un colosse assis "les jambes croisées. Aux quatre angles de ce portique, il-y-a quatre autres "statues qui ont dix-huit pieds de hauteur quoiqu'elles soient représentées "assises." Lett. édif. t. xviii. p. 327. edit. 1781. Turner, in describing a temple of *Bûtan*, says: "The most conspicuous figure in it was an immense "idol; it contained also many other gilded images of a smaller size." P. 158.

353. Although the images of *Buddha* are usually represented sitting, with the legs crossed, some of these monstrous statues are in a recumbent posture, and surrounded with figures in an attitude of prayer or salutation. The ambassadors who visited this city of *Kan-cheu* in 1420, mention idols of the same extraordinary kind, and in a striking manner confirm the authenticity of our author's account "Dans cette ville de Kam-giou" says their journal "ils y virent un temple "d'idoles long de 500 *kes* ou coudées sur autant de largeur. On trouve au milieu "une idole couchée qui paroît dormir, longue de cinquante pieds, de sorte que "les mains et les pieds avoient neuf pieds de longueur, et la tête vingt et une "coudée de tour. Il y en avoit d'autres derrière son dos, et au-dessus de sa tête, "chacune d'une coudée, plus ou moins; elles avoient toutes la figure d'hommes, "avec une telle attitude ou mouvement, que l'on eût dit qu'elles étoient vivantes. "Il y a aussi de fort belles représentations de figures sur la muraille. La grande "idole avoit une main sous la tête, et l'autre étendue le long de la cuisse; elle "étoit entièrement dorée. Ils la nomment *Samoni-fou*. Chacun alloit en foule "poser la tête contre terre devant elle." Ambassade, p. 4. "In every com- "plete temple" says Cordiner in his Description of Ceylon "one colossal image "of *Buddha* is represented in a sleeping posture, and a great many others of the "same, sitting and standing, not larger than the life." Vol. i. p. 150. And again: "On the left of the door a large statue of *Buddha* reclines at full length "upon a pedestal, his right hand under his head resting on a pillow, his left hand "lying by his side....The image is twenty-eight feet long and six broad, occupy- "ing almost all the length of the inner chamber. On the wall behind it a large "party of disciples are drawn up in a regular line." P. 189, and plate. The close analogy between the Persian account, written in the fifteenth, and the English, in the nineteenth century, of objects so remote in situation from each other, but belonging to the same system of worship, is truly remarkable.

354. "Their sole occupation" says Turner, speaking of the religious orders of Tibet "lies in performing the duties of their faith. They are exempt from "labour; enjoined sobriety and temperance, and interdicted all intercourse "with the other sex." P. 170. According to Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, the priests of the sect of *Füh* or Fo (who are denominated *Ho-shang*, *Sang*, and *Sha-mun*)

mun) " receive the five precepts: Not to kill living creatures; not to steal, or " rob; not to practise lewdness; not to say what is untrue; not to drink wine." P. 157.

355. " The same superstition" says Turner " that influences their view of " the affairs of the world, pervades equally their general calculations. On this " principle it is, that they frame their common calendar of time. I have one " now in my possession; and as far as I can understand it from what has been " explained to me, a recapitulation of lucky and unlucky times constitutes the " chief merit of the work." P. 320. For information respecting the cycle of twelve years employed by this people, the reader is referred to the Epochæ celebriores, p. 46; l'Hist. génér. des Huns, T. i. P. ii. p. xlvii; the Alphabetum Tibetanum, p. 462; and the Embassy to Tibet, p. 322.

356. Nothing has hitherto occurred in the course of the work, in which the direct assertion of our author is so much at variance with modern information, as this of the prevalence of the custom of polygamy amongst the people of *Tangut*. Bogle expressly tells us, that in the sense in which we commonly receive the word, polygamy is not in use in Tibet; but that it exists in a manner still more repugnant to European ideas, in the plurality of husbands; and that it is usual for the brothers in the family to have a wife in common. Phil. Trans. vol. lxvii. p. 477, and Craufurd's Sketches, vol. ii. p. 177. This is confirmed by Turner, who says: " The number of husbands is not, as far as " I could learn, defined or restricted within any limits; it sometimes happens " that in a small family, there is but one female; and the number may seldom " perhaps exceed that, which a native of rank, during my residence at *Teshoo* " *Loomboo*, pointed out to me in a family resident in the neighbourhood, in " which five brothers were then living together very happily, with one female, " under the same connubial compact. Nor is this sort of league confined to " the lower ranks of people alone." P. 349. The practice is noticed also in the Alphabetum Tibetanum, but said, on the contrary, to be confined to the lower orders. " Polyandria omnium turpissima, qua plures germani fratres uni " conjunguntur uxori, intolerabili scelere atque flagitio, in vulgi consuetudine " retinetur. Ab hoc turpitudinis genere alieni sunt viri nobiles, et cives honesti. " Quidam tamen eorum non adeo simultaneam polygamiam refugiunt, quin " aliquando secundam ducunt uxorem. Verum hæc ab ipsa quoque Xacaica " lege vetantur." P. 458. P. Amiot also says: " Dans certains cantons plu- " sieurs frères prennent une seule femme qui leur sert d'épouse commune." Mém. concern. les Chinois, T. xiv. p. 152. To these authorities we can only oppose the qualified observation of M. Pallas, who tells us that polygamy, though forbidden by their religion, is not uncommon amongst the great. Neue Nor-

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dische Beyträge, B. I. p. 204. The distance, however, between *Lhasa* and *Khan-cheu* is so considerable (about ten degrees of latitude and eight of longitude) that although the inhabitants of each, as well as of the greater part of Tartary, follow the same religious worship, there may yet exist essential differences in their domestic manners.

357. "Nuptiarum leges sunt hæ: 1. Consanguineus et affinis ne nuptius con-"trahito, nisi post septimum consanguinitatis et affinitatis gradum. Hanc pas-"sim negligunt regni proceres et viri nobiles omnes." Alph. Tibet. p. 458. Thus we see the practice of these people, in a second instance, differing from the positive institution.

358. It is remarkable that Goez, who although a missionary, travelled in the character of an Armenian merchant, was in like manner detained upwards of a year at the neighbouring town of *So-cheu*. The regulations of police appear to have required then, as they do at this day, that permission should be received from Peking before strangers are suffered to advance into the country.

CHAPTER XLI.

Of the city of Ezina; of the kinds of cattle and birds found there; and of a desert extending forty days journey towards the north.

CHAP. XLI. LEAVING this city of *Kampion*, and travelling for twelve days in a northerly direction, you come to a city named *Ezina*,[359] at the commencement of the sandy desert, and within the province of *Tanguth*. The inhabitants are idolaters. They have camels, and much cattle of various sorts. Here you find lanner-falcons and many excellent sakers. The fruits of the soil and the flesh of the cattle supply the wants of the people, and they do not concern themselves with trade. Travellers passing through this city lay in a store of provisions for forty days, because upon their leaving it to proceed northwards, that space of time is employed in traversing a desert, where there is not any appearance of dwelling, nor are there any inhabitants excepting a few during the summer,

summer, among the mountains and in some of the vallies. In these situations, frequented by wild asses and other animals equally wild,[360] they find water and woods of pine trees. Having passed this desert, you arrive at a city on the northern side of it, named *Karakoran*. All the districts and cities previously mentioned, that is to say, *Sakion*, *Kamul*, *Chinchitalas*, *Succuir*, *Kampion*, and *Ezina*, belong to the great province of *Tanguth*.

NOTES.

359. Having reached the borders of northern China and spoken of two places that are within the line of what is termed the Great Wall (but which will hereafter be shewn to have consisted on this side of a mound of earth only, and not to have been the stupendous work of masonry it is described on the northern frontier) our author ceases to pursue a direct route, and proceeds to the account of places lying to the north and south, some of them in the vicinity, and others in distant parts of Tartary; according to the information he had acquired of them on various occasions. Nor does he in the sequel furnish any distinct idea of the line he took upon entering China, in company with his father and uncle, on their journey to the emperor's court; although from what occurs in chap. II. there is reason to believe that he went from *Kan-cheu* to *Si-ning* (by Professor Pallas called *Selin*), and there fell into the great road from Tibet to Peking.

His description now takes a northerly course to a place named *Ezina*, which stood on a small river which flows by *Kan-cheu* towards the great desert of *Kobi*, which he had already crossed in a more western and narrower part. This town is known to us from the operations of *Jengiz-khan*, who took possession of it when he invaded *Tangut*, in 1224, according to Pétis de la Croix, or 1226 according to De Guignes, and made it for some time the head-quarters of his army. "Les Mogols" says the latter "traversèrent le grand désert, entrèrent dans la "Tangout, s'emparèrent d'abord de la ville d'*Akascin*, que l'on appelle encore "*Etsina*, et prirent un grand nombre de fortresses, entre autres So-tcheou, "Kan-tcheou, Si-leang fou, et ensuite Ling-tcheou." Liv. xv. p. 68. In another place he says: "Il faut placer dans ce même canton la ville d'*Ezina*, qu'une "carte de la Tartarie faite à la Chine sous les Mongols, appelle *Ye-tci-na;* elle "est située à douze journées de Kan-tcheou au midi du grand désert." T. i. P. ii. p. x. P. Gaubil a learned Jesuit, to whom astronomy and chronology are much indebted, writes: "L'an 1226 Gentschiskan attaqua le prince de Hiu *(Hia?)*,

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" et après avoir pris Estina (ville dont parle Marc Paul, aujourd'hui ruinée) " il entra dans le Chensi." Observations chronol. p. 191.

360. The wild ass here mentioned is probably that animal which the missionaries, rather unaccountably, call the wild mule, and describe as an inhabitant of this desert region. " Les mules sauvages vont aussi par troupes, quoiqu'en " petit nombre: nous les appellons ainsi parce que c'est-là le sens du nom Chi- " nois *ye-lo-tse*.....Les chameaux et les chevaux sauvages sont encore plus vers " l'oüest: on en voit cependant quelquefois sur les terres des *Kalkas*, qui sont les " plus voisines de *Hami*." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 28.

CHAPTER XLII.

Of the city of Karakoran, the first in which the Tartars fixed their residence.

CHAP. XLII. THE city of *Karakoran*[361] is about three miles in circuit, and is the first place in which the Tartars established their residence, in remote times. It is surrounded with a strong rampart of earth, there not being any good supply of stone in that part of the country. On the outside of the rampart, but near to it, stands a castle of great size, in which is a handsome palace occupied by the governor of the place.[362]

NOTES.

361. The name of this city, properly written *Kara-Korum* قرا قورم, but often *Kara-kûm* قرا قوم (signifying black sand), is in Ramusio's text *Carchoran*, in the Basle edition *Tarocoram*, in the older Latin *Carocoran*, in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts *Carocoram*, and in the Italian epitomes *Catacora*. By the Chinese it is called *Holin*, which answers to *Korin* in Tartar pronunciation. It was built, or rather rebuilt, by *Oktaï-khan*, the son and successor of *Jengiz-khan*, about the year 1235; whose nephew, *Mangu-kaan*, made it his principal residence.

No

No traces of it have been in existence for some centuries, but its position is noted in the tables of Ulug-beig, and also in the Jesuits' and D'Anville's maps. J. Rh. Forster, however, on the authority of Fischer's Hist. of Siberia, observes that *Kara-korum* must be looked for on the east side of the river *Orchon*, and not on the *Onghin* or *Ongui-muren*, where, he says, D'Anville has placed it. See his Voy. and Discov. p. 106 and 110. D'Herbelot appears to have been remarkably ill-informed in every circumstance regarding this first capital of the family of *Jengiz-khan*. It was visited in the year 1254 by William de Rubruquis, a friar minor, who together with some other ecclesiastics, was sent by Louis IX. of France on a general mission to the Tartar princes. The account he gives of it conveys no high idea of its importance as a city, nor does his description of the court, of the state of civilization to which these conquerors had attained: but his whole narrative (of the genuineness of which I entertain no doubt) exhibits the illiberal prejudices of a vulgar mind.

362. "Concerning the citie of *Caracarum*," says Rubruquis, (in the words of Purchas, from whose work the journal was translated into French by Bergeron) "know this, that excluding the palace of the *Chan* himselfe, it is not so good as "the castle of St. Denis: and the monasterie of St. Denis is tenne times more "worth than that place. There are two streets there: one of the Saracens, "where the faires are kept; and many merchants have recourse thither....There "is another street of the Cataians, who are all artificers. Without those streets "there are great palaces, where are the courts of the secretaries. There are "there twelve kinds of idolatries of divers nations. Two churches of Mahomet, "where the law of Mahomet is proclaimed: one church of the Christians, at the "end of the towne. The towne is inclosed with a mudde wall, and hath foure "gates." *Pilgrimes*, vol. iii. p. 39.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Of the origin of the kingdom of the Tartars; of the quarter from whence they came; and of their former subjection to Un-khan, a prince of the North, called also Prester John.

THE circumstances under which these Tartars first began to exercise dominion shall now be related. They dwelt in the northern countries CHAP. XLIII.

of

of *Jorza* and *Bargu*,[363] but without fixed habitations, that is, without towns or fortified places; where there were extensive plains, good pasture, large rivers, and plenty of water. They had no sovereign of their own, and were tributary to a powerful prince, who (as I have been informed) was named in their language *Un-khan*,[364] by some thought to have the same signification as *Prester John*, in ours.[365] To him these Tartars paid yearly the tenth part of (the increase of) their cattle. In process of time the tribe multiplied so exceedingly that *Un-khan*, that is to say, *Prester John*, becoming apprehensive of their strength, conceived the plan of separating them into different bodies, who should take up their abode in distinct tracts of country. With this view also, whenever the occasion presented itself, such as a rebellion in any of the provinces subject to him, he drafted three or four in the hundred of these people, to be employed on the service of quelling it; and thus their power was gradually diminished. He in like manner dispatched them upon other expeditions, and sent among them some of his principal officers to see that his intentions were carried into effect. At length the Tartars becoming sensible of the slavery to which he attempted to reduce them, resolved to maintain a strict union amongst themselves, and seeing that nothing short of their final ruin was in contemplation, they adopted the measure of removing from the places which they then inhabited, and proceeded in a northerly direction across a wide desert, until they felt assured that the distance afforded them security; when they refused any longer to pay to *Un-khan* the accustomed tribute.[366]

NOTES.

363. What may be considered as the proper, although perhaps not the most ancient country of the *Moghuls*, as they are called by the Persians, or *Mungals* as the name is pronounced in the northern parts of Asia, including Kalmuks or Eleuts, Burats, and Kalkas, appears to be that tract which lies between the upper streams of the *Amur* river on the east, and those of the *Yanisei* and *Irtish* rivers, together with the *Altaï* range of mountains on the west; having on the north the *Baikal* lake, and on the south the great desert, which separates it from the

the country of Tangut and the kingdom of China; including within these boundaries the *Selinga* river, near to which, in the former part of the last century, was the *urga* (station or encampment) of the *Tush-du-khan* or modern prince of the Mungals. The exact situation of the plains of *Giorza*, *Jorza*, or *Jorja* and *Bargu* cannot be determined. In Strahlenberg's map there is a district adjoining to the south-west shore of the *Baikal*, named "campus *Bargu*;" but circumstances would lead us to suppose the places here spoken of to lie further to the north, and in D'Anville's map the name of *Bargu* appears on the north-east side of that lake.

364. This celebrated prince, whom our author names *Umcan*, or, with an allowable correction of the orthography of his language, *Un-khan*, and whom the historian Abu'lfaraj names *Ung-khan* اونگ خان, was chief of the tribe of *Kera-it* or *Kerrit* كريت, and reigned in *Kara-korum*, which was afterwards rebuilt by *Oktai* and became his capital, as well as that of *Mangu-kaan* his successor. He appears to have been the most powerful of the chiefs in that part of Tartary, and in the histories of his time is often turned the Grand *khan*. By P. Gaubil, however, and those who follow the Chinese authorities, he is considered as a vassal of the *Niu-tche* Tartar emperor, *Altun khan*, of the dynasty of *Kin*, who, besides his kingdoms of *Leao-tung* and *Korea*, ruled over the northern part of China, or *Kataia*. They further assert that his appellation of *Ouang-han*, as they write it, is no other than the Chinese title of *Ouang* or *Vang* (regulo), bestowed upon him by the sovereign for distinguished services, prefixed to his native title of *khan*; his original name having been *Toghrul*. "Cette étymologie" he says "est répétée "plusieurs fois dans l'histoire Chinoise." According to J. Rh. Forster, following the authority of Fischer's Hist. of Siberia, "he reigned over the *Karaites*, a tribe "residing near the river *Kallassui* (Karasibi) which discharges itself into the "*Abakan*, and afterwards into the *Jenisea*; and here at this very day live the "*Kirgises*, who have a tribe among them which they call *Karaites*." Voyages, &c. p. 141.

365. Whatever absurdity and redicule may be thought to attach to this extraordinary appellation of Prester or Presbyter John, as applied to a Tartar prince, it is not to be placed to the account of our author, who only repeats, and in terms of particular caution, what had already been current throughout Europe and amongst the Christians of Syria and Egypt, respecting this imaginary sacerdotal character, but real personage. Nothing is here asserted on his own knowledge; the transactions were understood to have taken place nearly a century before the time when he wrote, and in speaking of them he employs the guarded expression, "*come intesi*."

The

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The most circumstantial, as well as the earliest historical information on the subject, is furnished by Mathew Paris, a monk of St. Albans, who wrote before the middle of the thirteenth century. Friar R. Bacon also, his contemporary, composed a geographical and historical treatise of the northern parts of the world, in which he relates what had come to his knowledge respecting *Unc-can*, but chiefly on the authority of Rubruquis, whose account is extremely confused, and whose prejudices against the Nestorian heretics leads him to slight their traditions and to suppress whatever might tend to raise their consequence. Abu'l-faraj, who wrote in the latter part of the thirteenth century, and was himself a Jacobite Christian of Cappadocia, speaks of this prince and his subjects in the following terms: "Eodem tempore (circiter 1202) Turcarum Orientalium "tribubus imperavit *Ung-khan*, qui rex *Johannes* ملك يوحنا appellatus est, è "tribu quæ *Kerrît* vocatur, erantque populus qui religionem Christianam pro-"fitebantur." Historia Dynastiarum, p. 280. "*Carit* ou *Kerit*" says D'Herbelot "tribu des Mogols ou Tartares orientaux qui faisoit profession de la reli-"gion Chrétienne. *Ung-khan*, ou plutôt *Avenk-khan*, étoit prince de cette tribu, "et portoit le surnom de *Malek Juhana*, le roy Jean: c'est du nom de ce prince "que nous avons fait celui de Prêtre Jean, qui fut dépouillé de ses états par "*Genghizkan* l'an de l'hégire 599, de J. C. 1202. L'on a depuis appliqué le "nom de Prêtre Jean au roy d'Ethiopie parce qu'il est Chrétien." Pétis de la Croix in his "Histoire du Grand Genghizcan" (p. 31-33.) employs arguments to disprove the authenticity of certain letters written in the name of this prince, about the end of the eleventh century, addressed to the Pope, the king of France, and the emperor of Constantinople, and to shew that they were fabricated by the Nestorians. But if it be admitted that these potentates did actually receive the letters that have been published to the world, and gave them credence, as is stated by the historians of the time, his reasoning from the style in which they are written, will not be thought conclusive. It is not denied that the doctrine of these schismatics of the Greek church had made extensive progress in middle Asia, and the probability must be allowed that some of the Tartar chiefs, as well as their people, may have become converts. If one of these princes, from motives of vanity, of policy, or of religious zeal, should be disposed to make his consequence known to the sovereigns who were engaged in the crusades, how was he otherwise to communicate with them than through the medium of his Christian instructors, who would in that case employ the style to which they were accustomed? The circumstance therefore of these letters being the composition of Nestorian priests affords no evidence of their being written and transmitted without the sanction of the prince under whose protection they lived; for whether authorized by him, or not, the matter and form would be the same. With respect to his Christian character, they may have persuaded themselves of it, either from the effects of their own preaching or from the similitude they may have observed between

between some of the ceremonies of the *lama* worship and those of their own religion, which the Jesuits have subsequently noticed: and if, being himself a *lama*, he should have consented to receive baptism (when the name of *Yohana* was as likely, at least, as any other to be bestowed on him) it is natural that in a Latin epistle or diplomatic writing, he should be styled *Presbyter Johannes*. "Il " se trouve encore" says Pétis de la Croix "une lettre du Pape, qui l'appelle " Prêtre très-saint, sacerdotem sanctissimum." The reader will find additional information respecting this Christian Tartar prince in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of J. S. Assemanus, t. iv. Dissertatio de Syris Nestorianis, p. cccclxxxvi.

366. This assertion of independence is attributed by the Persian and Arabian historians to the enterprising character and military talents of *Temujîn* تموجين (afterwards *Jengiz-khan*), who, when he had passed eighteen years in the service of *Ung-khan*, became the object of his jealousy, and was compelled to a precipitate flight, in order to save his life. The successful issue of some partial engagements that ensued, having encreased considerably the number of those who were attached to him, he retired, with his little army, to the country of the *Mungals*, of which he was a native. Being received with open arms, he concerted with them his schemes of vengeance against his enemies. " Il fut d'abord " rèsolu dans son conseil" says Pétis de la Croix, quoting the authority of *Mirkhond* " qu'on publieroit dans toutes les provinces Mogols une défense de payer " au Grand Can les tributs ordinaires. Mais avant cette publication, il fit sonder " l'esprit des peuples, et comme il reconnut qu'ils craignoient la puissance " d'*Oungh-can*, il convoqua plusieurs diètes pour dissiper leur crainte....Il leur " exposa l'esclavage où ils gémissoient depuis si long-tems. La tyrannie qu'exer- " çoit sur eux non seulement le roy des *Keraïtes*, mais encore ses amis, auxquels " ils payoient de grands tributs. Il leur représenta qu'il ne tenoit qu'à eux de se " délivrer d'une persécution si cruelle." P. 52. " Tous les cans de Soumogol, " de Mercat, de Courlas, d'Yeca Mogol, de Niron Cayat et d'autres encore, " firent donc publier dans leurs états, qu'à l'avenir on ne payeroit rien à Oungh- " can pour quelque cause et sous quelque prétexte que ce pût être." P. 54. This will be found to agree substantially, although not in the details, with the account given by our author of the circumstances under which these people threw off the yoke of their vassalage to the chief of the *Kera-its* or *Krîts*.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLIV.

Concerning Chingis-kan, first emperor of the Tartars, and his warfare with Un-kan, whom he overthrew, and of whose kingdom he possessed himself.

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Some time after the migration of the Tartars to this place, and about the year of our Lord 1162,[367] they proceeded to elect for their king a man who was named *Chingis-kan*,[368] one of approved integrity, great wisdom, commanding eloquence, and eminent for his valour. He began his reign with so much justice and moderation, that he was beloved and revered as their deity rather than their sovereign; and the fame of his great and good qualities spreading over that part of the world, all the Tartars, however dispersed, placed themselves under his command. Finding himself thus at the head of so many brave men, he became ambitious of emerging from the deserts and wildernesses by which he was surrounded, and gave them orders to equip themselves with bows and such other weapons as they were expert at using, from the habits of their pastoral life. He then proceeded to render himself master of cities and provinces; and such was the effect produced by his character for justice and other virtues, that wherever he went, he found the people disposed to submit to him, and to esteem themselves happy when admitted to his protection and favour. In this manner he acquired the possession of about nine provinces. Nor is his success surprising, when we consider that at this period each town and district was either governed by the people themselves, or had its petty king or lord; and as there existed amongst them no general confederacy, it was impossible for them to resist, separately, so formidable a power. Upon the subjugation of these places, he appointed governors to them, who were so exemplary in their conduct that the inhabitants did not suffer, either in their persons or their properties; and he likewise adopted the policy of taking along with him, into other provinces, the principal people, on whom he bestowed allowances and gratuities.[369] Seeing how prosperously

perously his enterprises succeeded, he resolved upon attempting still greater things. With this view he sent ambassadors to *Prester John*, charged with a specious message, which he knew at the same time would not be listened to by that prince, demanding his daughter in marriage.[370] Upon receiving the application, the monarch indignantly exclaimed: "Whence arises this presumption in *Chingis-kan*, who, "knowing himself to be my servant, dares to ask for the hand of "my child? Depart instantly, he said, and let him know from me, "that upon the repetition of such a demand, I shall put him to an "ignominious death." Enraged at this reply, *Chingis-kan* collected a very large army, at the head of which he entered the territory of Prester John, and encamping on a great plain called *Tenduk*, sent a message desiring him to defend himself. The latter advanced likewise to the plain with a vast army, and took his position at the distance of about ten miles from the other.[371] In this conjuncture *Chingis-kan* commanded his astrologers and magicians to declare to him which of the two armies, in the approaching conflict, should obtain the victory. Upon this they took a green reed, and dividing it lengthways into two parts, they wrote upon one the name of their master, and upon the other the name of *Un-kan*. They then placed them on the ground at some distance from each other, and gave notice to the king, that during the time of their pronouncing their incantations, the two pieces of reed, through the power of their idols, would advance towards each other, and that the victory would fall to the lot of that monarch whose piece should be seen to mount upon the other. The whole army was assembled to be spectators of this ceremony, and whilst the astrologers were employed in reading their books of necromancy, they perceived the two pieces begin to move and to approach, and after some small interval of time, that inscribed with the name of *Chingis-kan*, to place itself upon the top of its adversary.[372] Upon witnessing this, the king and his band of Tartars marched with exultation to the attack of the army of *Un-kan*, broke through its ranks and entirely routed it. *Un-kan* himself was killed, his kingdom fell to the conqueror, and *Chingis-kan* espoused his daughter.[373] After this battle he continued during six years to render himself master of additional kingdoms and cities; until at length, in the siege of a castle named *Thaigin*,[374] he

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was struck by an arrow in the knee, and dying of the wound, was buried in the mountain of *Altaï*.[37]

NOTES.

367. Accuracy of dates, and particularly with regard to events long preceding his own time, is not to be expected from our author, who had not the means of reference and comparison that we possess, and must have taken them for granted upon the assertion of his informants. In this instance he appears to have mistaken the year of *Jengiz-khan's* birth (though some place it in 1155) for that of his elevation to the throne. It was not until the year 1201 that he is stated to have acquired the command of the *Mungal* armies, nor until 1202, according to the authorities followed by Pétis de la Croix, or 1206 according to De Guignes, that he was declared Grand *khan* or emperor. About the same period it was that he changed his original name of *Temujin* for that by which he was afterwards known.

368. Our author is accused of having disfigured the name of this barbarous conquéror by a corrupt orthography. "Marco Polo" says the editor of Pétis de la Croix's work "n'a pas moins défiguré les noms propres orientaux; pour "dire *Genghizcan*, il écrit *Cingiscan*." The injustice, however, of this charge in the present instance is obvious to every oriental scholar; for although the most received orthography and that adopted by Meninski, is جنگیز *Jengîz*, yet it is by no means unusual, either in Persia or India, to write the name چنگیز *Chengîz* (as does Malcolm in his History of Persia, with the difference only of *gh* for the hard *g*); and consequently the orthography of the name in the text, so far from being corrupt, is remarkably genuine and correct. The greater part of my readers do not require to be told that the *c* of the Italians before *e* or *i* is sounded as the English *ch*, the French *tch*, and the German *tsch*, which are equivalent to the Persian چ, as are the Italian *gi*, the French *dj*, the German *dsch*, and the English *j*, to the Arabic and Persian ج. The title annexed to the proper name, which in Ramusio's text is *can*, is in the Italian epitomes *chan*, which we should pronounce *khan*. His descendants adopted that of *kaan* قاآن.

369. It was at the court of the grandson of *Jengiz-khan* that our author acquired an idea much too favorable of the virtues, although not perhaps of the military talents, of this extraordinary man, who should be regarded as one of those scourges of mankind, which, like plague, pestilence, or famine, is sent from

from time to time to visit and desolate the world. "An account of the battles "and sieges that happened in this war," says W. Chambers, speaking of one of his expeditions, "and of the multitudes slain in the course of it, by this barbarian "and his troops in cold blood, may be seen in his life written by M. P. de la "Croix; a work compiled from the best authorities, but with this great defect, "that he holds up his character as that of a hero, instead of treating it as an "object of detestation." Asiatick Miscellany, vol i. p. 106.

The account our author gives of the disunion prevailing amongst the Tartar tribes, and its effects upon their independence, must remind the reader of the circumstances under which the states of Greece were reduced to subjection by Philip of Macedon.

370. According to the writers whom P. de la C. has followed, *Temujin* had been already married to the daughter of *Ung-khan*, when the intrigues of his rivals drove him from the court of his father-in-law, to whom he had rendered the most important military services.

371. The name of this plain, which in the older Latin as well as in Ramusio's text is *Tenduch*, and in the Basle edition *Tanduc*, is *Tangut* in the Italian epitomes. This last may probably be a mistake, and certainly this place is not to be confounded with the *Tangut* already spoken of as connected with Tibet; but there is much reason to suppose that our author meant the country of the *Tungusi* (a name that bears no slight resemblence to *Tangut*) which is about the sources of the *Amur* and in the vicinity of the *Baikal* lake. According to De Guignes and P. Gaubil, the meeting of the armies took place between the rivers *Toula* and *Kerlon*; where other great Tartar battles have since been fought, in consequence, as may be presumed, of the local circumstances being suited to the operations of large bodies of cavalry.

372. The mode of divination by what the French term *baguettes*, is common in the East. Pétis de la Croix upon introducing into his text this story of "la canne "verte," from our author's work, observes in a note: "Cette opération des "cannes a été en usage chez les Tartares, et l'est encore à présent chez les "Africains, chez les Turcs et autres nations Mahométanes." P. 65. In the relation here given of this superstitious ceremony there is nothing incredible. Vulgar minds are to be worked upon by vulgar arts; and this deception was not more extraordinary than those which we have daily opportunities of seeing practised by the ordinary professors of sleight-of-hand. In this instance the imposition was the more easily effected, because the Chief himself was undoubtedly a confederate.

373. "Enfin

373. "Enfin cette journée" says P. de la Croix "qui fut si fatale au Grand "Can, décida du sort de *Temugin* alors âgé de quarante-huit ans. Elle le mit "en possession des païs des Keraïtes, et de ceux de Caracatay; et le roy vaincu "perdit non seulement quarante mille hommes, il eut encore le chagrin d'appren- "dre que ce qui lui restoit de bonnes troupes s'étoit rangé du côté de ses ennemis. "Les historiens qui rapportent qu'*Ounghcan* fut tué dans la bataille, ont été "mal informez. Il est vrai qu'il fut blessé dans l'action, que sa blessure l'obligea "sur la fin d'abandonner le commandement de l'armée, et que d'abord il voulut "se retirer vers Caracorom; mais se voyant poursuivi par une troupe de Mogols, "il se sauva chez *Tayan-can* son ennemi, dont il implora le secours." P. 70. With the connivance of this prince of the *Naïmans*, he was afterwards basely put to death.

374. The accident here said to have befallen *Jengiz-khan* is not mentioned by any of the historians; nor does it appear what place is intended by the name of *Thaigin*. He is said, on the contrary, to have died of sickness (in 1226), shortly after the reduction of the city of *Lin-tao*, in the province of *Shen-si*; from whence he had retired, on account of the bad quality of the air where his army was encamped, to a mountain named *Leou-pan*. It is not, however, to be concluded that our author is therefore wrong or that *Jengiz* did not receive a wound, which in an unwholesome climate might have occasioned or accelerated his death. Few of the native historians wrote near to the period of this event. It is acknowledged indeed that no attempt was made to compose a history of his actions, until the reign of *Ghazan-khan*, who was the fifth in descent from him. "Du tems de ce "prince" says Pétis de la Croix "on ne sçavoit presque l'histoire des anciens "Mogols que par tradition, et l'on ne seroit jamais venu à bout d'en faire un "livre suivi, si un vieux capitaine Mogol appellé *Poulad* n'eut employé un long- "tems à chercher parmi les nations orientales et septentrionales d'Asie, des "mémoires des faits de ces Mogols et Tartares, et des victoires remportées par "Genghizcan leur premier empereur. Ce *Poulad* en fit un recueil qu'il présenta "à *Gazan Can*, lequel le mit entre les mains de son visir *Fadlallah*, fils d'un "médecin de la ville de Hamadan en Perse, le plus sçavant historiographe de son "siècle, lequel en fit une suite d'Histoire l'an de grâce 1294, et cet auteur assure "que c'est la première histoire des anciens Mogols, qui ait été écrite en langue "Persanne." Abrégé de l'histoire des Auteurs, &c. P. 539. It is not a little remarkable that this work of *Fadlallah's* should have been compiled just about the time of MARCO POLO's visit to the court or camp of *Ghazan*, near the Caspian Straits; for although his father, *Arghun*, died in 1291, he did not obtain possession of the throne of Persia before the year 1294.

375. "Le

375. "Le long des rives de l'Irtisch" says De Guignes "à droite et à gauche, "depuis le lac Saissan jusqu'aux sources de l'Irtisch, il y a deux chaînes de "montagnes qui portent le nom, l'un de grand et l'autre de petit *Altaï*. Ces "montagnes continuent du côté de l'orient, et forment de grandes chaînes que se "perdent dans le désert. On les appelle *Altaï* ou *Altan*, qui signifie de l'or. Les "Chinois leur donnent le nom de *Kin-chan*." Description de la Grande Tartarie, p. lv. "Ce prince fut enterré dans un lieu qu'il avoit choisi, et que les Mogols "appellent *Burkhan-caldin*; tous les princes de sa famille ont été transportés "ensuite dans cet endroit." Hist. gén. des Huns. Liv. xv. p. 74. "Ce prince" says Gaubul, speaking of *Kublaï* "et ses prédécesseurs furent inhumez dans une "de ces montagnes qui sont entre les 42° 30′ et 44° de latitude, et à 10° 30′ "ou 40′ à l'ouest de Peking." Observ. Chron. p. 203.

CHAPTER XLV.

Of six successive emperors of the Tartars, and of the ceremonies that take place when they are carried for interment to the mountain of Altaï.

To *Chingis-kan* succeeded *Chyn-kan;* the third was *Bathyn-kan,* the fourth *Esu-kan;* the fifth *Mongù-kan;* the sixth *Kublai-kan,*[376] who became greater and more powerful than all the others; inasmuch as he inherited what his predecessors possessed, and afterwards, during a reign of nearly sixty years,[377] acquired, it may be said, the remainder of the world.[378] The title of *kan* or *kaan* is equivalent to emperor in our language.[379] It has been an invariable custom, that all the Grand *kans,* and chiefs of the race of *Chingis-kan,* should be carried for interment to a certain lofty mountain named *Altaï;* and in whatever place they may happen to die, although it should be at the distance of a hundred days journey, they are nevertheless conveyed thither.[380] It is likewise the custom, during the progress of removing the bodies of these princes, for those who form the escort, to sacrifice such persons as they chance to meet on the road; saying to them: "depart for the "next world, and there attend upon your deceased master!" being impressed with the belief that all whom they thus slay do actually become

BOOK I. CHAP. XLV.

become his servants in the next life. They do the same also with respect to horses, killing the best of the stud, in order that he may have the use of them. When the corpse of *Mongù* was transported to this mountain, the horsemen who accompanied it, having this blind and horrible persuasion, slew upwards of ten thousand persons who fell in their way.[381]

NOTES.

376. This account of the successors of *Jengiz-khan* being so much less accurate than might be expected from one who was many years in the service of his grandson, it is not unreasonable to presume that some of the barbarous names of these princes may have been omitted and others disfigured by the early transcribers. We are the more warranted in this supposition, because in the different versions we find the names to vary considerably, and instead of the *Chyn*, *Bathyn*, and *Esu* of Ramusio's edition, we have in one text *Cui*, *Barchim*, and *Allaù*, and in another, *Carce*, *Saim*, and *Rocon*. In the name of *Mongu* or *Mangu* only they are all nearly agreed. As the most effectual way of detecting, and, in some instances, of reconciling the inaccuracies, I shall state the filiation according to the authority of historians, and compare with it the confused lists attributed to our author.

Jengiz-khan, who died about the end of the year 1226, had four sons, whose names were *Juji*, *Jagataï*, *Oktaï*, and *Tuli*; of these, *Juji*, the eldest, who in other dialects is called *Tushi* and *Dushi*, died during the lifetime of *Jengiz*, leaving a son named *Batu*, called also, by the Mahometan writers, *Saicn-khan* and *Sagin-khan*. He inherited, in right of his father, that portion of the empire which included *Kapchak* and other countries in the neighbourhood of the Wolga and the Don, and his conquests on the side of Russia, Poland, and Hungary, rendered him the terror of Europe. He did not succeed to the dignity of Grand *khan* or head of the family, and died in 1256. This was evidently the *Bathyn* of one version of our text, and the *Saim* of another; but the *Barchim* of a third seems rather to be intended for *Barkah*, his brother and successor. *Jagataï* or *Zagataï* had for his portion of his father's dominions, the country beyond the Oxus, Turkistan, or as it has since been termed, the country of the Uzbek Tartars. He died in 1240, and also without having succeeded to the imperial dignity. His name, although elsewhere mentioned by our author, is here omitted, as would on that account have been proper, if the name of *Batu* had not been introduced. *Oktaï* or *Ugdaï*, the third son, was declared by *Jengiz* his successor

as

as Grand *khan* or supreme head of the dynasty, with the new title of *kaan*. His particular share of the empire was the original country of the *Moghuls* or *Mungals*, with its dependencies, and the kingdom of the *Niu-ché* Tartars, including so much of northern China as was then conquered. The total omission of his name, who was one of the most distinguished of the family, and particularly in the wars of the last mentioned country, not more than thirty-five years before the arrival of our author, is quite extraordinary, if to be imputed to ignorance or want of recollection on his part. *Oktaï* died in 1241, and was succeeded in the imperial station (after a female regency of five years) by his son *Kaiuk* or *Gaiuk*, who reigned only one year, and died in 1248. By Plano Carpini, a friar minor (who was sent by Pope Innocent *IV.* to the court of *Batu*, whom he terms the Duke *Baatu* or *Bathy*, and by him to *Gaiuk*, his sovereign, then newly elected) he is named *Cuyne*, by the Chinese *Key-yeu*, and by our author *Chyn* or *Cui*, according to different readings. The fourth son of *Jengiz*, whose name was *Tuli* or *Tului*, died in 1232 during the reign of his brother *Oktaï*, leaving four sons, named *Mangu*, *Kublaï*, *Hulagu*, and *Artigbuga*, besides others of less historical fame. Of these, *Mangu* or *Mongu* was chosen, in 1251, to succeed his cousin *Gaiuk*, as Grand *khan*, and chiefly through the influence of *Batu*, who had a superior claim, as the son of the eldest brother, but seems not to have affected that dignity. One of the first acts of *Mangu* was to send *Hulagu* (from *Kara-korum*, his capital) with a powerful army that enabled him to subdue the countries of Khorasan, Persia, Chaldea, and a great part of Syria. He founded the great dynasty of the Moghuls of Persia, which after a few generations threw off its dependence, more nominal than real, upon the head of the empire. The name of *Hulagu*, which in other parts of the work is softened to *Alaù*, seems to be that which is here still further corrupted to *Esu*, by the mistake of a letter, for *Elu*. In the Latin version of the same passage it is *Allaù*. *Mangu* died in 1259 (or 1256), in the province of *Se-chuen* in China, whilst engaged in the prosecution of the war in that country. Respecting *his* name there is no ambiguity. *Kublaï* who was upon the spot, assumed the command of the army, and was soon after chosen Grand *khan*, although with much opposition on the part of his brother *Artigbuga*, who was strongly supported and ventured to set up the imperial standard at *Kara-korum*. *Kublaï* proceeded in 1268 to subdue the kingdom of *Manji* or southern China, at that time ruled by the dynasty of *Song*, whose capital, named *Hong-cheu*, was taken in 1276, and the whole was annexed to his empire in 1280; from which year his reign, as emperor of China, is made to commence in the Chinese annals, where he appears by the title of *Yuen-chi-tsu*. His death is placed in the beginning of 1294, being then in the eightieth year of his age. He was the fifth Grand *khan* of this family, and after his decease the descendants of their common ancestor, who ruled the provinces in the west and south, no longer acknowledged a paramount sovereign.

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377. As *Kublaï* was elected Grand *khan* in 1260, and died in 1294, his reign was strictly about thirty-four years; but having been appointed viceroy to his brother *Mangu*, in China, so early as 1251, it may be considered as having lasted forty-three; and he was probably employed there in the command of armies at a period still earlier. The assertion, however, of his having reigned sixty years cannot be justified, and must have originated in a mistake or transposition of figures, which should perhaps have been XL instead of LX.

378. "Il se vit" says P. Gaubil "maître paisible de la Chine, du Pégu, du "Tibet, de l'une et l'autre Tartarie, du Turquestan et du pays d'Igour; Siam, "la Cochinchine, le Tonquin et la Corée lui payoient le tribut. Les princes de sa "maison qui régnoient en Moscovie, en Assyrie, en Perse, dans le Korassan et "dans la Transoxane, ne faisoient rien sans son consentement." Observ. Chron. p. 203.

379. The title of *kaan* قاآن, which *Jengiz* directed his son *Oktaï* to assume, is said to have the import of *khân* of *khâns*. That of *Khâkân* also, which seems to be a compound of the others, prevailed among the tribes of Turkistan, and has been adopted by the Ottoman emperors.

380. On the subject of this burial-place see Note 375.

381. The existence of such an atrocious custom amongst the Mungal Tartars has been much questioned. "Je ne sçai pas d'où" says the translator of Abu'l-ghazi "Marco Polo a pris ce qu'il avance, que de son temps les Tartares estoient "accoustumez de tuer à l'enterrement de leurs Chans toutes les personnes qu'ils "rencontrèrent dans le chemin qu'ils avoient à faire pour transporter le corps "mort à l'endroit destiné à la sépulture des successeurs de Zingis-Chan." P. 343. note. To this it might be sufficient answer that our author did not derive his knowledge from other writers, but acquired it in the country of which he treats, and that although like other travellers he was liable to be deceived by wrong information, it must rest with those who doubt his assertion, to disprove it by other authority or by argument. Some indeed have insisted on the improbability of meeting in such a country as they suppose Tartary to be, the number of people said to have been sacrificed on this occasion; but although the deserts are thinly inhabited or in many parts altogether waste, there must on the other hand be districts extremely populous to supply the immense armies which about this period were kept on foot, and which were employed not only in the destruction of each other, but also of the peaceable inhabitants of towns, where resistance was made by the garrisons. Of these, according to the testimony of the writers upon Tartar history, hundreds of thousands were massacred in the wars of *Jengiz-khan*

khan and of *Timur*. The sovereign, however, whose funeral is here particularly mentioned, lost his life, not in Tartary, but at the siege of a city of China, named *Ho-cheu*. "Les Mogols" says De Guignes "étoient déjà en grand nombre sur "les murailles, mais *Yang-kien* les repoussa avec tant de furie, que le général "chargé du siége fut tué avec ceux qui le suivoient....*Mangou* s'approchât lui-"même pour monter à l'assaut; un grand orage qui survint fit tomber les "échelles; beaucoup des Mogols furent tués, et le Grand khan fut trouvé parmi "les morts....Aussi-tôt son frère leva le siége et se retira dans le *Chensi* avec "le cercueil du Grand khan qui étoit au milieu de l'armée." Liv. xv. p. 136. Under circumstances such as are here described, it is not in any degree improbable that these ferocious warriors, disappointed in their object, and enraged at the loss of their chief, should in their retreat have wreaked their vengeance on the unarmed population of the provinces through which they passed; should have slain many thousands of men, women, and children, and afterwards boasted of their cruelties as acts of meritorious zeal: whilst our author, who arrived in China not more than fifteen years after the event, and consequently at a period when every act of the conquerors had been sanctioned by their success, might have been taught to regard the murders committed by an infuriated soldiery on such an occasion, as the observance of an established and even a religious custom. But the Chinese annals are not without instances of the practice of immolation at funerals, and we find that so late as the year 1661, the Tartar emperor *Shun-chi* commanded a human sacrifice upon the death of a favourite mistress: "Voluit "tamen" says P. Couplet "triginta hominum spontanea morte placari manes "concubinæ, ritu apud Sinas execrando, quem barbarum *morem* successor deinde "sustulit." Tab. Chronologica Monarchiæ Sinicæ, p. 100. The number stated to have been sacrificed by those who accompanied the body of *Mangu-kaan*, varies considerably in the different versions, and in the epitomes is made to amount to three hundred thousand. As there is no probability of the victims having been counted, the expression must only be understood to signify a vast multitude.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Of the wandering life of the Tartars; of their domestic manners, their food, and the virtue and useful qualities of their women.

THE Tartars never remain fixed, but as the winter approaches remove to the plains of a warmer region, in order to find sufficient pasture for

BOOK I. CHAP. XLVI.

their cattle; and in summer they frequent cold situations in the mountains, where there is water and verdure, and their cattle are free from the annoyance of horse-flies and other biting insects. During two or three months they progressively ascend higher ground, and seek fresh pasture; the grass not being adequate in any one place to feed the multitudes of which their herds and flocks consist.[382] Their huts or tents are formed of rods covered with felt, and being exactly round, and nicely put together, they can gather them into one bundle, and make them up as packages, which they carry along with them in their migrations, upon a sort of car with four wheels.[383] When they have occasion to set them up again, they always make the entrance front to the south.[384] Besides these cars they have a superior kind of vehicle, upon two wheels, covered likewise with felt, and so effectually as to protect those within it from wet, during a whole day of rain. These are drawn by oxen and camels, and serve to convey their wives and children, their utensils, and such provisions as they require.[385] The women it is who attend to their trading concerns, who buy and sell, and provide every thing necessary for their husbands and their families;[386] the time of the men being entirely devoted to the employment of hunting and hawking, and matters that relate to the military life.[387] They have the best falcons in the world, and also the best dogs. They subsist entirely upon flesh and milk,[388] eating the produce of their sport, and a certain small animal, not unlike a rabbit, called by our people Pharaoh's mice, which, during the summer season, are found in great abundance in the plains.[389] But they likewise eat flesh of every description, horses, camels, and even dogs, provided they are fat.[390] They drink mares' milk, which they prepare in such a manner that it has the qualities and flavour of white wine. They term it in their language *kemurs*.[391] Their women are not excelled in the world for chastity and decency of conduct, nor for love and duty to their husbands. Infidelity to the marriage bed is regarded by them as a vice not merely dishonourable, but of the most infamous nature;[392] whilst on the other hand it is admirable to observe the loyalty of the husbands towards their wives; amongst whom, although there are perhaps ten or twenty, there prevails a degree of quiet and union that is highly laudable. No offensive language is ever heard, their attention being fully occupied

occupied with their traffic (as already mentioned) and their several domestic employments, such as the provision of necessary food for the family, the management of the servants, and the care of the children, which are amongst them a common concern. And the more praiseworthy are the virtues of modesty and chastity in the wives, because the men are allowed the indulgence of taking as many as they chuse.[393] Their expence to the husband is not great, and on the other hand the benefit he derives from their trading, and from the occupations in which they are constantly engaged, is considerable; on which account it is, that when he receives a young woman in marriage, he pays a dower to her parent.[394] The wife who is the first espoused has the privilege of superior attention, and is held to be the most legitimate; which extends also to the children borne by her. In consequence of this unlimited number of wives, the offspring is more numerous than amongst any other people.[395] Upon the death of the father, the son may take to himself the wives he leaves behind, with the exception of his own mother. They cannot take their sisters to wife, but upon the death of their brothers they can marry their sisters-in-law.[396] Every marriage is solemnized with great ceremony.

NOTES.

382. This *periodical migration* of the Tartar tribes is matter of so much notoriety, that our author's account of it scarcely needs to be corroborated by authorities; but the following passage from Du Halde will be found circumstantially applicable: "Tous les *Mongous* vivent aussi de la même manière, errans "çà et là avec leurs troupeaux, et demeurans campez dans les lieux où ils "sont commodément, et où ils trouvent le meilleur fourage. En eté ils se "placent ordinairement dans des lieux découverts près de quelque rivière ou "de quelque étang, et s'il n'y en a point, aux environs de quelque puits: en "hyver ils cherchent les montagnes et les collines, ou du moins ils s'établissent "derrière quelque hauteur, où ils soient à couvert du vent de Nord, qui est en "ce pays-là extrêmement froid; la neige supplée à l'eau qui leur manque. "Chaque souverain demeure dans son pays, sans qu'il soit permis ni à lui, ni à "ses sujets d'aller dans les terres des autres; mais dans l'étendue des terres "qui leur appartiennent ils campent où ils voulent." T. iv. p. 38. "The "summer station" says Elphinstone "is called *eilauk*, and the winter station "*kish-lauk*,

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"*kish-lauk*, two words which both the Afghauns and Persians have borrowed "from the Tartars." Account of Caubul, p. 390.

383. The tents are thus described by Bell, as he saw them among the *Kalmuks*, encamped near the Wolga: "The Tartars had their tents pitched along the "river side. These are of a conical figure; there are several long poles "erected inclining to each other, which are fixed at the top into something like "a hoop, that forms the circumference of an aperture for letting out the smoke "or admitting the light; across the poles are laid some small rods, from four to "six feet long, and fastened to them by thongs. This frame is covered with "pieces of felt, made of coarse wool and hair. These tents afford better shelter "than any other kind, and are so contrived as to be set up, taken down, folded "and packed up with great ease and quickness, and so light that a camel may "carry five or six of them." T. i. p. 29. "Pour ce qui est de celles des *Mon-*"*gous*," says Du Halde, "elles sont rondes, et couvertes d'un gros feûtre gris "ou blanc, soutenues en dedans de treillis de bois, attachez par un bout autour "de deux demi-cercles de même matière, qu'on rejoint ensemble, et qui font "la superficie d'un cône tronqué: car ils laissent en haut vers la pointe une "ouverture ronde qui donne sortie à la fumée d'un brasier placé au milieu." T. iv. p. 31. See also Viaggio alla Tana, &c. par Josaphat Barbaro, p. 9, 12mo.

384. "When they take downe their dwelling houses (from off their carts), "they turn the doores always to the south." Purchas, Journal of Rubruquis, Vol. iii. p. 3. This opening of the door-way to the south appears to be the universal practice in Tartary, as well with fixed as with moveable houses, in order to guard as much as possible against the rude effects of the northerly wind. It will be seen hereafter that the same custom subsists in the northern provinces of China.

385. "They make certayne four-square baskets of small slender wickers as "bigge as great chests; and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an "hollow lidde or cover of such like wickers, and make a doore in the fore-side "thereof. And then they cover the said chest or little house with black felt, "rubbed over with tallow or sheep's milk to keep the rain from soking through, "which they deck likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such chests "they put their whole household-stuffe and treasure. Also the same chests they "do strongly binde upon other carts, which are drawne with camels." Purchas, Vol. iii. p. 3. "Nous trouvâmes" says P. Gerbillon "quelques tentes de *Mon-*"*gous*, et nous en rencontrâmes plusieurs qui menoient de petites charettes à "deux roues fort légères, mais aussi fort fragiles; il y en avoit de trainées par "des chevaux et d'autres par des bœufs." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 96.

386. This

386. This custom of the men committing to the females the management of their trading concerns, is anthenticated by P. Gerbillon, who accompanied the emperor *Kanghi* in his expeditions. " La plûpart de ces femmes " he says " vinrent dans notre camp faire leur petit commerce, troquant leurs bestiaux pour " de la toile, du sel, du tabac, et du thé." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 115. Elphinstone also, speaking of a tribe in the Afghân country, called *Hazoureh*, and whom he considers as the remnant of a Tartar army left there, remarks that " the wife " manages the house, takes care of the property, does her share of the honors, " and is very much consulted in all her husband's measures." Account of Caubul, p. 483.

387. " Ils sont bons cavaliers, habiles chasseurs, adroits à tirer l'arc à pied et " à cheval....Ennemis du travail, ils aiment mieux se contenter de la nour- " riture qu'ils tirent de leurs troupeaux que de se donner la peine attachée à la " culture de la terre." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 38.

388. " Durant l'eté ils ne vivent que du laitage de leurs bestiaux, usant " indifféremment de lait de vache, de cavalle, de brebis, de chevres et de " chameaux." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 38. " Durant l'hiver, comme les bestiaux " ne leur donnent de lait suffisamment, ils mangent de la chair." P. 117.

389. " On these hills (near the Selinga river) are a great number of animals " called marmots, of a brownish colour, having feet like a badger, and nearly " of the same size. They make deep burrows on the declivities of the hills; and " it is said that in winter they continue in these holes, for a certain time, even " without food. At this season, however, they sit or lie near their burrows, " keeping a strict watch, and at the approach of danger, rear themselves on " their hind-feet, giving a loud whistle, and then drop into their holes in a " moment." Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 311. The description given of the animal by Du Halde accords best with our author's account: " Cet animal (aussi petit " qu'une hermine) est une espèce de rat de terre, fort commun dans certains " quartiers des *Kalkas*. Les *tael-pi* se tiennent sous la terre, où ils creusent une " suite d'autant de petites tanières qu'il y a de mâles dans leur troupe : un d'eux " est toujours au dehors, qui fait le guet, mais qui fuit dès qu'il apperçoit quel- " qu'un, et se précipite en terre aussi-tôt qu'on s'approche de lui....On en " prend à la fois un très-grand nombre." T. iv. p. 30. " *L'ichneumon* ò il *kiri* " Malabarico, secondo Charleton e Bellonio, è il Mus Pharaonis seu Aegypti, e " Mus Indicus di Eliano.. .Egli medesimo porta anche il tipo del *Curuken* o di " *Kroshtava*, che egli chiama col nome Persiano *Siyah-Ghush*." Paolino, p. 159, Note. See Plate of this animal in Hyde's Syntagma, vol. i. p. 36.

390. " If

390. "If this kind of food (preparations of milk) fails, they have always many "spare horses, which they kill and eat. They broil or roast the flesh be- "fore the fire, on pieces of broken arrows, and never eat it raw as is com- "monly believed, unless compelled by necessity. They have indeed large "thick pieces of horseflesh, smoked or dried in the sun, which they eat; but "this cannot properly be called raw." Bell's Trav. vol. i. p. 34. "When they "(the *Tonguses*) go a hunting into the woods, they carry with them no provisi- "ons; but depend entirely on what they are to catch. They eat every animal "that comes in their way, even a bear, fox, or wolf." P. 229. Dogs are not mentioned specifically; but it is well known that in China they are fattened and sold in the shambles, for food.

391. The word here written *chemurs* or *kemurs*, and in the Latin edition *Chuinis* and *Chemius*, is that which by other travellers is called *kimmiz* or *kimmuz*, and (vulgarly) *cosmos*. It is a preparation of mares' milk, put into a state of fermentation by heat, beaten in a large skin-bag (for the purpose, as it would seem, of separating the butter), and by such process rendered intoxicating to a certain degree. It will in this state bear keeping for several months, and is the favourite drink of all the tribes of Tartars. "The national beverage" of the Uzbeks, Elphinstone observes "is *kimmiz*, an intoxicating liquor, well known "to be prepared from mares' milk." P. 470. "Ils font aussi une espèce d'eau de "vie avec du lait aigre, principalement de cavalle, qu'ils font distiller après "l'avoir fait fermenter." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 38. This distilled spirit, although produced from the same materials, must be distinguished from the *kimmuz*, with which however it is confounded by some writers. Rubruquis furnishes a circumstantial account of these preparations of milk in all their stages.

392. "It must be observed" says Bell "to the honour of their women, that "they are very honest and sincere, and few of them lewd: adultery is a crime "scarce ever heard of." Vol. i. p. 31. "Leurs femmes" says Carpini "sont "fort chastes, on ne dit point qu'aucune se gouverne mal; elles n'usent d'au- "cunes paroles honteuses ni impudiques, même quand elles se divertissent." Bergeron, p. 36.

393. "Quoique la Polygamie" says P. Gerbillon "ne soit plus défendue "parmi eux, ils n'ont ordinairement qu'une femme." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 39. The practice is described by other writers as more general; but in one tribe it may be more prevalent than in others. "Les Tartares tant Mahometans que "Callmoucks et Moungales" says the translator of Abu'lghazi "prennent au- "tant de femmes légitimes qu'ils veulent, auxquelles ils adjoûtent encore le plus

"souvent

" souvent un grand nombre de concubines, qu'ils choisissent d'ordinaire parmi " leurs esclaves." P. 36, note.

394. " Ils ne donnent point douaire à leurs femmes," says Thevenot, " mais " les maris font des présens à leur père et à leur frère, sans lesquels ils ne " trouveroient point de femmes." Relation des Tartares, t. i. p. 19. " As touch- " ing marriages " says Rubruquis " no man can have a wife till he hath bought " her." Purchas, vol. iii. p. 7.

395. In any fixed society polygamy cannot be supposed to have the effect of increasing the population, because, if an unreasonable proportion of females becomes the lot of wealthy individuals, the poorer class must experience a scarcity of wives; but amongst a people who are in the habit of adding to their stock of women by predatory incursions into neighbouring countries, the plurality must of course be attended with a greater number of children.

396. " Il n'y a que cette différence " adds the translator of Abu'lghazi " entre " les Tartares Mahometans et les autres, que les premiers observent quelques " degrés de parenté dans lesquels il leur est défendu de se marier, au lieu que " les Callmoucks et Moungales, à l'exception de leurs mères naturelles n'obser- " vent aucune proximité du sang dans leurs mariages." P. 36, note. " The " sonne," says Rubruquis " marrieth sometimes all his father's wives except his " owne mother." Purchas, vol. iii. p. 7.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Of the celestial and terrestial deities of the Tartars, and of their modes of worship; of their dress, arms, courage in battle, patience under privations, and obedience to their leaders.

CHAP. XLVII.

THE doctrine and faith of the Tartars are these. They believe in a deity whose nature is sublime and heavenly. To him they burn incense in censers, and offer up prayers for the enjoyment of intellectual and bodily health.[397] They worship another likewise, named *Natigay*, whose image, covered with felt or other cloth, every individual preserves in his house. To this deity they associate a wife and children, placing

BOOK I. CHAP. XLVII.

the former on his left side, and the latter before him, in a posture of reverential salutation. Him they consider as the divinity who presides over their terrestrial concerns, protects their children, and guards their cattle and their grain.[398] They shew him great respect, and at their meals they never omit to take a fat morsel of the flesh, and with it to grease the mouth of the idol, and at the same time the mouths of its wife and children.[399] They then throw out of the door some of the liquor in which the meat has been dressed, as an offering to the other spirits.[400] This being done, they consider that their deity and his family have had their proper share, and proceed to eat and drink without further ceremony. The rich amongst these people dress in cloth of gold and silks, with skins of the sable, the ermin, and other animals. All their accoutrements are of an expensive kind.[401] Their arms are bows, iron maces, and in some instances, spears; but the first is the weapon at which they are the most expert, being accustomed, from children, to employ it in their sports.[402] They wear defensive armour made of the thick hides of buffaloes and other beasts, dried by the fire, and thus rendered extremely hard and strong.[403] They are brave in battle, almost to desperation, setting little value upon their lives, and exposing themselves without hesitation to all manner of danger. Their disposition is cruel. They are capable of supporting every kind of privation, and when there is a necessity for it, can live for a month on the milk of their mares, and upon such wild animals as they may chance to catch. Their horses are fed upon grass alone, and do not require barley or other grain.[404] The men are habituated to remain on horseback during two days and two nights, without dismounting; sleeping in that situation whilst their horses graze. No people upon earth can surpass them in fortitude under difficulties, nor shew greater patience under wants of every kind.[405] They are perfectly obedient to their chiefs, and are maintained at small expence.[406] From these qualities, so essential to the formation of soldiers, it is, that they are fitted to subdue the world, as in fact they have done in regard to a considerable portion of it.[407]

NOTES

NOTES.

397. " The religion of the *Buraty*" says Bell " seems to be the same with " that of the *Kalmucks*, which is downright paganism of the grossest kind. They " talk indeed of an almighty and good Being, who created all things, whom " they call *burchŭn*; but seem bewildered in obscure and fabulous notions " concerning his nature and government. They have two high priests, to whom " they pay great respect; one is called *Delay-lama*, the other *Kutukhtu*." Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 248. " The *Mongalls* believe in and worship one almighty " Creator of all things. They hold that the *Kutukhtu* is God's vicegerent on " earth; and that there will be a future state of rewards and punishments." P. 281. " I am informed that the religion of the *Tonguts* is the same with that " of the *Mongalls*; that they hold the same opinions with respect to the transmi- " gration of the *Delay-lama*, as the *Mongalls* do about the *Kutukhtu*, and that he " is elected in the same manner." P. 283. The hierarchy of which the *Dalaï* or Grand *lama* is generally considered as the head, was not established until so late as about the year 1426, according to Gaubil; but the *lamas* simply, as priests of *Shakia-muni*, appear to have existed from a remote period, and the *shamuns* in the northern parts of Tartary, to be *lamas* in a ruder state of society. The *Kutukhtus* stand in the same relation to the Grand *lama*, as the cardinals, or perhaps more nearly the cardinal-legates, to the Pope.

398. This Tartar idol whose name is written *Natagai* in the Latin editions, and *Nachigai* in the Italian epitomes, is the *Itoga* of Plano Carpini, by whom the superstitious practices of these people are described in the following manner: " Ils s'adonnent fort aux prédictions, augures, vol des oiseaux, sorcelleries " et enchantemens. Lorsque le diable leur fait quelque réponse, ils croient que " cela vient de Dieu même, et le nomment *Itoga*." Bergeron, p. 32. Bell speaks of sacrifices made to the deity who protected the flocks and herds of the *Buraty* Tartars.

399. " Ils le révèrent" Carpini adds " et le craignent extrêmement, lui " faisant plusieurs offrandes, entre autres des prémices de leur boire et manger." P. 33. " Lorsque ces pauvres gens" says the translator of Abu'lghazi " croyent " avoir à se louer de la protection de leurs idoles, il n'y a point d'honneurs dont " ils ne les comblent à leur manière, en les couvrant de peaux de renards noirs " et de zibelines, et en les plaçant à l'endroit le plus honorable de leurs " cabanes; ils leur frottent alors la bouche avec de la graisse de poisson." P. 489, note.

400. " Then

400. "Then goeth a servant out of the house" says Rubruquis "with a cup "full of drinke, sprinkling it thrice towards the south, &c....When the master "holdeth a cup in his hand to drinke, before he tasteth thereof, he poureth his "part upon the ground." Purchas, vol. iii. p. 4.

401. Such expensive dresses and accoutrements may have been worn by the princes and chiefs who served in the victorious armies of the descendants of *Jengiz-khan*, and were enriched with the spoils of all Asia; but the proper habit of these people is much more homely. Rubruquis, however, describes the dresses of the superior class as partaking of the luxury mentioned by our author. "Concerning their garments and attire" he says in his report to Louis IX. "be "it knowne to your majestie, that out of *Cataya* and other regions of the east, "out of Persia also and other countries of the south, there are brought unto "them stuffes of silke, cloth of gold and cotton cloth, which they wear in time "of summer. But out of Russia....and also out of many other countries of "the north, which are subject unto them, the inhabitants bring them rich and "costly skins of divers sorts, wherewith they are clad in winter." P. 6.

402 "They are armed" says Bell "with bows and arrows, a sabre and lance, "which they manage with great dexterity acquired by constant practice from "their infancy." Vol. i. p. 80.

403. "Quelques-uns" says Carpini "ont des casques et des halecrets de cuir "en cette forme; il y a certaines courroies ou bandes de cuir de bœuf, larges "comme la main, qu'ils collent trois et quatre les uns contre les autres, puis "lient bien cela avec de plus petites courroies, ou des cordes." P. 50.

404. As these people, in their nomadic state, do not cultivate the earth, their cattle can only have what the soil spontaneously produces.

405. "Ils sont fort patiens à tout supporter," says Carpini: "de sorte que "quand ils jeunent, ne mangeant rien durant un ou deux jours, on ne les voit "pas porter cela avec impatience, mais ils jouent, chantent et passent le tems "aussi gaiement que s'ils avoient fait bonne chère. Quand ils sont à cheval ils "endurent d'une manière surprenante l'excès du chaud et du froid; ils ne sont "délicats en aucune sorte." P. 35.

406. "Les Tartares" says the same traveller "sont les plus obéissans du "monde à leurs seigneurs....Ils les révèrent infiniment, et ne leur disent jamais "une menterie." Ibid.

407. P. Gaubil

407. P. Gaubil describes the extent of territory possessed by Kublaï and his family in the following summary: "Il se vit maître paisible de la Chine, du "Pégu, du Tibet, de l'une et l'autre Tartarie, du Turquestan et du pays "d'Igour; Siam, la Cochinchine, le Tonquin et la Corée lui payoient le tribut. "Les princes de sa maison qui régnoient en Moscovie, en Assyrie, en Perse, "dans le Korassan et dans le Transoxane, ne faisoient rien sans son consente- "ment." Observ. Chronol. p. 203.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Of the Tartar armies, and the manner in which they are constituted; of their order of marching; of their provisions; and of their mode of attacking the enemy.

When one of the great Tartar chiefs proceeds on an expedition, he puts himself at the head of an army of an hundred thousand horse, and organises them in the following manner. He appoints an officer to the command of every ten men, and others to command an hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand men, respectively. Thus ten of the officers commanding ten men take their orders from him who commands a hundred; of these, each ten, from him who commands a thousand; and each ten of these latter, from him who commands ten thousand. By this arrangement each officer has only to attend to the management of ten men or ten bodies of men; and when the commander of these hundred thousand men has occasion to make a detachment for any particular service, he issues his orders to the commanders of ten thousand to furnish him with a thousand men, each; and these, in like manner, to the commanders of a thousand, who give their orders to those commanding a hundred; until the order reaches those commanding ten, by whom the number required is immediately supplied to their superior officers. A hundred men are in this manner delivered to every officer commanding a thousand, and a thousand men to every officer commanding ten thousand.[408] The drafting takes place without delay, and all are implicitly obedient to their respective superiors. Every company

company of a hundred men is denominated a *tuc*, and ten of these constitute a *toman*.[409] When the army proceeds on service, a body of men is sent two days march in advance, and parties are stationed upon each flank and in the rear, in order to prevent its being attacked by surprise. When the service is distant, they carry but little with them, and that, chiefly, what is requisite for their encampment, and utensils for cooking. They subsist for the most part upon milk, as has been said. Each man has, on an average, eighteen horses and mares, and when that which they ride is fatigued, they change it for another.[410] They are provided with small tents made of felt, under which they shelter themselves against rain.[411] Should circumstances render it necessary, in the execution of a duty that requires dispatch, they can march for ten days together without dressing victuals; during which time they subsist upon the blood drawn from their horses, each man opening a vein and drinking from his own cattle.[412] They make provision also of milk, thickened and dried to the state of a hard paste (or curd), which is prepared in the following manner. They boil the milk, and skimming off the rich or creamy part as it rises to the top, put it into a separate vessel as butter; for so long as that remains in the milk, it will not become hard. The latter is then exposed to the sun until it dries. Upon going on service, they carry with them about ten pounds for each man, and of this, half a pound is put, every morning, into a leathern bottle or small *outre*, with as much water as is thought necessary. By their motion in riding the contents are violently shaken, and a thin porridge is produced, upon which they make their dinner.[413] When these Tartars come to engage in battle, they never mix with the enemy, but keep hovering about him, discharging their arrows first from one side and then from the other, occasionally pretending to fly, and during their flight, shooting arrows backwards at their pursuers, killing men and horses, as if they were combating face to face. In this sort of warfare the adversary imagines he has gained a victory, when in fact he has lost the battle; for the Tartars observing the mischief they have done him, wheel about, and renewing the fight overpower his remaining troops and make them prisoners, in spite of their utmost exertions.[414] Their horses are so well broken-in to quick changes of movement, that upon the signal given they instantly turn in every direction; and by these rapid

rapid manœuvres many victories have been obtained. All that has been hefe related is spoken of the original manners of the Tartar chiefs; but at the present day they are much corrupted.[415] Those who dwell at *Ukaka*, forsaking their own laws, have adopted the customs of the people who worship idols, and those who inhabit the eastern provinces, have adopted the manners of the Sacarens.[416]

NOTES.

408. The correctness of our author's account of the constitution of the Mungal armies will appear from comparing it with the following passage from the French translation of Abu'lghazi's History of the Tartars: "*Zingis-chan* estoit un prince "d'un grand génie; ce qu'on peut voir en partie par la discipline qu'il avoit "establie parmi ses troupes, qu'il avoit divisées en plusieurs corps de 10,000 "hommes, et chacun de ces corps avoit son commandant particulier appellé *tuman-agasi*; *aga* voulant dire un commandant et *tuman* dix mille; ces corps "estoient subdivisez en bataillons de 1,000 hommes, ayant chacun son chef "appellé *miny-agasi* ou commandant de mille; ces bataillons estoient pareille-"ment divisez en compagnies de 100 hommes, ayant chacun son capitaine appellé "*gus-agasi* ou commandant de cent, et ces compagnies estoient encore partagées "en pelotons de 10 hommes, ayant chacun son officier appellé *un-agasi* ou com-"mandant de dix; mais toutes ces divisions estoient subordonnées les unes aux "autres, et recevoient leurs ordres du commandant en chef de tout le corps." P. *348*. This decimal progression of commands is noticed also by *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors, who mention, amongst the persons composing the emperor's court at *Khan-balik*, "ceux qui commandoient à dix mille hommes, suivis de ceux qui "commandoient à mille, et après eux étoient ceux qui ne commandoient qu'à "cent." P. 6.

409. *Tomān* تومان is the usual Persian term for a body of ten thousand men. The word *tuc*, as signifying "a hundred," is not to be found in the dictionaries. It may perhaps be an orthographical corruption of *dus*, *sus*, *yuz*, by which that number is expressed in the dialects of different Tartar tribes.

410. It seems nearly incredible that each individual should have this number of horses, and it should perhaps be understood of the officers only: yet as the subsistence of the whole depends in a great measure upou the milk and the flesh of this animal, and the herds of other cattle are comparatively small, the horses and mares must necessarily be extremely numerous. "The Tartars" says Bell "having

" having always many spare horses to kill and eat, are at no loss for provisions " (in their irruptions)." Vol. i. p. 199. " Il ne faut pas courir trop après eux " says P. Carpini, in his instructions for catching these Tartars, " pour ne pas fa- " tiguer les chevaux, car les Tartares en ont en plus grand nombre et de plus " frais; parce que celui qu'ils auront monté un jour, ils ne s'en serviront de trois " ou quatre jours après, et ainsi ils les ont toujours frais." Bergeron, p. 63. This implies the possession of several horses by each private soldier.

411. " The Tartar tents " says Bell " are much preferable (to ours); for " their figure being round and taper, like a bee-hive, the wind takes but little " hold of them; and they stand equally well on a sandy or on any other surface. " They are besides, warmer, more easily erected, taken down, and transported." Vol. i. p. 323.

412. The Scythian or Sarmatian practice of drawing blood from horses, as an article of sustenance or luxurious indulgence, and also that of preserving milk for use, in a concrete form, were well known to the ancients, as appears from the following, amongst many passages that might be quoted :

" Et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino."

Virgil, Geor. iii. 463.

" Sauromatum taceo, ac Moscum, solitosque cruentum
" Lac potare Getas, et pocula tingere venis."

Sidonii, Parag. ad avitum.

413. " On long marches " says Bell " all their provisions consist of cheese or " rather dried curd, made up into little balls, which they drink when pounded " and mixt with water." Vol. i. p. 34. " We were presented " says Turner " with a profusion of fresh, rich milk, and a preparation called in the language " of India, *dhy*, which is milk acidulated by means of buttermilk boiled in it, " and kept till it is slightly coagulated. The *kummuz* of the Tartars is mare's " milk prepared by the same process: this is sometimes dried in masses till it " resembles chalk; and is used to give a relish to the water they drink, by solu- " tion with it. I have been told that the operation of *drying* it is sometimes " performed by tying the *dhy* tight in bags of cloth, and suspending it under " the horses' bellies." Embassy to Tibet, p. 195.

414. " Ils ne scavent pas ce que c'est que de se battre en rang ou en ordre, " mais quand ils vont à la charge ils y vont par troupes, avec chacune son " commandant à la teste; cependant ils ont de la bravoure au de-là de tout ce " qu'on sçauroit s'imaginer." Hist. généal. p. 700, note. The reader will here be

be reminded of what the ancients have told us of the Parthian and Scythian modes of warfare, and of the fate of Crassus and others.

415. By the corruption of manners he may be supposed to allude to the effects produced by the conquest of China, which gave to these rude and hardy people a taste for the enjoyment of ease and luxuries. So enervated did the *Mungals* become, before the expiration of a century, that they were ignominiously driven back to their deserts by an insurrection of the Chinese population.

416. As the situation of *Ukaka* or *Ouchacha* is here placed in opposition to that of the *eastern* provinces, we may presume it to be *Okak* or *Okaka* of Abulfeda, on the banks of the *Etel* or *Wolga*, not far from *Sarai*, which was visited by the father and uncle of our author, in their first journey. See Note 12. The relative term *eastern* is not, however, intended to apply to those provinces which we, in respect to China, call Eastern Tartary, but to the country lying eastward of the Caspian.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Of the rules of justice observed by these people; and of an imaginary kind of marriage contracted between the deceased children of different families.

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JUSTICE is administered by them in the following manner. When a person is convicted of a robbery not meriting the punishment of death, he is condemned to receive a certain number of strokes with a cane; seven, seventeen, twenty-seven, thirty-seven, forty-seven, or as far as one hundred, according to the value of the article stolen and circumstances of the theft: and many die under this chastisement.[417] When for stealing a horse or other article that subjects the offender to capital punishment, he is condemned to suffer death, the sentence is executed by cutting his body in two with a sword.[418] But if the thief has the means of paying nine times the value of the property stolen, he escapes all further punishment.[419] It is usual for every chief of a tribe or other person possessing large cattle, such as horses, mares, camels,

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oxen, or cows, to distinguish them by his mark, and then to suffer them to graze at large, in any part of the plains or mountains, without employing herdsmen to look after them; and if any of them should happen to mix with the cattle of other proprietors, they are restored to the person whose mark they bear.[420] Sheep and goats, on the contrary, have people to attend them. Their cattle of every kind are well-sized, fat, and exceedingly handsome.[421] When one man has had a son, and another man a daughter, although both may have been dead for some years, they have a practice of contracting a marriage between their deceased children, and of bestowing the girl upon the youth. They at the same time paint upon pieces of paper human figures to represent attendants with horses and other animals, dresses of all kinds, money, and every article of furniture; and all these, together with the marriage-contract, which is regularly drawn up, they commit to the flames; in order that through the medium of the smoke (as they believe) these things may be conveyed to their children in the other world, and that they may become husband and wife in due form. After this ceremony the fathers and mothers consider themselves as mutually related, in the same manner as if a real connexion had taken place between their living children.[422] Having thus given an account of the manners and customs of the Tartars, although not yet of the brilliant acts and enterprises of their Grand *khán*, who is Lord of all the Tartars; we shall now return to our former subject, that is, to the extensive plain which we were traversing when we stopped to relate the history of this people.

NOTES.

417. To this punishment, which is known to be common in China, the Portuguese have given the name of *bastanado* (from *bastano* a staff or cane). Amongst the wise regulations of a certain Chinese emperor, it is said: "Dès-lors il fit un "loy, qui ordonnoit de ne plus donner la bastonnade sur le dos des coupables, "mais plus bas, et de la manière qu'elle se pratique encore aujourd'hui dans "tout l'empire." Du Halde, t. i. p. 439. "Si quelqu'un" says Carpini "découvre leurs entreprises, principalement quand ils veulent aller à la guerre, "ils lui font donner des coups de bâton sur le dos par un homme robuste, de "toute

" toute sa force." Bergeron, p. 38. For particular details of the mode of applying this punishment, the reader may consult the Abbé Grosier's Gen. Description of China, vol. ii. chap. vii., and Barrow's Travels in China, p. 161.

418. In China, where the criminal law of the Tartars may be supposed to have had much influence, the punishments of decapitation and of cutting the bodies into many pieces, are in use for certain great offenses.

419. This commutation of punishment might be presumed a corruption rather than a principle of law; but a similar rule is not unknown in other countries. In the Sumatran codes not only thefts are compromised by the payment of double the value of the article stolen, and a fine to the magistrates, but even for murder, a pecuniary compensation, proportioned to the rank of the deceased, is regularly established.

420. " Pour leurs bestiaux," says P. Gerbillon, " ils les laissent paître à leur " gré, et ils n'en prennent d'autre soin que celui d'aller tirer leur lait." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 117. " Si on a perdu quelques bêtes," says Carpini, " quicon- " que les trouve, ou il les laisse là sans les prendre, ou il les remène à ceux qui " sont destinez à cela; ceux à qui elles apartiennent les allant redemander, on " les leur rend aussi tôt sans difficulté." Bergeron, p. 35.

421. " Their horned cattle" says Bell " are very large. Their sheep have " broad tails, and their mutton is excellent. They have also great abundance of " goats." Vol. i. p. 246.

422. This custom, however extraordinary, is of the same character as many of the grave absurdities to be found in the Chinese institutions. We are told by P. Navarette that it exists in one of the northern provinces, bordering on the country of the *Mungals*, and where of course we may look for a similarity of practices. " In the province of *Shan-si*" he says " they have a ridiculous cus- " tom, which is to marry dead folks. F. Michael Trigaucius a Jesuit, who lived " several years in that province, told it us whilst we were confined. It falls out " that one man's son, and another's daughter die. Whilst the coffins are in the " house (and they use to keep them two or three years or longer) the parents " agree to marry them; they send the usual presents as if they were alive, with " much ceremony and musick. After this they put together the two coffins, keep " the wedding dinner before them, and lastly they lay them together in one tomb. " The parents from this time are looked upon not only as friends but relations, " as they would have been had their children been married living." Churchill's Collect. vol. i. p. 69. " This" says Malcolm " is said to be still an usage in

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" Tartary. They throw the contract in the fire, and conceive the smoke ascends " to the departed children, who marry in the other world. Petit de la Croix, in " his life of Chenghiz, mentions this fact; and I find it stated in a Persian manu- " script, written by a man of learning and information." Hist. of Persia, vol. i. p. 413, note.

CHAPTER L.

Of the plain of Bargu near Kara-koran; of the customs of its inhabitants; of the ocean, at the distance of forty days' journey from thence; of the falcons produced in the country on its borders; and of the bearings of the northern constellation to an observer in those parts.

CHAP. L. Upon leaving *Kara-koran* and the mountains of *Altaï*, the burial-place, as has been said, of the imperial Tartar family, you proceed, in a northern direction, through a country termed the plain of *Bargu*, extending to the distance of about sixty days journey.[423] The people who dwell there are called *Mekriti*,[424] a rude tribe, who live upon the flesh of animals, the largest of which are of the nature of stags; and these they also make use of for the purposes of travelling.[425] They feed likewise upon the birds that frequent their numerous lakes and marshes; as well as upon fish. It is at the moulting season, or during summer, that the birds seek these waters, and being then, from want of their feathers, incapable of flight, they are taken by the natives without difficulty. This plain borders on the ocean at its northern extremity. The customs and manners of the people resemble those of the Tartars that have been described, and they are subjects of the Grand *khan*. They have neither corn nor wine; and although in summer they derive subsistence from the chase, yet in winter the cold is so excessive that neither birds nor beasts can remain there.[426] Upon travelling forty days, as it is said, you reach the (northern) ocean.[427] Near to this is a mountain, in which, as well as in the neighbouring plain, vultures and peregrine falcons have their nests. Neither men nor cattle are found there, and of birds there is only a species called *bargelak*,

bargelak, and the falcons to which they serve for food. The former are about the size of a partridge, with tails like the swallow, claws like those of the parrot kind, and are swift of flight.[428] When the Grand *khan* is desirous of having a brood of peregrine falcons, he sends to procure them at this place; and in an island lying off the coast, gerfalcons are found in such numbers that his majesty may be supplied with as many of them as he pleases.[429] It must not be supposed that the gerfalcons sent from Europe for the use of the Tartars are conveyed to the court of the Grand *khan*. They go only to some of the Tartar or other chiefs of the Levant, bordering on the countries of the Comanians and Armenians. This island is situated so far to the north, that the polar constellation appears to have in part a southerly bearing.[430] Having thus spoken of the regions in the vicinity of the northern ocean, we shall now describe the provinces lying nearer to the residence of the Grand *khan*, and shall return to that of *Kampion*, of which mention has already been made.

NOTES.

423. The name of *Bargu* (as has already been observed in Note 363) appears in Strahlenberg's map of Tartary, near the south-western part of the lake or sea of *Baikal* and in D'Anville's on the north-east side, but by our author it is applied to the country extending from thence, many days journey towards the Frozen Ocean, and seems to correspond to what we term Siberia. This misapplication (as he considers it) is noticed by Strahlenberg who observes that "the name "of *Bargu* is to be found in the old map of Great Tartary, though in a very "wrong place, viz. towards the Mare Glaciale." Note 8. p. 14. It may have happened, however, that in the course of four centuries, one vague appellation may have superseded another; and I believe it will not be contended that Siberia is the indigenous name of the region on which it has been bestowed.

424. Of this tribe of *Mekriti* (which in the epitomes is *Mecriit*, but in the Latin edition *Meditæ*) frequent mention is made in the Tartar histories, by the names of *Merkit* and *Markät*, whose country was amongst the first of the conquests made by *Jengiz-khan*, being in his immediate vicinity. Its situation is not pointed out with any degree of precision, but that it is far northwards may be inferred from a passage in l'Histoire générale des Huns, where, speaking of the defeat of the

Naimans

BOOK I. CHAP. L. Notes.

Naimans and dispersion of their princes, it is said: "Tous prirent la fuite, et "se retirèrent vers la rivière d'*Irtisch*, où ils s'établirent, et y formèrent un "puissant parti qui étoit soutenu par *Toctabegh*, *khan* des *Merkites*." Liv. xv. p. 23. "Ceux de la tribu des *Markäts*" says Abu'lghazi "avoient du temps de "Zingis-Chan un chan appellé Tochtabegi, qui estoit tousjours aux prises avec "Zingis-Chan." Hist. généal. p. 130. This was probably the most northern tribe with whose name our author was acquainted, and although he now proceeds to speak (in very general terms) of those extensive regions which lie between the rivers *Oby* and *Lena*, it may be presumed that he knew nothing of them but from the report of others; nor does he attempt to make it understood that he had visited them in person.

425. This is the rein-deer, a large and beautiful species of cervus, in size equal to the elk, and in shape not unlike our red deer. Throughout Siberia and Lapland it is employed to draw the travelling sledges over the snow; as in the north-eastern parts of Tartary, dogs are used for the same purpose. The expression in the text, "liqual'ancho cavalcano," implies that the natives ride upon their backs; and so it is commonly translated; but this must have been a misconception either on the part of our author, or, more probably, of those who made the early versions of his work. It may be observed that some degree of ambiguity attends the use of the word *cavalcare*, which, as a verb neuter, is often applied to travelling in general, without reference to the mode, but here the construction gives it an active sense.

426. The description of these people and their country corresponds with what we read of many of the savage tribes that wander over those inhospitable deserts through which the great northern rivers flow. Bell says of the *Vogullitz*, whom he met with on one of the streams which fall into the Tobol, whose waters are discharged into the Irtish, above its junction with the Oby, that "they know no-"thing of agriculture; but live in huts in the woods, and subsist by hunting and "fishing." Vol. i. p. 173. "Les bords de la rivière de Lena," says P. Gerbillon, "qui est beaucoup à l'orient de la rivière Genissea, sont habitez par un autre "peuple que les Muscovites nomment *Yako*.... La chasse et la pêche font tout "leur occupation. Les lieux garnis de bois sont habitez par des peuples que "les Moscovites appellent Tongousse, et les Mantcheoux nomment Orotchon.... "Ils s'occupent continuellement de la chasse et de la pêche.... Ils se font des "cabannes qu'ils couvrent de peaux d'élans et de rennes.... Tout le pays qui "est au nord de la rivière de Saghalien oula, jusqu'à la Mer Glaciale, entre le "méridien de Peking et la Mer Orientale, n'est qu'un désert entièrement "inhabité. Les Moscovites nous dirent qu'ils avoient parcouru tout ce pays sans "y trouver d'habitans, à la réserve d'un seul endroit, sur les bords d'une rivière "nommée

" nommée Oudi, où quelques chasseurs s'étoient établis." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 56-57.

427. This distance of forty days journey must be understood to commence from the plain or stepp of *Bargu*. He speaks of it in a qualified manner, and not as of a tract that he had himself visited.

428. I am unable to ascertain this bird, either from Pennant's Arctic Zoology, or the Travels of Professor Pallas: but there is reason to believe that, notwithstanding the labours of these eminent naturalists, the animals of the northern parts of Siberia are still but imperfectly known. The circumstance of its having two claws behind, like the parrot tribe, might lead us to suppose it a species of *cuculus*.

429. " In the province of Dauria," says Strahlenberg, " and near the river " Amour (the Saghalien oula of the Jesuits) there are a great many milk-white " falcons, which are sent in great numbers to China." P. 361. " I could not " but admire" says Bell " the beauty of these fine birds.... They are brought " from Siberia, or places to the north of the river Amoor." Travels, vol. ii. p. 79. Among the presents sent by the Czar Ivan Basiliewitz, by his ambassador, to Queen Mary, in 1556 (as mentioned by Hakluyt), was " a large and fair white " *jerfawcon*, for the wild swan, crane, goose, and other great fowls."

430. The Italian words " la stella tramontana," which in the text is translated, " the polar constellation," should perhaps be, in strictness, the " polar star;" but although our author's ideas upon matters of science were not in general very correct, yet he evidently possessed a large portion of common sense, and we must presume his meaning to have been that the conspicuous stars in the tail of the Lesser Bear, or perhaps what are called the pointers, of the Greater, appeared to the south of a person situated at the extreme part of the northern continent. In Fra Mauro's map we find the words: " *Qui la Tramontana roman in mezzodi.*"

CHAPTER

CHAPTER LI.

Of the kingdom of Erginul adjoining to that of Kampion, and of the city of Singui; of a species of oxen covered with extremely fine hair; of the form of the animal that yields the musk, and the mode of taking it; and of the customs of the inhabitants of that country and the beauty of the women.

Upon leaving *Kampion* and proceeding five days journey towards the East, in the course of which travellers are frequently terrified in the night-time, by the voices of spirits, they reach a kingdom named *Erginul*,[431] subject to the Grand *khan*, and included in the province of *Tangut*. Within the limits of this kingdom are several principalities, the inhabitants of which are, in general, idolaters, with some few Christians and Turkomans.[432] Amongst many cities and strong places the principal one is *Erginul*. Proceeding from thence in a south-eastern direction, the road takes you to *Kataia*, and in that route you find a city called *Singui*,[433] in a district of the same name, where are many towns and castles, in like manner belonging to *Tangut*, and under the dominion of the Grand *khan*.[434] The population of this country consists chiefly of idolaters; but there are also some Mahometans and Christians.[435] Here are found many wild cattle that in point of size may be compared to elephants. Their colour is a mixture of white and black, and their figure is beautiful. The hair upon every part of their bodies lies down smooth, excepting upon the shoulder, where it stands up, to the height of about three palms. This hair, or rather wool, is white, and more soft and delicate than silk.[436] Marco Polo carried some of it to Venice, as a singular curiosity, and such it was esteemed by all who saw it.[437] Many of these cattle taken wild, have become domesticated, and the breed produced between them and the common cow, are noble animals, and better qualified to undergo fatigue than any other kind. They are accustomed to carry heavier burthens and to perform twice the labour in husbandry that could be derived from the ordinary sort; being both active and powerful.[438] In this country it is that the finest and most valuable musk is procured.[439] The animal which yields

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it is not larger than the female goat, but in form resembles the antelope. Its coat is like that of the larger kind of deer: its feet and tail are those of the antelope, but it has not the horns. It is provided with four projecting teeth or tusks, three inches in length; two in the upper jaw pointing downwards, and two in the lower jaw pointing upwards; small in proportion to their length, and white as ivory. Upon the whole it is a handsome creature. At the time when the moon is at the full, a bag or impostume of coagulated blood forms itself about the umbilical region; and those whose occupation it is to take the animal, avail themselves of the moon-light for that purpose; when they cut off the membrane and afterwards dry it, with its contents, in the sun.[440] It proves the finest musk that is known. Great numbers are caught, and the flesh is esteemed good to eat.[441] MARCO POLO brought with him to Venice, the head and the feet of one of them dried. The inhabitants of this country employ themselves in trade and manufactures. They have grain in abundance. The extent of the province is twenty-five days journey. Pheasants are found in it that are twice the size of ours, but something smaller than the peacock. The tail-feathers are eight or ten palms in length.[442] There are other pheasants also, in size and appearance like our own; as well as a great variety of other birds, some of which have beautiful plumage. The inhabitants are idolaters.[443] In person they are inclined to corpulency, and their noses are small. Their hair is black, and they have scarcely any beard or only a few scattered hairs on the chin.[444] The women of the superior class are in like manner free from superfluous hairs; their skins are fair, and they are well formed; but in their manners they are dissolute.[445] The men are much devoted to female society; and according to their laws and customs they may have as many wives as they please; provided they are able to maintain them. If a young woman, although poor, be handsome, the rich are induced to take her to wife, and in order to obtain her, make valuable presents to her parents and relations; beauty alone being the quality held in estimation. We shall now take our leave of this district, and proceed to speak of another, situated further to the eastward.[446]

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NOTES.

431. By the corrupted name of *Erginul* or *Ergi-nur*, is meant (as may be conjectured from the circumstances) that district of *Tangut* which is called by the Tartars *Kokonor*, and by the Chinese, *Hohonor* or *Hohonol*, and is by some considered as *Tangut* proper. The distance of its lake from the city of *Kampion* or *Kan-cheu* is about one hundred and forty miles, in a direction nearly south, which could scarcely be travelled in five days, through a mountainous tract; but the situation of its principal town may have been much nearer to that place, and perhaps to the eastward of its meridian, on the banks of the *Olan-muren*. In the Basle edition the name is written *Erigimul*, in the older Latin, *Ergimul*, and in the Italian epitomes, *Ergiuul*; but none of them, apparently, more correct than the *Ergi-nul* of Ramusio; the latter part of which seems to be the word *nûr* or *nôr*, signifying a lake.

432. It is probable that by Turkomans are here meant, not as in Book i. ch. iii. the people of Asia minor so called, but the Bucharians or natives of the Lesser Bucharia (comprizing the cities of *Kashgar*, *Yerkeu*, and *Khoten*), who at the present day, are the most active traders of Chinese Tartary. Professor Pallas mentions that at *Kiakhta*, near *Selinginski*, the frontier trading town of the Russian empire, their supplies of rhubarb, for the markets of Europe, are obtained through a Bucharian family, which had long engrossed the commerce in that article.

433. *Singui* (as the name appears in the texts of Ramusio, of the Basle edition, and of the older Latin, but in the manuscripts, *Signi* and *Sigui*, and in the epitomes, *Sirigai*) has been supposed by some to mean the city of *Si-gnan-fu*, the capital of the province of *Shen-si*. But the latter is situated near the eastern border of the province, and in the heart of China; whereas it is *Tangut* that our author is still describing; and although the western extremity of *Shen-si* formerly belonged to the *Sifan* or *Tufan* (people of *Tangut*), such was not the case with respect to the interior part of the province. *Singui* or *Signi*, on the contrary, was, I have no doubt, intended for the celebrated mart of *Si-ning* (the *Selin* of Pallas), on the western verge of *Shen-si*, and distant only a few days journey, in a south-eastern direction, from *Hohonor*. It has been at all periods, and is at this day, the great halting-place for travellers between Tibet and Peking, and therefore properly said to lie in the road to *Kataia*. " La ville de *Sining*" says Du Halde " qui est de 36 degrez 59 min. n'est pas grande, mais elle surpasse " celle de *Ning-hia* par son commerce: tout ce qui vient de pelletrie de la Tar-

" tarie·

" tarie occidentale, se vend dans cette ville, ou dans un bourg voisin nommé " *Topa*.... On y trouve presque tout ce qu'on peut souhaiter de marchandises " étrangères et de la Chine." T. i. p. 40. In note 347 will be seen the account given by Professor Pallas of the situation of this place.

434. These numerous castles or forts are likewise noticed by Du Halde, who describes the western part of *Shen-si* as consisting of two great vallies, diverging from a point, and advancing, the one in a northern, the other in a western direction, into the country of the *Sifan*. " L'une " he says " va vers le Nord.... " occupée par les trois grandes villes de *Lan-tcheou*, de *Kan-tcheou*, de *Sou-tcheou*, " et par plusieurs forts qui en dépendent: l'autre vallée s'étend à l'Ouest plus de " vingt lieues jusqu'à *Sining*, et est pleine aussi de petites places qui lui sont " soumises, et qui rendent les Chinois maîtres absolus de tout le plat pays." T. i. p. 41. This tract formed no original part of the empire, but was a conquered district, taken from *Tangut* (to which our author considers it as belonging in his time) and annexed to *Shen-si*.

435. " Quand le P. Regis y étoit (à *Topa*, bourg près de *Sining*) pour travailler " à la carte du pays, il y trouva trois ou quatre Arméniens Catholiques, qui s'y " étoient établis, et avoient boutique ouverte des belles peaux qu'ils alloient " chercher chez les Tartares." T. i. p. 40. The settling of these Armenian Christians at a place on the borders of China, about the end of the seventeenth century, has not any connexion with the establishment of Nestorians at the same spot, about the end of the thirteenth; but the modern fact serves to shew that there is nothing extraordinary or incredible in our author's assertion; and particularly when it is considered that the family of *Jengiz-khan*, having no predilection (as far as it appears) for any particular religion, granted protection indiscriminately, to all.

436. This fine species of *bos* is particularly described by Turner, as well in his Embassy to Tibet, as in the Asiatic Researches, vol. iv., by the name of the *yak* of Tartary or bushy-tailed bull of Tibet. " Over the shoulders " he observes " rises a thick muscle covered with a profusion of soft hair, which in general is " longer and more copious than that along the ridge of the back to the setting on " of the tail. The tail is composed of a prodigious quantity of long flowing, glos- " sy hair....The shoulders, rump, and upper part of the body are clothed with " a sort of soft, thick wool; but the inferior parts with straight, pendent hair, " that descends below the knee....There is a great variety of colours amongst " them, but black or white are the most prevalent." Embassy, p. 186. With respect to its height, which our author has magnified, it is said by Turner, to be about that of the English bull, but, from the profuse quantity of hair with which

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it is covered it seems to be "of great bulk." It is distinguished by the name of *bos grunniens*.

437. This assertion, which puts our author's veracity to a specific test, would have exposed him to direct contradiction, if a specimen so curious and novel had not been actually produced at Venice.

438. "They (the *yaks*, Turner adds) are a very valuable property to the tribes "of itinerant Tartars called *Dukba*, who live in tents, and tend them from place "to place; they at the same time afford their herdsmen an easy mode of convey- "ance, a good covering, and wholesome subsistence. They are never employed "in agriculture" (it is obvious that this may not be the case in every district) "but are extremely useful as beasts of burden; for they are strong, sure-footed, "and carry a great weight." P. 187. These qualities are strongly exemplified in Moorcroft's journey to Lake *Mánasaróvera*, Asiat. Res. vol. xii.

439. It is generally asserted that the musk of Tibet or of the part of Tartary bordering upon the north-west of China, is superior to that procured in the Chinese provinces. "On trouve" says Martini "quantité de musc dans cette "province *(Shensi)*, comme aussi dans celles de *Suchuen* et de *Yunnan* et autres "lieux qui *approchent le plus du couchant*." Thevenot, t. ii. p. 57. "Ordinaire- "ment le musc de Tibet" say the Arabian travellers of the ninth century "est "beaucoup meilleur que celuy de la Chine." Anciennes Relations, p. 94.

440. "L'animal qui porte le musc, est grande comme une petite chèvre. Il a "sous le ventre une bourse trois ou quatre fois grosse comme le pouce; quand on "la coupe, on croiroit que c'est un morceau de graisse ou de lard: on la fait "sécher jusqu'à ce que cette matière se puisse réduire en poudre, et alors on le "vend dans le pays même au poids de l'argent. Cette poudre est de couleur "jaunâtre, et a une odeur admirable." Du Halde, t. i. p. 108. From Turner we have a more particular although unscientific account of what is usually termed the musk deer, which in the language of Tibet (he says) is called *la*, and the vascular covering of the musk, *latcha*. After speaking of the long haired cattle, he proceeds in the next place (as does our author) to say: "The musk- "deer too, which produce a valuable article of revenue, are in great abundance "in the vicinity of these mountains. This animal is observed to delight in the "most intense cold, and is always found in places bordering on snow. Two long "curved tusks, proceeding from the upper jaw, and directed downwards, seem "intended principally to serve him for the purpose of digging roots, which are "said to be his usual food; yet it is possible they may also be weapons of "offence....They are about the height of a moderately sized hog, which they "resemble

" resemble much in the figure of the body; but they are still more like the hog-
" deer, so termed in Bengal, from the same similitude. They have a small head,
" a thick and round hind quarter, no scut, and extremely delicate limbs. The
" greatest singularity in this animal, is the sort of hair with which it is covered,
" which is prodigiously copious, and grows erect all over the body, between two
" and three inches long, lying smooth only where it is short, on the head, legs,
" and ears....The colour, at the base, is white, in the middle black, and brown
" at the points. The musk is a secretion formed in a little bag or tumor, resem-
" bling a wen, situated at the navel; and is found only in the male." Embassy to Tibet, p. 200.

" It is but a very little while" says J. Rh. Forster, in 1786 " since there was
" a live musk-goat at Versailles; to which the description here given answers
" perfectly well, except in this one particular, that it hath only two such teeth
" of three inches long in the upper jaw, but in the under jaw there are eight
" cutting teeth, besides six grinders in each jaw bone. There must therefore be
" a mistake either in MARCO POLO's description, or in the translation of it, or
" else his musk-goat must have been different from that which was kept alive at
" Versailles, as also from that, of which I have seen the skin stuffed, in Sir
" Ashton Lever's Museum." Voyages and Discov. p. 139, note. With respect to the second pair of tusks, from the under jaw, it is to be suspected that upon bringing to Europe the skulls of several uncommon animals, he may have mistaken for that of the musk, a skull of the hog-deer or *bâbi-rûsa*. In a work published at Calcutta in 1798, called the " Oriental Miscellany," (vol. i. p. 129), there is a scientific description of the " Thibet Musk," by Dr. Fleming, with a plate from an accurate drawing of the animal made by Mr. Home. See also an engraving of the head, in Kirkpatrick's account of Nepaul.

441. The circumstance of the flesh serving for food is noticed by several writers, and particularly by Martini who says: " Cet animal ne ressemble pas mal
" à une petit cerf, si ce n'est que le poil tire davantage sur le noir, et qu'il n'a
" point de bois: les Chinois en mangent la chair quand ils l'ont tué." Thevenot, t. ii. p. 57. " La chair" says another missionary " en est bonne à manger, et
" on la sert sur les meilleures tables." Let. édif. t. xviii. p. 318.

442. This is probably the argus-pheasant *(phasianus argus)* which although a native of Sumatra, (where I frequently saw it alive) is said to be also found in the northern part of China. There is at present a specimen of it in the London Museum.

443. The religion of the *lamas*, which is idolatrous, prevails in the neighbourhood of *Si-ning*, as well as in all the countries bordering on the provinces of *Shen-si* and *Se-chuen*, to the westward.

444. " The

444. " The *Booteeas*" says Turner " have invariably black hair, which it is " their fashion to cut close to the head. The eye is a very remarkable feature " of the face: small, black, with long-pointed corners, as though stretched and " extended by artificial means....Below the eyes is the broadest part of the " face, which is rather flat, and narrows from the cheekbones to the chin; a " character of countenance appearing first to take its rise among the Tartar " tribes, but is by far more strongly marked in the Chinese. Their skins are " remarkably smooth, and most of them arrive at a very advanced age, before " they can boast even the earliest rudiments of a beard: they cultivate whiskers, " but the best they produce are of a scanty straggling growth." P. 85. From hence it appears that although the people of Bengal (or perhaps the English only) apply the names of *Butan* and *Tibet* to distinct regions, the *Booteeas* or *Butiyas* are evidently the same original race with their northern neighbours, and have no physical connexion with those to the southward of the ranges of mountains. There is reason indeed to believe that the oriental geographers apply the name of *Butan* more extensively than we, or the natives under our influence, are accustomed to do, and include under that denomination all the mountainous country where the same language and religion prevail.

445. This, as was before observed of *Kamul*, is generally the case in towns which, like *Si-ning*, are the entrepôts of foreign commerce. Not only under such circumstances, the inhabitants lose their simplicity of manners, in which female chastity is a principal feature, but the intercourse with wealthy strangers has the necessary effect of exposing the honesty of both sexes to temptation, and of placing beauty on the footing of a saleable commodity.

446. As several of the places latterly mentioned (Succuir or *So-cheu*, Kampion or *Kan-cheu*, Ezina or *E-tzi-né*, and Singui or *Sin-ing*) are situated near the south-western extremity of the Great Wall of China, we are naturally surprised that our author should not have taken these opportunities of noticing a structure of such magnitude and importance, as to be classed along with those efforts of human labour and art, emphatically termed the Wonders of the world. The omission, indeed, has appeared to some learned men, who saw no reason to doubt the genuineness of his relation, of so striking a nature, as to induce them to call in question the fact of the wall having existed at the period when he wrote. But however desirous I may feel of vindicating his consistency, I should be unwilling to have recourse to such an argument for the solution of the difficulty, even if it could be plausibly supported, which is certainly not the case. " The " period of its completion," as observed by the late Sir George Staunton, " is " an historical fact as authentic as any of those which the annals of ancient king- " doms have transmitted to posterity. From that period, about three centuries

" before

" before the Christian era, the transactions of the Chinese empire have been re-
" gularly and without any intervening chasm, recorded, both in official docu-
" ments, and by private cotemporary writers. No where had history become so
" much an object of public attention, and no where more the occupation of learned
" individuals." Embassy, vol. ii. p. 181. Admitting then the general circumstances of the Wall, to have been, in the reign of *Kublaï*, nearly such as the missionaries found them in the seventeenth century, it remains to consider the most probable grounds on which may be explained what has been thought a suspicious silence on the part of MARCO POLO. Could he be regarded in the light of an ordinary traveller, who, arriving with a caravan at the frontier town, and obtaining permission to visit the residence of the court, had been obliged, after exhibiting his merchandise or his presents, to return by the same route, to the place from whence he came, it would not be a matter of much difficulty to shew, either that he might not have seen the Wall, or having seen it, might not have been impressed with the idea of its being materially different from the other fortified posts, towers, or castles which he so frequently notices: but the circumstances under which he acquired his knowledge of China were entirely of the opposite kind; he resided many years in the country; was actively employed in the service of the emperor, who sent him occasionally upon foreign missions; and in the performance of his ordinary duties must have been incessantly passing and repassing between the capital, where was his master's winter residence, and the summer palaces, by the gates or fortified passes through which the great roads lead to northern Tartary, where the character of this great national rampart well deserves the epithet of stupendous. In this quarter it is that the omission is a subject of surprise, and not in that where he, together with his father and uncle, may be presumed to have entered the Chinese territory. That it was from the side of the tributary province of *Tangut*, and through the Chinese province of *Shen-si*, cannot be doubted; but of the particular part no direct information is given; the narrative not being an itinerary, but an irregular, although, in some degree, progressive description of places. From circumstances, however, it seems most likely to have been by the route of *Si-ning* and *Lan-cheu*, which we are told is that of the trade from western Tartary to the interior provinces, and leaves the line of the Wall entirely to the left; *Lan-cheu* being immediately to the south of its most southern point, and from whence it tends in a direction nearly north. Consequently our travellers would not have crossed that line in any part, but prosecuted their journey through the central towns of the provinces of *Shen-si*, *Shan-si*, and *Pe-che-li*, to the capital.

In the general conclusion of their having entered China by a route to the south of the Wall, I am supported by the respectable opinion of Sir George Staunton; but in quoting his authority, I must at the same time express my dissent from what I consider as an extreme to which the idea of their southern

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course is made to extend, in the document to which he refers. "The appearance" he observes "of so vast a monument of human industry, has not failed "to attract the notice of those foreigners who have crossed it on their entrance "into China. The first European who published any account of that empire, "MARCO POLO, has made, however, no mention of the Wall; though as he "travelled over land to the capital of China, it was presumed that he must have "passed to it through Tartary in some spot where the Wall now stands. From "such silence some doubts have arisen in the mind of a learned Italian, who has "in contemplation to publish a new edition of MARCO POLO's Travels" (I am not aware that this design has been carried into execution, although twenty years have now elapsed), "whether the Wall was really in existence in the thirteenth "century, when that celebrated Venetian went to the court of the Tartar so-"vereign of China. But the mere omission of that fact by him, could not be "made to weigh against the existence of it, when supported by the same species "of positive testimony, which is thought decisive in all other instances, were it "even to be supposed that MARCO POLO had actually passed over the ground "where the Wall subsists at present; and had given to the world a regular "account of his travels immediately on his return, instead of the unconnected "fragments which he dictated long afterwards at a distance from his own home, "and separated, as he was probably, from the notes taken on the spot and other "his original papers. A copy, however, of MARCO POLO's route to China, "taken from the Doge's library at Venice, is sufficient to decide this question. "By this route it appears that, in fact, that traveller did not pass through Tartary "to Pekin, but that after having followed the usual track of the caravans, as far "to the eastward from Europe as Samarcand and Cashgar, he bent his course "to the south-east across the river Ganges to Bengal; and, keeping to the "southward of the Thibet mountains, reached the Chinese province of Shensee, "and through the adjoining province of Shansee to the capital, without inter-"fering with the line of the great wall." Embassy to China, p. 184. To me, on the contrary, it is clearly evident that the POLO family, in their journey to China, did not, after reaching *Kashgar*, cross the Ganges, nor penetrate that kingdom from the side of Bengal, but proceeded, with the caravan, to *Hami* or *Kamil*, and from thence in an eastern direction, across the desert, to the nearest part of the province of *Shen-si*, being the frontier, military post of *So-cheu*. It may not be easy to explain from the narrative, in a satisfactory manner, why from this place they did not prosecute their journey by the shortest line, instead of skirting the province, as I suppose them to have done, through the district of *Koko-nor*, to *Si-ning*. But it will be seen by an inspection of the Jesuits' map, that if the intervening country of the *Ortous* be avoided, the difference in point of distance is so inconsiderable, that any degree of advantage in the quality of the road, must render *Si-ning* a regular stage between *So-cheu* and the province of

of *Pe-che-li;* whilst, independently of this consideration, many circumstances regarding their traffic or personal convenience, might decide them to give a preference to the former, as a place of repose and preparation; or, the jealous regulations of the empire in respect to strangers, may have deprived them of the liberty of choice. The idea of their having taken the circuitous and improbable route of Bengal, rests upon no other ground than the mention of that kingdom in the progress of the work, after the account of several places in the southern part of China; and as well might it be argued that they further proceeded by the way of *Ava*; that eastern country being also introduced in a similar manner: but our author professes to describe all the countries visited by him at any period of his travels, and at the same time rarely distinguishes (although in most instances they may be inferred) those which lay in the original route of the family, from others to which his public duties subsequently led him. Nor can the celebrated map to which Sir George alludes, and which is more particularly noticed in the introductory part of the present work, even if it warranted this inference, be regarded as decisive evidence in the case, because there is no proof whatever of its having been executed under the eye of our traveller or near to the period of his return to Venice. It appears to be the ingenious composition of one who carefully studied the author's text, and exercised his judgment in assigning to countries and cities not generally known, their most probable situations; but without any internal marks of greater accuracy in this respect, than might be attained by the same kind of examination at any later period.

The fact, however, of his having coasted only, and not actually crossed the line of the Wall, upon his first approach to China, would not account for his neglecting to notice an object in the vicinity of his route, so remarkable, that, if its dimensions on the western side of the empire equalled those of the northern part (of which we have a correct measurement, by an officer in Lord Macartney's suite), it must have been occasionally in sight, from the distance even of many miles. But to this it may be answered, on the unexceptionable authority of P. Gerbillon, that the Wall is not in that quarter a work of the same nature (being, where most perfect, only a terrace of earth), nor calculated to excite any degree of surprise or admiration in the mind of the beholder. " En finissant ces remarques " says the intelligent missionary " il ne me reste plus qu'à dire un mot de " la grande muraille, qui sépare la Chine de la Tartarie. Comme je l'ai par- " couru presque toute entière, et que je l'ai passé presque par toutes les portes " les plus fameuses, j'en puis parler avec connoissance. C'est à la vérité un " des ouvrages le plus extraordinaire et le plus surprenant qui se soit jamais " fait dans le monde; mais il faut avouer que ceux qui en ont parlé dans leurs " relations, ont beaucoup exaggéré, s'imaginant sans doute qu'elle étoit par " tout de même qu'ils l'avoient vue en quelques endroits proches de *Peking*, ou " en certains passages les plus importans. Dans ces endroits-là elle est très-forte,

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" bien bâtie, fort haute et fort massive..... Depuis le commencement de la " province de *Chansi*, jusqu'à l'autre extrêmité, qui est à l'Occident, cette mu- " raille n'est plus que de terre, ou plutôt c'est une terrasse qui s'est démentie en " bien des endroits, et que j'ai passé et repassé plusieurs fois à cheval. Il est " vrai que de distance en distance on trouve des tours, qui en quelques endroits " sont encore de pierre ou de brique, mais la plupart ne sont que de terre." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 59. In another place it is said: " Au-delà du *Hoang-ho*, quand " on va vers l'Occident dans la province de *Chen-si*, la muraille n'est plus que de " terre: elle y est basse, étroite, quelque fois ensablée, car elle est dans un ter- " rein plein et sablonneux et en quelques endroits tout-à-fait ruinée." T. i. p. 39.

It is a remarkable circumstance, and tends in no slight degree to justify this silence of MARCO POLO on the subject, that in the Persian account of the journey performed by the ambassadors sent by Shah Rokh, in 1420, to the emperor of China, and which in many respects is circumstantial, no notice whatever is taken of the Wall; although in their progress from *Kan-cheu* to the *Kara-muran* or Yellow river (which they crossed on the seventh or eighth day from leaving that city, and probably at *Lan-cheu*) they must have coasted or traversed the line of its direction. We may consequently infer that not only in their time, but an hundred and fifty years earlier, when our author travelled, the remains were too unimportant to attract attention. Even by the geographers of Persia and Arabia, who were laborious in collecting information of that kind, and had the means of obtaining it from the Mahometans who traded between Bokhara, Kashgar, and China, no mention is made of any extensive rampart, either of masonry or earth, constructed for defending the borders of *Khataï*.

Differently circumstanced is that part of the Wall which encloses the northern side of *Pe-che-li*, where its solidity and grandeur are the theme of all later travellers, who have uniformly viewed it with strong sentiments of admiration, although " the Chinese, with whom curiosity vanishes with the novelty of the object, look " upon it now," as Sir George Staunton observes, " with perfect indifference;" and in my opinion it is impossible otherwise to account for the silence of our author with regard to this remarkable structure, than by the supposition, however gratuitous, that the portion of his manuscript in which it was described, has by accident been lost, or omitted in the earliest transcription, perhaps as too improbable. This indeed is merely a conjecture, but ought not to be considered as quite unwarranted, when we perceive that in Ramusio's printed version, he has omitted (without notice, and evidently without design) a whole chapter (xxxviii.) of the work, which existed in the earlier Latin editions, was necessary for the connexion of the subject, and is indirectly referred to in a subsequent chapter of the same Book.

CHAPTER

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER LII.

Of the province of Egrigaia and of the city of Kalacha; of the manners of its inhabitants, and of the camelots manufactured there.

DEPARTING from *Erginul* and proceeding easterly for eight days, you come to a country named *Egrigaia*, still belonging to the great province of *Tangut* and subject to the Grand *khan*, in which there are many cities and castles, the principal one of which is called *Kalacha*.[447] The inhabitants are in general idolaters; but there are three churches of Nestorian Christians. In this city they manufacture beautiful camelots, the finest known in the world, of the hair of camels and likewise of white wool.[448] These are purchased by the merchants, in considerable quantities, and carried to many other countries, especially to *Kataia*. Leaving this province we shall now speak of another situated towards the (north-)east, named *Tenduk*, and shall thus enter upon the territory of Prester John.

NOTES.

447. Neither the names of *Egrigaya*, *Eggaya*, or *Egregia*, nor those of *Kalacha*, *Calacia*, *Colatia*, or *Calatia*, appear in any map that can be cited as authority. The former, however, has some resemblance to *Uguria*, *Iguria*, or the country of the *Eighurs*; and the latter, to the name of the town called by Rubruquis *Cailac* and by B. Goez, *Cialis*, the supposed situation of which will be found in the map prefixed to Sherefeddin's History of Timur Bec, translated by Pétis de la Croix, at some distance to the westward of *Turfan*, by the name of *Yulduz* ou *Cialis*. "We found one great citie there" says Rubruquis "wherein "was a mart, and great store of merchants frequenting it....All this country "was wont to be called *Organum*; and the people thereof had their proper "language, and their peculiar kind of writing."...." The first sort of these "idolaters are called *Jugures*, whose land bordereth upon the foresaid land of "*Organum*, within the said mountains eastward....The citizens of the foresaid "citie of *Cailac* had three idol-temples, and I entered into two of them, to behold "their foolish superstitions." Purchas, vol. iii. p. 20. Goez, in his route from

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Hyarchan or *Yarken* towards *Kataia*, met at *Cialis* the caravan of the former season, returning from that country; after which he passed through *Turfan* and *Kamil*, and reached the frontier city of *Shen-si*.

This supposed situation of *Kalacha* is, it must be confessed, very remote from the places latterly mentioned; but such is our author's desultory mode of description, in which the traces of an itinerary are seldom preserved for any long continuance; and Rh. Forster is justified in his observation, when he says: "It "appears that MARCO POLO does not point out the situation of his places in their "proper order, but goes from one to another, just as his fancy leads him; though "perhaps they do not lie immediately contiguous." P. 142. The country next spoken of is still more distant from the western parts of China.

448. It has been doubted (since the material used in the manufacture of shawls is known to be wool of a particular breed of sheep) whether the hair of camels is actually woven into cloth of any kind; but we learn from Elphinstone that "oormuk, a fine cloth made of camel's wool, a quantity of cotton, and some "lamb skins are imported (into Caubul) from the Bokhara country." P. 295.

CHAPTER LIII.

Of the province of Tenduk, governed by princes of the race of Prester John, and chiefly inhabited by Christians; of the ordination of their priests; and of a tribe of people called Argon, the most personable and the best informed of any in these countries.

CHAP. LIII.

TENDUK,[449] belonging to the territory of Prester John,[450] is an eastern province in which there are many cities and castles, subject to the rule of the Grand *khân*; all the princes of that family having remained dependent, since *Chingis*, the first emperor, subdued the country. The capital is likewise named *Tenduk*. The king now reigning is a descendant of Prester John, and named *George*.[451] He is both a Christian and a priest; the greater part of the inhabitants being also Christians. This king *George* holds his country as a fief of the Grand *khan*; not indeed the entire possessions of the original Prester John, but a certain portion of them; and the sovereign always bestows

upon

upon him, as well as upon the other princes of his house, his daughters and other females of the royal family, in marriage.[452] In this province the stone of which the azure colour is made, is found in abundance and of fine quality. Here likewise they manufacture stuffs of camels hair. The people gain their subsistence by agriculture, trade, and mechanical labours. Although subject to the dominion of the Grand *khan*, the king being a Christian, as has been said, the government of the country is in the hands of Christians. Amongst the inhabitants, however, there are both worshippers of idols and followers of the law of Mahomet.[453] There is likewise a class of people known by the appellation of *Argon*,[454] because they are produced from a mixture of two races, namely those natives of *Tenduk* who are idolaters, and the Mahometans. These are not only the best looking men in the country, but also the best instructed, and the most skilful traders.

NOTES.

449. The plain of *Tenduk* has already been mentioned (Chap. xliv. Note 370) as the scene of a famous battle, in which the army of *Ung-khan* was defeated and destroyed by *Jengiz-khan*, and although the name is not to be found in the Jesuits' map, its situation is nearly identified by P. Gaubil's informing us that the battle was fought in the space between the rivers *Tula* and *Kerlon*, whose sources approximate about the forty-eighth or forty-ninth degree of latitude. It was also in this tract, on the northern border of the desert, that the *Kaldan* or chief of the *Eluts*, was defeated by the forces of the emperor *Kang-hi*, in the year 1696. I am strongly inclined to believe that the name of *Tenduk*, which Pétis de la Croix has confounded with *Tangut*, is no other than *Tungus*; as we find in the maps, the tribes of the *Tungusi* inhabiting this region, and particularly between the Amur river and Baikal lake. Adelung, indeed, remarks that in their language the names of the domesticated animals are the same as in that of the Mungals, from whom they received them; which is a proof of their ancient proximity and intercourse.

450. See Notes 364 and 365, on the subject of this personage. We here find the assertion circumstantially repeated, that not *Ung-khan* only, but all his descendants, to the days of our author, were Christians; and although it has been common to doubt the fact, no arguments drawn from historical evidence have

have been employed to disprove it. On the other hand it is supported by the testimony of the travellers Carpini and Rubruquis (with some variations, however, in the circumstances) and sanctioned by the authority of *Abu'lfaraj*, whose fidelity and discretion as an historian have not been questioned upon other points. By none of these is the existence of such a character in Tartary as that of Prester John spoken of as a new discovery, but as matter of previous notoriety, and especially amongst those who were engaged in the crusades. From the Chinese annals, it is true, it receives no confirmation. " L'histoire Chinoise " says P. Gaubil " ne dit rien de la religion de *Ouang-han*, et suppôsé que ce fut le même " que le Preste-Jean, comme quelques-uns l'assurent, il étoit bien moins puis- " sant qu'on ne l'a publié." Observ. Chron. p. 187. But so little informed and so incurious have these people been, at all periods, on the subject of foreigners and particularly of their religions, which, without discrimination, they hold in contempt, that their silence carries with it no weight; and even where they speak positively, the want of precision in their terms renders the information nearly useless. " Il y a apparence " says Gaubil " que l'histoire (Chinoise) " confond les bonzes avec les religieux ou prêtres de *Ta-tsin* (the Greek empire), " le nom de *Fo* avec celui de J. C., les temples d'idoles avec les églises . . . . L'his- " toire dit, que les Portugais honorent *Fo*; qu'ils ont des temples de *Fo*, ... " que dans le royaume des Grecs on voit des monnaies d'or et d'argent, où d'un " côté est la figure de *Fo* et de l'autre le portrait du roi, &c. Par-là on voit que " les Chinois, par le caractère *Fo*, entendent une divinité representée par un " image ou statue." Mem. conc. les Chinois, t. xvi. p. 379. On many occasions we find the appellation of *lama*, also, applied to the Christian priests.

It may be asked why there should be so much hesitation to believe, as if it were in itself a thing improbable, that at an early period the Christian faith (according to the ritual of the Greek church) had spread extensively through Tartary and penetrated to China? The fact does not rest upon the evidence of the Catholic friars alone (who, however, were much more disposed to undervalue than to exaggerate the successes and political consequence of their rivals) but is corroborated by the annals of the Nestorian church. " Parmy ces peuples, tous " compris sous le nom général de Turcs et de Tartares " observes the Abbé Renaudot " il y avoit un assez grand nombre de Chrestiens, non seulement lorsque " Ginghiskhan establit son grand empire, mais longtemps avant cette époque. " Car on trouve dans l'histoire des Nestoriens, que Timothée leur Catholique, " qui succeda à *Hananjechiia*, celuy dont il est fait mention dans l'inscription " Chinoise et Syriaque, et qui fut ordonné vers l'an 788 de Jesus-Christ, avoit " escrit au *Cakhan* ou empereur des Tartares, et à quelques autres princes du " Turkestan pour les exhorter à embrasser la Foy Chrestienne; ce qu'il fit avec " deux cens mille de ses sujets. On ne peut pas douter que ce peuple ne fussent " de véritables Tartares ou Turcs, puisque le même Catholique fut consulté par

" l'évêque

" l'évêque qu'il envoya dans le païs, touchant la manière dont il devoit leur faire " observer la Caresme, et célébrer la liturgie; parce qu'ils estoient accoustumez " à vivre de lait et de chair, et qu'ils n'avoient ni bled, ni vin.... Depuis ce " temps-là, on trouve dans les notices ecclésiastiques de l'Eglise Nestorienne, " un Métropolitain de *Turkestan*, un de *Tengat*, un de *Cambalik* ou *Cambalu*, et " un de *Caschgar* et de *Noüakat*." Anciennes Relat. p. 319. See also Dissertatio de Syris Nestorianis by J.S. Assemanus.

If then it be admitted that at an early period some of the Tartar tribes, with their chiefs, were converted to Christianity, (and why their conversion should be a matter less credible than that of the nations in the North and West of Europe, does not appear), there can be no special reason for excepting the prince named *Ung-khan*, whose particular tribe, it may be observed, bore the appellation of *Krît*, *Kera-it* or *Kerrît* كريت, which in the East is a common mode of pronouncing the words Christ and Christian. At his baptism it may be presumed that he received from his spiritual instructors, a Syrian baptismal name, and none more likely than that of *Yuhanna* or John the Evangelist. If we further suppose, what is not an unusual circumstance in the history of these people, that their chief was at the same time a *lamâ*, he may not have been willing to divest himself of the priestly character, and the Nestorian missionaries in their reports to the Katholicos or metropolitan, at Baghdad or Antioch, might consequently mention him by a title equivalent to that of Johannes Presbuteros.

The belief of an early spreading of the Gospel in these parts derives some additional strength from an opinion entertained by some of the best informed missionaries, that the *lama* religion itself is no other than a corrupted species of Christianity; and although this may be too hasty an inference from what they had an opportunity of observing in the country, it will not be found upon examination so unlikely as it may at first appear. Our modern acquaintance with the Hindu system of mythology, and particularly with the tenets, rites, and representations of *Buddha*, whose schism extended itself over the countries lying to the north and east of Hindustan and Bengal, enables us to pronounce with confidence that in its fundamental principles the religion of the country which bears the names of *Butan*, *Tibet*, and *Tangut*, is that of the Bhuddists of India; but at the same time the strong resemblance between many of its ceremonies and those of the Christian churches, both east and west, have been pointed out by every traveller who has visited Tartary, from Carpini and Rubruquis, by whom it was first noticed, to our countrymen and cotemporaries, Bogle and Turner, who resided at the court of one of the grand *lamas*. We find it avowed even by the Jesuit missionaries, whom we cannot suppose to have been influenced in their observation by any undue bias (with which on some occasions they have been charged), as neither their personal vanity could be gratified, nor the interests of their profession advanced, by establishing the invidious comparison.

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BOOK I.

CHAP. LIII. Notes.

" Hoc solùm dico " says P. Grueber, in 1664, " diabolum ibi ità ecclesiam " Catholicam æmulari ut quamvis nullus Europæus aut Christianus ibi unquam " fuerit, adeò tamen in omnibus essentialibus rebus conveniunt cum Romanâ " Ecclesiâ, ut sacrificium Missæ cum pane et vino celebrari, extremam unctionem " dari, matrimonium benedici, super ægrotos rogari, processiones institui, idolo- " rum reliquias honorari, monasteria tam monachorum quàm monialium inhabi- " tari, in anno sæpius jejunari, gravissimis mortificationibus, ut sunt disciplinæ, " se affici, episcopos creari, missionarios in summa paupertate nudipedes per " illam desertam Tartariam usque in sinas mitti." Epistola ad Patrem Joannem Gamans. Thevenot, t. ii. " On trouve chez ces *lamas* " say the Memoires of P. Gerbillon " beaucoup de cérémonies et d'usages semblables aux usages et aux " cérémonies qui s'observent parmi les Chrétiens. Ils ont l'eau-bénite et le " chant du chœur; ils prient pour les morts; leur habilement est semblable " à celui dont on peint les Apôtres; ils portent la mitre et le chapeau comme " les évêques; sans parler de leur grand *Lama*, qui est à peu près parmi eux, " ce qu'est le souverain Pontife parmi les Chrétiens." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 58. " Religiosi homines, ac laici fere singuli patrem spiritualem habent, cui peccata " sua generatim aperiant." Alphabetum Tibetanum, p. 459. " Ceux qui croient " que les Nestoriens ont pénétré dans la Tartarie, et y ont apporté le Christian- " isme, que l'ignorance et la superstition des *lamas* et des Tartares ont tellement " défiguré qu'on n'y connoit plus rien aujourd'hui, pourront comparer certains " usages qui s'observoient alors dans l'Eglise Grecque, avec ceux qui sont en " vigueur chez les peuples qui sont de la religion des *lama*." Mém. conc. les Chinois, t. xiv. p. 449. " Celibacy, I believe " says Bogle, " is not positively en- " joined to the *lamas*; but it is held indispensable for both men and women, who " embrace a religious life: and indeed their celibacy, their living in communities, " their cloysters, their service in the choirs, their strings of beads, their fasts, " and their penances, give them so much the air of Christian monks, that it is " not surprising an illiterate capuchin should be ready to hail them brothers.... " It is an old notion, that the religion of Thibet is a corrupted Christianity; and " even Father Disederii, a Jesuit (but not of the Chinese mission) who visited " the country about the beginning of this century, thinks he can resolve all their " mysteries into ours." Philosoph. Trans. vol. lxvii. p. 476. " As far as I am " able to judge " says Turner " respecting their ritual, or ceremonial worship, " it differs materially from the Hindoo. The Tibetians assemble in chapels, " and unite together in prodigious numbers, to perform their religious ser- " vice, which they chant in alternate recitative and chorus, accompanied by an " extensive band of loud and powerful instruments. So that, whenever I heard " these congregations, they forcibly called to my recollection, both the solemnity " and sound of the Roman Catholic mass." Embassy to Tibet, p. 307. Under impressions of this kind of resemblance, it is not surprising that some should have adopted

adopted an opinion that the prince who acquired amongst the Christians of the East, the appellation of Prester John, was no other than the supreme *lama* of the Tartars. But it will be found difficult to reconcile that supposition with the fact here stated, that his *descendants* continued to profess Christianity, because, although according to the religious system of these people, a grand *lama* may be regenerated in the person of an infant, he is incapacitated by his monastic vows from having a progeny: nor must it be objected that we should have an equal difficulty to surmount in the supposition of his being a Christian priest, because celibacy is not enjoined to the clergy of the Greek church.

451. For testimony respecting the reign and religious profession of this personage, whose name is that of a saint in high estimation amongst the Syrian Christians, see Note 456.

452. It appears from history that a perfect reconciliation took place between *Jengiz-khan* and the remaining family of *Ung-khan;* and although the circumstance of bestowing his daughters on the princes of that house is not directly mentioned, it is quite consistent with what is related by Rétis de la Croix in the following passage: "Sur ces entrefaites un frère d'Oungh-can vint offrir ses services à "Temugin et sa fille en mariage.... Le Grand Can le reçut favorablement, et "après s'être étendu sur la mérite du feu roy des Keraïtes son frère, il lui donna "l'emploi qu'il demanda. Il accepta même sa fille avec joye, en lui protestant "qu'il auroit toujours pour elle et pour lui beaucoup de considération." Hist. de Genghizcan, p. 80.

453. Under the dynasty of the *Seljuks* of Persia, which commenced in the eleventh century, the Mahometans established themselves in considerable numbers at *Kashgar*, and from thence gradually spread over Tartary in their character of merchants. During the reigns of the Moghul or Mungal emperors of China, they appeared in a higher capacity, frequently commanding armies and presiding at tribunals. Renaudot labours to prove that their earliest connexion with that country was by sea; which may have been the case with respect to the Arabs, although not to the Mahometans of Persia and Khorasan.

454. This name of *Argon* appears to be the *Orgon* of the Jesuits and *Archon* of Bell's map. The river so called runs through the part of Tartary here described, and being joined by the *Tula*, their united streams fall into the *Selinga*. On the north-western bank of the *Orgon* we find, in modern times, the *urga* or station of the grand *lama* of the Mungals. In nearly the same latitude, but more towards the east by several degrees, appears also another and more considerable river, named in the Jesuits' map, *Ergoné* or *Argun*, forming the boundary

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between the dominions of China and Russia in that quarter, near to which is a town or city called *Argun-skot*. The former, however, must be considered as more immediately connected with the seat of government of *Ung-khan*, although his territory may probably have extended to the latter; but in either case, as the uncertainty proceeds from our own imperfect knowledge of the country and people, the genuineness of our author's account is vindicated. With respect to his etymology of the word, I am not sufficiently versed in the dialects of that part of Tartary to give an opinion.

CHAPTER LIV

Of the seat of government of the princes of the family of Prester John, called Og and Magog; of the manners of its inhabitants; of their manufacture of silk; and of the mines of silver worked there.

CHAP. LIV.

In this province (of *Tenduc*) was the principal seat of government of the sovereigns styled Prester John, of the North,[455] when they ruled over the Tartars of this and the neighbouring countries, and which their successors occupy to the present hour. George abovementioned, is the fourth in descent from Prester John, of whose family he is regarded as the head.[456] There are two regions in which they exercise dominion. These in our part of the world are named *Og* and *Magog*, but by the natives *Ung* and *Mongul*; in each of which there is a distinct race of people. In *Ung* they are *Gog*, and in *Mongul* they are Tartars.[457] Travelling seven days through this province, in an easterly direction, towards *Kataia*, you pass many towns inhabited by idolaters, as well as by Mahometans and Nestorian Christians.[458] They gain their living by trade and manufactures; weaving fine gold tissues, ornamented with mother-of-pearl, and silks of different textures and colours, not unlike those of Europe; together with a variety of woollen cloths. These people are all subjects of the Grand *khan*. One of the towns, named *Sindichin*, is celebrated for the manufacture of all kinds of arms, and every article necessary for the equipment of troops. In the mountainous part of the province there is a place called *Idifa*, in which is a rich mine of silver, from whence large quantities of that metal are obtained.[459] It is also an excellent sporting country.

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NOTES

455. The epithet of Prester John of the North *(di tramontana)* is employed in Ramusio's but not in the other versions, to distinguish this personage from the Christian prince who reigned in Ethiopia, and whom the emissaries sent by John II. king of Portugal, in the year 1487, pronounced to be the real Prester John. Their opinion, however, adopted as it was without sufficient evidence, fell into disrepute in the course of the sixteenth century, and about the early part of the seventeenth, became entirely exploded, in consequence of the writings of Balthazar Tellez and Alphonso Mendez, the latter of whom was constituted Patriarch of Ethiopia.

456. In proof of the existence and peculiar functions of this prince, I shall here transcribe from the "Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica" of Mosheim, a letter written, in the year 1305, by a Friar of the Order of Minors, named Johannes de Monte Corvino, who, in 1289, had been sent on a mission to the Tartarian potentates, by Pope Nicolaus, and travelling by the way of Persia and India, reached the capital of China soon after the succession of *Timur kaan* to the throne of his grandfather *Kublai*, in the year 1294. His credentials were addressed to *Arghun*, the Moghul sovereign of Persia, and to *Kublai*, Grand *khan* of the Tartars. The letter is extracted from the Annals of the Friar Minors, published by Luca Waddingus, the authenticity of which will not, I think, be called in question by any unprejudiced person who examines the series of historical facts detailed in the epistles to and from the Papal See, and compares them with the documents published by Jos. Sim. Assemanus in his Bibliotheca Orient. Clement. Vat. With respect to this letter in particular, which is addressed by J. de M. C. to the members of his own order, the internal evidence of its genuineness is so strong as to require little aid from circumstantial arguments.

"(Deest initium)." "Ego frater Johannes de Monte Corvino de ordine Fratrum Minorum, recessi de Thaurisio civitate Persarum, anno Domini 1291, et intravi in Indiam, en fui in contrada Indiæ ad ecclesiam S. Thomæ Apostoli mensibus tredecim, et ibi baptizavi circa centum personas in diversis locis, et socius fuit meæ vitæ frater Nicolaus de Pistorio de ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum, qui mortuus est ibi et sepultus in eadem ecclesia. Et ego ulterius provedens perveni in Katag (*Kitai*) regnum Imperatoris Tartarorum, qui dicitur Magnus Cham (*khan*); ipsum vero cum litteris Domini Papæ ad fidem Domini nostri Jesu Christi catholicam invitavi, qui tamen nimis inveteratus est idolatria, sed multa beneficia præstat Christianis, et ego sum apud eum jam ante duos annos. Nestoriani quidam Christianitatis titulum præferentes, sed a Christiana religione plurimum deviantes, tantum invaluerunt in partibus istis, quod non permittant quempiam Christianum alterius ritus habere, quan-

" tumlibet parvum oratorium, nec aliam quam Nestorianam publicare doctrinam. " Ad has siquidem terras nec aliquis Apostolus, nec Apostolorum discipulus pervenit, et ideo præfati Nestoriani per se, et per alios pecunia corruptos, persecutiones mihi gravissimi intulerunt, asserentes quod non essem missus a Domino Papa, sed essem magnus explorator et dementator hominum; et facto aliquo intervallo temporis, produxerunt alios falsos testes dicentes, quod aliquis nuntius fuit missus, deferens Imperatori maximum thesaurum, et quod ego illum occiderim in India, et abstulerim quæ portabat; et duravit hæc machinatio circiter quinque annos. Ita persæpe ad judicium fui tractus cum ignominia mortis. Tandem per cujusdam confessionem, Deo disponente, Imperator cognovit meam innocentiam et malitiam æmulorum, quos cum uxoribus et liberis exilio relegavit. Ego vero solus in hac peregrinatione fui sine socio annis undecim, donec venit ad me frater Arnoldus Alemannus de provincia Coloniæ, nunc est annus secundus. Unam ecclesiam ædificavi in civitate Cambaliech (*Khanbalig*), ubi est præcipua residentia regis, quam ante sex annos complevi, ubi etiam feci campanile, et ibi tres campanas posui. Baptizavi etiam ibidem, ut existimo, usque hodie circa sex millia personarum, et nisi fuissent suprædictæ informationes, baptizassem ultra triginta millia, et sum frequenter in baptizando. Item emi successive centum et quinquegenta pueros, filios paganorum, ætatis infra (intra) septem et undecim annorum, qui nullam adhuc cognoscebant legem, et baptizavi eos, informavi eos litteris Latinis et Græcis ritu nostro, et scripsi pro eis psalteria, cum hymnariis triginta, et duo breviaria, cum quibus undecim pueri jam sciunt officium nostrum, et tenent chorum et hebdomadas, sicut in conventibus fit, sive præsens sim, sive non; et plures ex eis scribunt psalteria, et alia opportuna; et dominus Imperator delectat multum in cantu eorum. Campanas ad omnes horas pulso, et cum conventu infantium et lactentium divinum officium facio, et secundum usum cantamus, quia notatum officium non habemus. Quidam Rex illius regionis *Georgius* de secta Nestorianorum Christianorum, qui erat de genere illustri magni regis, qui dictus fuit presbyter Johannes de India, primo anno, quo huc ego veni, mihi adhæsit, et ad veritatem veræ fidei Catholicæ per me conversus, minores ordines suscepit, mihique celebranti regiis vestibus indutus ministravit: sed quidam alii Nestoriani ipsum de Apostasia accusaverunt: tamen ipse magnam populi sui partem ad veram fidem catholicam adduxit, et ecclesiam pulchram secundum regiam magnificentiam construxit, ad honorem Dei nostri, sanctæ Trinitatis et Domini Papæ, vocans eam ecclesiam Romanam. Qui rex *Georgius* ante sex annos migravit ad Dominum verus Christianus, relicto filio hærede ferme in cunabulis, qui nunc est annorum novem. Fratres tamen ipsius regis *Georgii*, cum essent perfidi in erroribus Nestorii, omnes quos ille converterat, post regis obitum subverterunt, ad schisma pristinum reducendo. Et quia ego fui solus, nec potui recedere ab Imperatore Cham, ire non potui ad illam ecclesiam, quæ distat ad viginti dietas: tamen si venerint aliqui boni coadjutores et cooperatores,

" tores, spero in Deo quod totum poterit reformari; nam adhuc habeo privile-
" gium prædicti regis Georgii defuncti. Iterum dico, si non fuissent infamationes
" supra dictæ, magnus fructus fuisset secutus. Si habuissem autem duos vel tres
" socios coadjutores meos, forte Imperator Cham fuisset baptizatus. Rogo ergo
" ut tales Fratres veniant, si venire aliqui volunt, qui studeant se in exemplum
" dare, et non suas fimbrias magnificare. De via notifico, quod per terram
" Gothorum Imperatoris Aquilonarium Tartarorum est via brevior et securior;
" ita quod cum nunciis intra quinque vel sex menses poterunt pervenire. Via
" autem alia est longissima et periculossima, habens duas navigationes (namely,
" from the Persian gulph to the coast of Malabar, and from thence, by sea, to
" Bengal) quarum prima est secundum distantiam inter Achon (Acre or *Akka*) et
" provinciam Provinciæ (Marseilles). Alia vero est secundum distantiam inter
" Achon et Angeliam (Angliam); et posset contingere, quod in biennio vix per-
" ficiet viam illam, quia prima via facta non fuit a multo tempore propter guerras.
" Ideo sunt duodecim anni, quod de curia Romana, et de nostro ordine et statu
" occidentis non suscepi nova. Jam sunt duo anni, quod venit quidam medicus
" chirurgicus Lombardus, qui de Romana curia, et nostro ordine, et statu occi-
" dentis, istas partes incredibilibus blasphemiis infecit; propter quod multum
" desidero percipere veritatem. Rogo Fratres, ad quos hæc littera perveniet, ut ita
" studeant quod ejus continentia possit pervenire ad notitiam Domini Papæ, et
" Cardinalium et Procuratorum ordinis nostri in curia Romana. Ministro generali
" ordinis nostri supplico pro antiphonario, legenda sanctorum, graduali et psal-
" terio, cum nota pro exemplari, quia non habeo nisi breviarium portatile cum
" lectionibus brevibus, et parvum missale; si habuero exemplar, pueri prædicti
" scribent: modo sum in actu ædificandi aliam ecclesiam, ad dividendum pueros
" in pluribus locis. Ego jam senui, et canus factus sum potius laboribus et tri-
" bulationibus, quam ætate; sum enim annorum quinquaginta octo. Didici
" competenter linguam et litteram Tartaricam, quæ lingua usualis Tartarorum
" est, et jam transtuli in illam linguam et litteram totum Novum Testamentum
" et Psalterium, quæ feci scribi in pulcherrima littera eorum, et scribo, et lego,
" et prædico in patenti et manifesto testimonium legis Christi. Et tractavi cum
" supradicto rege *Georgio*, si vixisset, totum officium Latinum transferre, ut per
" totam terram cantaretur in dominio suo; et eo vivente, in ecclesia sua celebra-
" bam missam secundum ritum latinum in littera et lingua illa legens tam verba
" canonis, quam præfationis. Et filius dicti regis vocatur *Joannes* propter nomen
" meum, et spero in Deo, quod ipse imitabitur vestigia patris sui. Secundum vero
" audita et visa credo, quod nullus rex vel princeps in mundo possit æquari
" Domino Cham in latitudine terræ, et multitudine populi, et magnitudine divi-
" tiarum. Finis Data in civitate Cambaliech regni Catan *(Katai)* anno Domini
" MCCCV. die viii. mensis Januarii." Appendix, No. xliv. Annal. Minor. T. vi.
p. 69.

We

BOOK I. CHAP. LIV. Notes.

We are not told by what means this ingenuous representation was conveyed to the court of Rome, but in consequence of it, the pious and zealous writer was constituted by Clement V. archbishop of *Khanbalig*, and seven Franciscan friars, whose names are recorded, were sent out as his suffragans. Of these only three reached their destination (in the year 1308), three remained in India, and one returned to Italy. The event of this venerable prelate's death (about the year 1330) is mentioned by Mosheim (himself a minister of the reformed church) in terms that do credit to the liberality of his mind: "Circa idem tempus Johannes "de Monte Corvino archiepiscopus Cambaliensis et Tartarorum orientalium exi- "mius Apostolus, sæpius jam a nobis laudatus, nec sane laudibus indignus, "naturæ debitum exsolvit, et quam ad Christum adduxerat, ecclesiam tristem et "lugentem reliquit." Hist. Tart. ecclesiastica, p. 111.

457. This passage, it must be confessed, is wholly unintelligible as it now stands, and we are to presume that the words of our author have been misunderstood and perverted, although it may be found impracticable to restore them to a consistent sense. His object apparently was to explain the distinction between the two races of which the subjects of *Ung-khan* consisted, viz. *Mungals* and *Turkîs* or *Turks* to whom, in latter times, the general name of *Tartars* or *Tatars* is exclusively applied: a distinction which, notwithstanding the marked diversity of language, is rendered obscure from the mixture of tribes under the same government; for in consequence of the splendid reputation acquired by the immediate dependants of *Jengiz-khan*, the various auxiliary tribes affected to consider themselves as *Mungals*; whilst on the other hand it is evident that the Chinese applied to them indiscriminately the appellation of *Tata* or *Tartars*. "Les *Moun-* "*gales*" says the translator of Abu'lghazi "qui sont sous l'obéissance du *Tusch-* "*idtu-chan* sont proprement issus de la tribu des Tartares et de plusieurs autres "tribus Turques establies en ces quartiers, que les Mogoules rangèrent sous leur "obéissance sous le règne de Zingis-Chan, et qui se firent dans la suite une gloire "d'être comprises sous le nom de Mogoules que ce prince avoit rendu si illustre." Hist. généal. des Tatars, p. 171, Note.

It may be observed with respect to the scriptural names of *Og* or *Gog* and *Magog*, that they are here spoken of as being improperly given to these people by Europeans, and not as appellations known in the country. By the generality of Arabians and Persians, who pronounce the names *Yajuj* and *Majuj* ياجوج وماجوج, they are understood to belong to the inhabitants of the mountainous region on the north-western side of the Caspian sea, or ancient Scythians, against whose predatory incursions the strong rampart of *Derbend*, together with the line of works extending from it, and regarded as supernatural, were constructed at a very remote period. Other situations, however, have been assigned to this wandering and terrific description of people, by the oriental writers of the middle ages,

ages, some of whom place them in the northern part of Tartary. "The *Gog* "and *Magog*, or rather *Jajuje* and *Majuje*, of the orientals" says Rennell, "seem to occupy nearly the place of the Hyperboreans of Ptolemy and the "Romans. Of the eastern geographers, Edrisi is the most particular in the "description of this tract. Ibn al Wardi is more general; and Abulfeda is "much too general to be clearly understood. Edrisi places the country of "*Jagog* and *Magog* (as his Maronite translator writes it) *beyond* those of the "*Turks* and *Kalmucs*; and extends it to the northern ocean; which, it appears, "he supposed to be situated at no great distance, northward, beyond the bounds "of his seventh climate." Geogr. System of Herodotus, p. 152. For a full discussion of this obscure subject, the reader is referred to the subsequent pages of the above excellent work. In Meninski's lexicon, under the words *Yajuj* and *Majuj* (according to our orthography) we find: "Ita autem Arabibus di-"cuntur extremis orientis Scythæ, et peculiariter illi qui *Sinis* ad septentrionem "sunt." To this I shall only add, that although the Arabians write these names with ج, and pronounce them soft, it is by no means improbable that in the Hebrew, Chaldean, and other cognate dialects, they were pronounced hard, as if written with the Greek *gamma*; of which permutation we have numerous instances, and amongst them the familiar one of "*Gizah* or *Ghizah*," for "*Jizah*," the site of the pyramids, in Lower Egypt.

458. During the successive reigns of the *Mungal* emperors of China, many considerable towns were built in that part of Tartary which lies between the river *Kerlon* and the Chinese province of *Pe-che-li*; but which were afterwards destroyed, upon the expulsion of that dynasty by those of the *Ming*, whose object it was to deface every vestige of the power of their late masters. "Vers "le milieu du quatorzième siècle" says P. Gerbillon "les Tartares furent "cassez de la Chine par le fameux *Hong-vou* fondateur de la dynastie *Tai-ming* "qui a été la dernière des Chinois, et ils furent poussez avec tant de vigueur par "le quatrième fils de ce *Hong-vou*, nommé *Yung-lo*, qu'ils furent obligez de se "retirer jusques vers le cinquantième degré de latitude, au-delà du désert, et "d'abandonner tout le pays qui est immédiatement au-delà de la Grande Mura-"ille. Ils avoient bâti une infinité de villes et de bourgades qui furent toutes "brûlées ou détruites par *Yung-lo*. On voit encore les restes et les vestiges de "quantités de ces villes." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 35.

459. The name of *Sindicin* or *Sindichin*, which in the Basle edition is *Sindacui*, in the Italian epitomes, *Sindatoy*, and which should perhaps be *Sindi* or *Sindacheu* (the last syllable denoting the word "town,") is not to be traced in the Jesuits' map, but may have belonged to one of the places destroyed by the *Ming*, as mentioned in the preceding Note. *Idifa*, *Idifu*, or *Idica* has equally eluded my

BOOK I. CHAP. LIV. Notes.

my research, although the circumstance of a silver mine in its neighbourhood, might have helped to point out its situation. Upon the whole, indeed, and particularly from the description of the manufactures said to flourish there, I am inclined to think that a transposition of matter (of which some indubitable examples will be hereafter pointed out) has taken place in this instance, and that the passage beginning with the words, "Travelling seven days through this province," to the conclusion of the chapter, has no proper connexion either with what precedes it, respecting the country of the *Mungals*, or what follows, respecting *Changanor*, but must have applied to a more civilized country, nearer to the borders of China. It is remarkable that neither of the places occur in the older Latin version.

CHAPTER LV.

Of the city of Changanor; of different species of cranes; and of partridges and quails bred in that part by the orders of the Grand khan.

CHAP. LV. LEAVING the city and province last mentioned, and travelling three days, you arrive at a city named *Changa-nor*, which signifies the "white lake."[460] At this place the Grand *khan* has a palace which he is fond of visiting, because it is surrounded with pieces of water and streams, the resort of many swans, and with plains where are found in great numbers, cranes, pheasants, partridges, and other birds. He derives the highest degree of amusement from sporting with gerfalcons and hawks, the game being here in vast abundance. Of the cranes they reckon five species.[461] The first sort are entirely black as crows, and have long wings. The second sort have wings still longer than the first, but are white and the feathers of the wings are full of eyes, round like those of the peacock, but of a gold colour and very bright; the head is red and black and well-formed, the neck is black and white, and the general appearance of the bird is extremely handsome. The third sort are of the size of ours in Italy. The fourth are small cranes, having the feathers prettily streaked with red and azure. The fifth are of a grey colour, with the head red and black, and are of a large size.

Nigh

Nigh to this city is a valley frequented by great numbers of partridges and quails, for whose food the Grand *khan* causes millet, panicum, and other grains suitable to such birds, to be sown along the sides of it, every season, and gives strict command that no person shall dare to reap the seed; in order that they may not be in want of nourishment. Many keepers, likewise, are stationed there for the preservation of the game, that it may not be taken or destroyed, as well as for the purpose of throwing the millet to the birds during the winter. So accustomed are they to be thus fed, that upon the grain being scattered and the man's whistling, they immediately assemble from every quarter. His majesty also directs that a number of small buildings be prepared for their shelter during the night; and in consequence of these attentions he always finds abundant sport when he visits this country; and even in the winter, at which season, on account of the severity of the cold, he does not reside there, he has camel-loads of the birds sent to him, wherever his court may happen to be at the time.[462] Leaving this place we shall now direct our course three days journey towards the North-east.

NOTES.

460. The *Cianganor* or *Changanor* of Ramusio, *Cianiganiorum* of the Basle edition, *Cyagamorum* of the older Latin, *Cyangamor* of the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, and *Cyagnuarum* of the Italian epitomes, are obviously intended for the *Tsahan-nor*, *Chahan-nor*, or White lake of the maps; and it is probable that the *Changai* mountains of Strahlenberg or *Hangai-alin* of the Jesuits, derive their appellation from the same quality, real or imaginary, of whiteness. In the Kalmuk-Mungalian vocabulary of the former, the word for "white" is *zagan* (probably a soft pronunciation of *chagan*), and in the Manchèu dictionary of Langlès it is *changuien*.

461. These birds being termed *gru* in the Italian versions, and *grus* in the Latin, I have called them cranes in the English translation; but it may be doubted whether the heron (*ardea*), or the stork (*ciconia*), be not rather meant by our author's description of them. "On trouve" says the translator or the commentator of Abu'lghazi "une grande quantité d'oiseaux d'une beauté par- "ticulière dans les vastes plaines de la Grande Tartarie, et l'oiseau dont il est

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" parlé en cet endroit pourroit bien estre une espèce de *heron*, qu'on trouve dans le " pays des Moungales vers les frontières de la Chine, et qui est tout blanc, excepté " le bec, les ailes et la queue qu'il a d'un fort beau rouge....Peut estre aussi " que c'est d'une cicogne dont nostre auteur veut parler." Hist. généal. des Tatares, p. 205. This is the crus Leucogeranus or Siberian crane of Pennant.

462. Game in large quantities is brought from Tartary to Peking during the winter, in a frozen state. Lettres édif. t. xxii. p. 177. ed. 1781.

CHAPTER LVI.

Of the Grand khan's beautiful palace in the city of Shandu; of his stud of white brood-mares, with whose milk he performs an annual sacrifice; of the wonderful operations of the astrologers on occasions of bad weather; of the ceremonies practised by them in the hall of the royal palace; and of two descriptions of religious mendicants, with their modes of living.

CHAP. LVI. DEPARTING from the city last mentioned and proceeding three days journey in a north-easterly direction, you arrive at a city named *Shandu*, built by the Grand *khan*, *Kublai*, now reigning.[463] In this he caused a palace to be erected, of marble and other handsome stone; admirable as well for the elegance of its design, as for the skill displayed in its execution. It presents one front towards the interior of the city, and the other towards its wall; and from each extremity of the building runs another wall to such an extent as to enclose sixteen miles in circuit, of the adjoining plain; to which there is no access but through the palace.[464] Within the bounds of this royal park, there are rich and beautiful meadows, watered by many rivulets, where a variety of animals of the deer and goat kind are pastured, to serve as food for the hawks and other birds employed in the chase; whose mews are also in the grounds. The number of these birds is upwards of two hundred; and the Grand *khan* goes in person, at least once in the week, to inspect

inspect them. Frequently when he rides about this enclosed forest, he has one or more (small) leopards carried on horseback, behind their keepers;[465] and when he pleases to give direction for their being slipped, they instantly seize a stag, or goat, or fallow deer, which he gives to his hawks; and in this manner he amuses himself. In the centre of these grounds, where there is a beautiful grove of trees, he has built a royal pavilion, supported upon a colonnade of handsome pillars, gilt and varnished. Round each pillar a dragon, likewise gilt, entwines its tail, whilst its head sustains the projection of the roof, and its talons or claws are extended to the right and left along the entablature.[466] The roof is of bamboo-cane, likewise gilt, and so well varnished that no wet can injure it. The bamboos used for this purpose are three palms in circumference and ten fathoms in length, and being cut at the joints, are split into two equal parts, so as to form gutters; and with these (laid concave and convex) the pavilion is covered; but to secure the roof against the effect of wind, each of the bamboos is tied at the ends to the frame.[467] The building is supported on every side (like a tent) by more than two hundred very strong silken cords; as otherwise, from the lightness of the materials, it would be liable to oversetting by the force of high winds. The whole is constructed with so much ingenuity of contrivance, that all the parts may be taken asunder, removed, and again set up, at his majesty's pleasure.[468] This spot he has selected for his recreation, on account of the mild temperature and salubrity of the air, and he accordingly makes it his residence during three months of the year; namely June, July, and August; and every year, on the twenty-eighth day of the moon in the last of these months, it is his established custom to depart from thence,[469] and proceed to an appointed place, in order to perform certain sacrifices, in the following manner. It is to be understood that his majesty keeps up a stud of about ten thousand horses and mares, which are white as snow,[470] and of the milk of these mares no person can presume to drink, who is not of the family descended from *Jengiz-khan*; with the exception only of one other family, named *Boriat*, to whom that monarch gave the honourable privilege, in reward of valorous achievements in battle, performed in his own presence.[471] So great, indeed, is the respect shewn to these horses, that even when they are at pasture

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in the royal meadows or forests, no one dares to place himself before them, or otherwise to impede their movements. The astrologers whom he entertains in his service, and who are deeply versed in the diabolical art of magic, having pronounced it to be his duty, annually, on the twenty-eighth day of the moon in August, to scatter in the wind the milk taken from these mares, as a libation to all the spirits and idols whom they adore, for the purpose of propitiating them and ensuring their protection of the people, male and female, of the cattle, the fowls, the grain and other fruits of the earth; on this account it is that his majesty adheres to the rule that has been mentioned, and on that particular day proceeds to the spot where, with his own hands, he is to make the offering of milk. On such occasions these astrologers, or magicians as they may be termed, sometimes display their skill in a wonderful manner; for if it should happen that the sky becomes cloudy and threatens rain, they ascend the roof of the palace where the Grand *khan* resides at the time, and by the force of their incantations they prevent the rain from falling and stay the tempest; so that whilst, in the surrounding country, storms of rain, wind, and thunder are experienced, the palace itself remains unaffected by the elements.[472] Those who operate miracles of this nature, are persons of *Tebeth* and *Kesmir*, two classes of idolaters more profoundly skilled in the art of magic, than the natives of any other country. They persuade the vulgar that these works are effected through the sanctity of their own lives and the merits of their penances; and presuming upon the reputation thus acquired, they exhibit themselves in a filthy and indecent state, regardless as well of what they owe to their character, as of the respect due to those in whose presence they appear. They suffer their faces to continue always uncleansed by washing and their hair uncombed, living altogether in a squalid style.[473] They are addicted moreover to this beastly and horrible practice; that when any culprit is condemned to death, they carry off the body, dress it on the fire, and devour it. But of persons who die a natural death they do not eat the bodies.[474] Besides the appellations before mentioned, by which they are distinguished from each other, they are likewise termed *baksi*, which applies to their religious sect or order; as we should say friars preachers or minors.[475] So expert are they in their infernal art, they

may

may be said to perform whatever they will; and one instance shall be given, although it may be thought to exceed the bounds of credibility. When the Grand *khan* sits at meals, in his hall of state (as shall be more particularly described in the following Book), the table which is placed in the centre, is elevated to the height of about eight cubits; and at a distance from it stands a large buffet, where all the drinking vessels are arranged. Now by means of their supernatural art, they cause the flagons of wine, milk, or any other beverage, to fill the cups spontaneously, without being touched by the attendants, and the cups to move through the air, the distance of ten paces, until they reach the hand of the Grand *khan*. As he empties them, they return to the place from whence they came: and this is done in the presence of such persons as are invited by his majesty to witness the performance.[476] These *baksis*, when the festival days of their idols draw near, go to the palace of the Grand *khan*, and thus address him: "Sire, be it known "to your majesty, that if the honours of a holocaust are not paid to "our deities, they will in their anger afflict us with bad seasons, with "blight to our grain, pestilence to our cattle, and with other plagues. "On this account we supplicate your majesty to grant us a certain "number of sheep with black heads,[477] together with so many pounds "of incense and of lignum aloes; in order that we may be enabled to "perform the customary rites with due solemnity." Their words, however, are not spoken immediately to the Grand *khan*, but to certain great officers, by whom the communication is made to him. Upon receiving it he never fails to comply with the whole of their request; and accordingly, when the day arrives, they sacrifice the sheep, and by pouring out the liquor in which the meat has been seethed, in the presence of their idols, perform the ceremony of worship. In this country there are great monasteries and abbeys, so extensive indeed that they might pass for small cities; some of them containing as many as two thousand monks, who are devoted to the service of their divinities, according to the established religious customs of the people.[478] These are clad in a better style of dress than the other inhabitants; they shave their heads and their beards,[479] and celebrate the festivals of their idols with the utmost possible solemnity; having bands of vocal music, and burning tapers.[480] Some of this class are allowed to take wives.[481]

There

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There is likewise another religious order, the members of which are named *sensim*, who observe strict abstinence and lead very austere lives, having no other food than a kind of pollard, which they steep in warm water until the farinaceous part is separated from the bran; and in that state they eat it. This sect pay adoration to fire, and are considered by the others as schismatics, not worshipping idols as they do.[482] There is a material difference between them in regard to the rules of their orders, and these last described never marry in any instance. They shave their heads and beards like the others, and wear hempen garments of a black or dull colour; but even if the material were silk, the colour would be the same.[483] They sleep upon coarse mats, and suffer greater hardships in their mode of living than any people in the world.[484] We shall now quit this subject, and proceed to speak of the great and wonderful acts of the supreme lord and emperor, *Kublaï-kaan*.

NOTES.

463. The *Xandu* or *Shandu* of Ramusio, *Ciandu* of the Basle edition, *Cyandu* of the older Latin, *Cyandi* of the manuscripts, and *Ciandu* or *Ciandul* of the epitomes, is the *Chang-tou* (*Shangtu*) of the Jesuits' map, and by P. Couplet, in his Notes to the "Observations Chronologiques" of P. Gaubil, is thus spoken of: "Ville détruite; elle étoit dans le païs de *Kartchin* en Tartarie. M. Paul "l'appelle Ciandu ou Chandu. Sa latitude étoit 40° 22′ au N.N.E. de Peking." p. 197. "Ce prince" says De Guignes, speaking of Kublaï "donna à la ville "de *Kai-ping-fou* le titre de *Chang-tou* ou de 'haute cour.'" Liv. xvi. p. 146. In the year 1691, it was thus spoken of by P. Gerbillon: "Nous fîmes encore "quarante *lys* dans une plaine qui s'appelle *Cabaye*, sur le bord d'une petite "rivière nommée *Chantou*, le long de laquelle étoit autrefois bâtie la ville de "*Chantou*, où les empereurs de la famille des *Yuen* tenoient leur cour durant "l'eté. On en voit encore les restes." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 258. If the distance between *Changa-nor* and this place was only three days journey, the former could not have been on the northern side of the desert; but the numbers, from inattention in transcribing, are extremely incorrect, and the decimals may, in this instance, have been omitted.

464. "This forest" says Bell, speaking of the hunting-seat of the emperor *Kang-hi* "is really a most delightful place; it is well stored with a great variety "of

" of game; and is of great extent as will easily be conceived from the account " I have given of our two days hunting. It is all enclosed with a high wall of " brick." Travels, vol. ii. p. 84.

465. This animal, if it be not the ounce, is the *felis jubata* or hunting-leopard, much smaller in size than the common species. In Hindustan it is named the *chita*, and is employed by the native princes in the chase of the antelope. "In " India" says the History of Quadrupeds, " there is a species of leopard about " the size of a large greyhound, with a small head and short ears....This is the " animal mentioned in our account of the antelope, which is made use of in India " for hunting that and other beasts of the chase. It is carried in a small kind of " waggon, chained and hoodwinked till it approaches the herd; when it is " unchained and suffered to pursue the game." "The ounce" says the same work " is common in Barbary, Persia, and China; is much more gentle than " the leopard; and like the hunting-leopard, is sometimes trained to the chase. " Instead of being conveyed in a waggon, it is carried on the crupper of the horse, " is as much under command as a setting-dog, returns at a call, and jumps up " behind its master." See an account of " the Manner of Hunting amongst the " Princes of Hindostan," in the Asiatick Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 68, where this animal is called the *cheetar* or panther.

466. It is well known that the dragon with five claws (instead of four, in the ordinary representations) is the imperial symbol, and forms a conspicuous part of every article of dress, piece of furniture, or ornament connected with the court of China. Its figure, extended in the manner here described, may be seen in a plate belonging to the third volume of Du Halde's " Description de la Chine," as well as in many other works. By the Italian word *branche* here used, which is especially applied to the claws of the lobster, must be understood not merely the digitated part of the limb of this fabulous animal, but the whole of the legs. " Cette salle" says Du Halde, in describing a palace of the city of Peking " a " environ cent trente pieds de longueur et est presque quarrée: le lambris est " tout en sculpture vernissé de verd, et chargé de dragons dorez." T. i. p. 117.

467. The mode of covering here described is well known in the eastern islands, and is mentioned in the following passage of the History of Sumatra: " There " is another kind of house, erected mostly for a temporary purpose, the roof of " which is flat, and is covered in a very uncommon, simple, and ingenious man- " ner. Large straight bamboos are cut of a length sufficient to lie across the " house, and being split exactly in two, and the joints knocked out, a first layer " of them is disposed in close order, with the inner or hollow sides up; after which " a second layer, with the outer or convex sides up, is placed upon the others in " such

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" such manner, that each of the convex falls into the two contiguous concave " pieces, covering their edges; the latter serving as gutters to carry off the " water that falls upon the upper or convex layer." P. 58. ed. 3.

468. This practice of removing the emperor's temporary house, was conformable to the Tartar custom of migration with their tents or huts packed in a small compass and loaded on carts, as described in Note 383. It may have been his object to gratify the people amongst whom he resided by appearing to adhere to their ancient national habits.

469. " Dans tout tems " observes De Guignes, " et dans tous les pays où les " Mogols se sont établis, ils ont observé la coutume d'aller passer les chaleurs de " l'eté dans les pays septentrionaux, et de revenir en hyver dans le midi. *Chang-* " *tou* étoit la ville dans laquelle *Kublai* se retiroit pendant l'eté." Hist. génér. des Huns. Liv. xvi. p. 146. " Le *Cartching* " says Du Halde " n'a guères plus de " 42 de nos grandes lieues, en se prenant nord et sud; mais il s'étend beaucoup " plus de l'est à l'ouest, où sont en partie les lieux de chasse de l'empereur, et " peu loin de là les belles maisons de plaisance, où ce grand prince (*Kang-hi*) " passe ordinairement tout l'eté; car les chaleurs sont dans tous ces quartiers là " beaucoup plus tolérables qu'à *Peking*." T. iv. p. 19.

470. Establishments of brood mares and stallions, on as great a scale, have been kept up by later emperors. " Nous entrâmes " says P. Gerbillon " dans une " autre plaine, où nous trouvâmes cinquante-huit *haras* de l'empereur rangez sur " une ligne; chacun étoit de trois cens, tant cavalles que poulains, avec un étalon " à chaque troupeau . . . . L'empereur a en tout deux cens trente *haras* semblables, " chacun de trois cens." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 339. The white colour does not now appear to be thought so essential as it was by the Mungal-Tartar emperors. " They also on the ninth day of the moone of May " says Rubruquis " gather " together all the white mares of the herd, and consecrate them. The Christian " priests also must come together thither with their censers. Then they cast new " cosmos (*kimuz*) upon the ground, and make a great feast that day." Purchas, vol. iii. p. 44. This took place at *Kara-korum* during the reign of *Mangu-kaan*. The day of the solemnity is different from that observed by *Kublaï*; but the latter might have found it necessary to regulate his public ceremonies by considerations of Chinese policy and the duties of his new government.

471. This family name is variously written *Boriat*, *Horiach*, *Horiath*, *Orati*, and *Orari*. For the fact of such a peculiar distinction I believe there is no other authority, but it is not in itself improbable.

472. Popular

472. Popular delusion as to the effects of sorcery is produced by a degree of skill in directing the operation of natural causes, and bringing them to act upon the constitutional proneness of mankind to believe in the marvellous. Our author, whose education, either at Venice or in Tartary, had not furnished his mind with any store of philosophy (of which the world in general was so deficient in his days) appears to have been deceived on this occasion, in common with the other attendants on the court, although not, perhaps, the emperor himself, whose policy it might be to employ charlatans of this description. Yet we read of many instances of superstitious credulity in the histories both of *Kublaï* and his predecessors, and Gaubil, speaking of his character as drawn by the Chinese historians, says, " Ils lui reprochent beaucoup d'entêtement pour les superstitions et les " enchantemens des lamas." Observ. Chron. p. 201. By Du Halde also it is observed that " Les Mongous sont communément persuadez que les *lamas* peuvent " faire tomber la grêle et la pluie, et des mandarins, témoins oculaires, nous ont " raconté certains faits, que ne prouvent que trop ce qui nous avions entendu dire à " Peking, que parmi les *lamas* la sorcellerie est en usage." T. iv. p. 28: from whence it may be inferred that these missionaries believed in the efficacy, whilst they deplored the sinful practice, of magical arts. That such were commonly resorted to by the princes of the family of *Jengiz-khan* appears from a passage in Abu'lghazi, where in speaking of the invasion of *Kataia* or northern China, he says: " *Ugadaï-chan (Oktaï-kaan)* s'avança plus avant dans le *Kitay*, et envoya " son frère *Taulaï-chan (Tuli-khan*, the father of *Kublaï-kaan)* prendre le devant " avec une corps de dix-mille hommes: *Altan-chan* ayant eu avis de cette démarche " des Moguls fit avancer cent-mille hommes contre *Taulaï-chan*, sous le com- " mandement de quelques-uns de ses meilleurs généraux, qui ayant environné " de tous costez *Taulaï-chan* et ses troupes, les auroient infalliblement taillé en- " pièces, si ce prince ne se fust avisé de commander à un des magiciens que " l'accompagnoient de faire *dsada*, c'est à dire, de faire venir un rude temps " d'hiver au plus fort de l'esté; ce que ces gens sçavent effectuer par leurs sorti- " lèges." Hist. généal. des Tatars, p. 359. The story of this miraculous escape must have been a common subject of conversation at the court of that prince's son, and consequently must have impressed our author with a high idea of the skill of these impostors.

473. These appear to have been Indian *yogîs* or *goseins*, who are known to travel by the way of *Kashmîr* into *Tibet*, and from thence, frequently, to the northern parts of Tartary. Their naked and squalid appearance has been the subject of description at all periods, as well as their penances or mortifications, which are of so extraordinary a nature, that had our author ventured to describe them, they would in his days, have been accounted the most incredible part of his narrative. Du Halde, speaking of the residence or station of a grand *lama*,

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in the country of the *Mungals*, says: "On y voit des bonzes (religieux) de l'In- "dostan, du Pigou, du Thibet, de la Chine, &c." T. iv. p. 25. Bell gives an account of a Hindu devotee, whom he met at *Selinginsky*, whose hair, six feet in length, "was much matted." Vol. i. p. 285.

474. The agreement between the account here given of this barbarous practice, and what is known of the *Batta* people of Sumatra, who devour the bodies of condemned criminals, is so striking, that a doubt can scarcely be entertained of a transposition having taken place in the order of our author's notes, by which a remark upon the peculiar manners of the latter, amongst whom he resided several months, has been detached from its proper place, and introduced into this chapter, where savages of a different description, and to whom cannibalism has not been imputed by any traveller since his time, are the subject.

475. We find in the *Ayin Akbari* of Abu'lfazel, a confirmation of what is here asserted to be the meaning of the term *baksi*, *bakshi*, or, according to the Bengal pronunciation of Persian, *bukshi*, which is not furnished by the dictionaries. Under the head of the "Doctrine of Boodh" he says: "The learned among the "Persians and Arabians call the priests of this religion *Bukshee*, and in Tibbet "they are stiled *Lama*." Vol. iii. p. 157. That work was composed in the latter part of the sixteenth century, about three hundred years after the period at which our author wrote, and their agreement is a striking proof of the genuineness of his oriental acquirements. Klaproth, in his "Abhandlung über die Sprache und "Schrift der Uiguren" (adverted to in Note 24, by a French translation of its title), observes that the word *Bakschi* is of Mongol origin, and is the usual appellation of the sages (gelehrten) of that country, who are by the Chinese named *Schu (Shu)*. P. 77, Note.

476. What is here ascribed to sorcery appears to have been nothing more than a pantomimical trick, and capable of being effected by no extraodinary artifice. The emperor, we may presume, and perhaps also such of his confidential servants as had the honour of sitting near his elevated table, might be aware of the machinery employed; but the guests in general, and even the courtiers or mandarins of inferior rank, amongst whom was probably our author's place, might be deceived; their distance being such as to render imperceptible the wires by which the vessels were made to move, as if spontaneously, from one part of the hall of entertainment to the other. The peculiar fancy of these Tartar princes for having their liquor (an object always of the first importance) served in a manner calculated to raise surprise, is well exemplified in the travels of Rubruquis, who describes a curious piece of machinery constructed by a French artist, for conveying into the hall a variety of liquors, which issued from the mouths of silver lions. See Purchas,

Purchas, vol. iii. p. 35, and Bergeron, p. 96. In the descriptions we have of Chinese royal entertainments, the side-board seldom passes unnoticed. "Vis-à-vis" says the journal of *Shah Rokh's* embassy, "il y avoit un *kurkeh* ou buffet "impérial posé sur un lieu élevé, avec des vases de porcelaine et d'argent de "différentes grandeurs." Thevenot, t. ii. ivme. partie.

477. Had they been described as sheep entirely black, the idea might be thought to have its source in the Grecian mythology and the rites of Hecate; but on the contrary we shall find this characteristic of partial blackness confirmed by modern testimony. "A peculiar species of sheep" says Turner "seems indige-"nous to this climate, marked almost invariably by black heads and legs. They "are of a small size: their wool is soft, and their flesh, almost the only animal "food eaten in Tibet, is, in my opinion, the finest mutton in the world." P. 302. A similiar breed is noticed by Hamilton on the coast of Yemen. "Their sheep" he says "are all white, with jet black heads, and small ears, their bodies large, "and their flesh delicate." Vol. i. p. 15. Frequent mention occurs in the histories of China and Tartary, of the practice of sacrificing animals.

478. The extensive monasteries in the province of *Tangut* have been already spoken of in Note 326. A particular description of them will be found in the Alphabetum Tibetanum, and an enumeration in the Mémoires concern. les Chinois, t. xiv. p. 219. under the head of "*Miao* ou temples qui sont dans le pays des "*Si-fan*," and commencing with that of *Pou-ta-la*, near the city of *La-sa*. There were many likewise in more northern parts of Tartary; but these have been mostly destroyed in the wars that took place upon the extinction of the Mungal dynasty of China, not only between the new dynasty and the adherents of their predecessors, but amongst the independent tribes themselves, under the denomination of *Eluths* and *Kalkas*. "Les *Kalkas*" says Du Halde "ont parmi eux "un de ces *lamas* qu'on appelle *hou-touc-tou*... Avant la guerre il avoit construit "un pagode (temple) magnifique et à grand frais: car il avoit fait venir des "ouvriers et des briques vernissées de jaune, qu'on ne trouve qu'à Peking. Il "fut détruit par le *Caldan* en l'année 1688. On en voit encore les ruines dans "les plaines qui sont au bord de *Toula*." T. iv. p. 24. With respect to the number of persons here said to be contained in these monastic establishments, it is entirely consistent with the accounts given by our modern travellers. Turner informs us that there were two thousand five hundred *gylongs* (or monks) in one the monasteries which he visited.

479. All accounts we have of these people speak of the attention paid to uniformity of dress amongst the persons devoted to the offices of religion and the

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monastic life, according to their several classes and ranks; as well as of the colours (yellow and red) affected by the two great sects into which the *lamas* are divided. The tonsure also is mentioned by diffirent authorities. "The priests "of this religion", says the *Ayin Akbari* "shave their heads, and wear dresses "of *leather* (evidently a mistake for the word *yellow*) and red cloth." Vol. iii. p. 158. Rubruquis also, describing the Tartars of *Kara-korum*, observes that, "All their priests had their heads and beards shaven quite over: and they are "clad in saffron coloured garments." Purchas, vol. iii. p. 21. Bogle, indeed, in his account of the person and dress of the Grand *lama*, says: "His hair, "which is jet black, is cut very short; his beard and whiskers never above a "month's growth." Hindoo Sketches, vol. ii. p. 194. But he mentions at the same time the *bare* heads of the *Kalmuks*, who came to make their offerings to the immortal high priest of their faith.

480. "The frequent recurrence of solemn sounds" says Turner "from a "variety of deep toned instruments, after short pauses of profound silence; the "low hum of invocation, during both night and day; and occasionally the more "vociferous clamour of crowded congregations, joined with a full choral band, "left me no room to doubt that I was close to the scene of some of the most "solemn and mysterious ceremonies of their religion." P. 255.

481. Although celibacy appears to be usually enjoined to the priests of *Buddha*, *Shakia-muni*, or *Fo*, it is not universal. "Ce manderin" says P. Magalhanes "après s'en estre informé avec soin, me dit que dans la seule ville et cour de "Pe-kim il y avoit 10,668 bonzes non mariez et que nous appellons ho-xam (*ho-"shang*), et 5,022 mariez." Nouv. Relat. de la Chine, p. 57.

482. The word *sensim* or *sensin* seems to be intended for the two Chinese monosyllables *sēng-sin*, the former of which (according to De Guignes) signifies bonzes or priests of *Fo*. In Morrison's dictionary, under the word *sāng* we read: "priests of the sect of *Fŭh*, who are otherwise called *sha-mun*: also denominated "*shang-jin*. There are several other names by which they are designated; *ho-"shang* is that most commonly given to them." From the account of their diet we are led to conclude them Hindu devotees, and perhaps *Sannyasis*, who amongst a people where the religion of *Buddha* prevailed, would be regarded as schismatics. It appears, however, that they were not gymnosophists; although this might be the effect of climate. Their adoration of fire might lead us to suppose them *Parsîs*; but the sacrifice to that element, termed *homa*, is one of the most solemn acts of brahmanical worship. See much curious information on the subject of Persian devotees in China, (during the dynasty of the *Tang*, in the

the ninth century), who worshipped " un Esprit plein de feu," in Mém. concern. les Chinois, t. xvi. p. 228.

483. The circumstance of the dark coloured dresses (*nere e biave*) worn by this class, seems to have been mentioned in order to distinguish them from the *ho-shang* and *lamas* who are always clad in yellow or red, according to their sect, and adds to the probability that they were not buddhists.

484. The austerities to which, under the name of penances, the Indian *yogis*, *sannyasis*, *goseins*, and other denominations of ascetics expose themselves, have been already adverted to, in Note *473*. Their pilgrimages often lead them to the borders of China and to the remote provinces of Tartary.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.

Of the admirable deeds of Kublaï-kaan, the emperor now reigning; of the battle he fought with Nayan, his uncle, and of the victory he obtained.

BOOK II. CHAP. I. *Sect.* I.

In this Book it is our design to treat of all the great and admirable achievements of the Grand *khan* now reigning, who is styled *Kublaï-kaan;* the latter word implying in our language lord of lords,[485] and with much propriety added to his name; for in respect to number of subjects, extent of territory, and amount of revenue, he surpasses every sovereign that has heretofore been or that now is in the world; nor has any other been served with such implicit obedience by those whom he governs. This will so evidently appear in the course of our work, as to satisfy every one of the truth of our assertion.

Kublaï-kaan, it is to be understood, is the lineal and legitimate descendant of *Jengiz-khan* the first emperor, and the rightful sovereign of the Tartars. He is the sixth Grand *khan*,[486] and began his reign in the year 1256,[487] being then twenty-seven years of age.[488] He obtained the sovereignty by his consummate valour, his virtues, and his prudence, in opposition to the designs of his brothers, supported by many of the great officers and members of his own family.[489] But the succession appertained to him of right.[490] Previously to his ascending the throne he had served as a volunteer in the army, and endeavoured to take a share in every enterprise. Not only was he brave and daring in action, but in point of judgment and military skill, he was considered to be the

the most able and successful commander that ever led the Tartars to battle. From that period however he ceased to take the field in person,[491] and entrusted the conduct of expeditions to his sons and his captains; excepting in one instance, the occasion of which was as follows. A certain chief named *Nayan*, who, although only thirty years of age, was uncle to *Kublaï*,[492] had succeeded to the dominion of many cities and provinces, which enabled him to bring into the field an army of four hundred thousand horse. His predecessors, however, had been vassals of the Grand *khan*.[493] Actuated by youthful vanity upon finding himself at the head of so great a force, he formed, in the year 1286, the design of throwing off his allegiance and usurping the sovereignty. With this view he privately dispatched messengers to *Kaidu*, another powerful chief, whose territories lay towards the greater Turkey,[494] and who, although a nephew of the Grand *khan*, was in rebellion against him, and bore him determined ill will, proceeding from the apprehension of punishment for former offences. To *Kaidu* therefore the propositions made by *Nayan* were highly satisfactory, and he accordingly promised to bring to his assistance an army of an hundred thousand horse. Both princes immediately began to assemble their forces, but it could not be effected so secretly as not to come to the knowledge of *Kublaï*, who upon hearing of their preparations, lost no time in occupying all the passes leading to the countries of *Nayan* and of *Kaidu*, in order to prevent them from having any information respecting the measures he was himself taking.[495] He then gave orders for collecting, with the utmost celerity, the whole of the troops stationed within ten days march of the city of *Kambalù*.[496] These amounted to three hundred and sixty thousand horse, to which was added a body of an hundred thousand foot, consisting of those who were usually about his person, and principally his falconers and domestic servants.[497] In the course of twenty days they were all in readiness. Had he assembled the armies kept up for the constant protection of the different provinces of *Kataia*, it must necessarily have required thirty or forty days; in which time the enemy would have gained information of his arrangements, and been enabled to effect their junction, and to occupy such strong positions as would best suit with their designs. His object was, by promptitude, which is ever the companion

companion of victory, to anticipate the preparations of *Nayan*, and by falling upon him whilst single, destroy his power with more certainty and effect, than after he should have been joined by *Kaidu*.

It may be proper here to observe, whilst on the subject of the armies of the Grand *khan*, that in every province of *Kataia* and of *Manji*,[498] as well as in other parts of his dominions, there were many disloyal and seditious persons, who at all times were disposed to break out in rebellion against their sovereign,[499] and on this account it became necessary to keep armies in such of the provinces as contained large cities and an extensive population; which are stationed at the distance of four or five miles from those cities, and can enter them at their pleasure. These armies the Grand *khan* makes it a practice to change every second year, and the same with respect to the officers who command them. By means of such precautions the people are kept in quiet subjection, and no movement nor innovation of any kind can be attempted. The troops are maintained not only from the pay they receive out of the imperial revenues of the province, but also from the cattle and their milk, which belong to them individually, and which they send into the cities for sale; furnishing themselves from thence, in return, with those articles of which they stand in need.[500] In this manner they are distributed over the country, in various places, to the distance of thirty, forty, and even sixty days' journey. If even the half of these corps were to be collected in one place, the statement of their number would appear marvellous and scarcely entitled to belief.[501]

NOTES.

485. *Kaan* قاآن, it has already been observed (Note 379), was the title which *Jengiz* directed his son and successor *Oktaï* to assume, and which is explained in dictionaries, as it is in our text, by the terms *khan* of *khans* or lord of lords; although the two Persian or Turkish words, قاآن and خان, do not appear to have any radical connexion, The title of *khakhan* خاقان, which we find upon the coinage of the Ottoman sultans and appears to have been borne by the ancient Turkish princes of Tartary, unites the elements of both. In the Chinese histories this word is written *ko-han*.

486. He

486. He was properly the fifth, not the sixth emperor. Our author seems to have included *Batu* in his enumeration, who was the eldest of the grandsons of *Jengiz*, but waved his right to the sovereignty in favour of *Mangu* his nephew. He was at the same time a powerful prince in the western part of the Tartar empire. See Note 376.

487. There is something remarkable in the precision of this date. P. Gaubil in his "Observ. Chronol. tirées de l'Hist. Chinoise" tells us that "à la quatri-"ème lune 1260, Houpilié (*Kublaï*) fut déclaré empereur des Mogols dans la "ville de Changtou:" but P. Souciet (his editor) says in a note: "Le P. G. "m'écrivit, l'année suivante, 1725, que la première année de Houpilié devoit "être mise quatre ans plutôt, et par conséquent en 1256." P. 197. Yet De Guignes, whose authority has much weight, adopts notwithstanding the first mentioned period. As emperor of China the reign of *Kublaï* is not understood to have commenced till 1280, when the conquest of the southern provinces was completed, and the ancient dynasty destroyed.

488. If the age here assigned to him be correct, he was born in 1229, and consequently was no more than sixty-five when he died in 1294; but if, as is commonly asserted, he was in his eightieth year, he must have been forty-two, instead of twenty-seven, when he succeeded his brother *Mangu* in 1256, according to Gaubil's last correction. The dates of the birth of the Mungal *khans*, previous to the conquest, were, we may presume, very imperfectly known to the Chinese annalists.

489. "La proclamation de Kublai" says De Guignes "n'avoit pas été una-"nime; *Arighbouga* (by others named *Artigbuga*) son frère qui aspiroit au trône, "avoit une grande armée à Caracorom, et un puissant parti dans les provinces "de Setchuen et de Chensi; son général Alantar s'efforçoit de gagner les chefs "des hordes à force de présens. Dans le Chensi, Hoen-tou-hai à la tête de soix-"ante mille hommes de troupes, s'emparoit de Fong-tsiang-fou, et se pratiquoit "des intelligences secrètes pour se saisir de Sigan-fou, et pendant que l'on pro-"clamoit Kublai Grand khan à Kaiping-fou (Changtou) Arighbouga se faisoit "donner le même titre à Caracorom. Kublai instruit de toutes ces démarches "de son frere, leva de nombreuses armées pour lui resister." Liv. xvi. p. 139.

490. The right of succession, according to our ideas, would have been in one of the sons of *Mangu*, of whom the eldest was named *Asutai*; but amongst the Mungals this hereditary claim was modified by circumstances, and the dying sovereign generally designated that person of the family who was best qualified, from his age and talents, to hold the reins of government, or, rather, to command the

armies; an appointment that was, however to be subject to the approval or rejection of the chiefs of tribes, in a grand assembly or diet, termed *kurultai*. Accordingly we find that whilst the succession was for a time disputed between *Kublaï* and his younger brother, the sons of *Mangu*, instead of asserting their own rights, took part with him who eventually proved to be the weaker of their uncles. It is possible, at the same time, that they may not have been the children of a legitimate wife. The grounds of *Artigbuga's* pretensions are not stated; but the circumstance of his being left by the late emperor in the government of *Karacorum*, the ancient capital of the Mungal dominions, with the command of a large army, was sufficient to have roused his ambition and to give countenance to the belief of his being intended by *Mangu* (whose untimely death prevented any formal declaration of his will) for his successor, in preference to *Kublaï*, who was employed on what was still considered as a foreign conquest.

491. That is, from the period of his becoming emperor of China, in 1280, or, what is more to the point, subsequently to our author's arrival at his court; for in 1262 he proceeded in person against his brother *Artigbuga*.

492. In the Latin version the relationship of *Nayan* to *Kublaï* is expressed by the word *patruus*, in the Italian epitomes by *avo*, and in Ramusio's text by *barba*, which the dictionaries inform us is the Lombard term for *zio* or uncle; but as he was the younger person by thirty or forty years (according to what is here stated) it is nearly impossible that he could have stood in that degree of consanguinity, and it is reasonable to suppose that the original phrase must have been misunderstood by the translators. With more plausibility he might have been called his nephew; but the actual relationship was much more distant, their common ancestor being the father of *Jengiz-khan*. *Kublaï* was the grandson of that monarch, and *Nayan* the great grandson of *Belgatai* his brother. Consequently they were second cousins once removed, according to the English mode of expression; to which oblique connexion of cousins in different generations we also apply the phrase of Welsh uncle and nephew, as the French do that of *oncle à la mode de Bretagne*.

493. The dominions which this prince inherited from his ancestor, the fourth brother of *Jengiz-khan*, lay in eastern Tartary; as those of *Kaidu* comprehended generally the country westward from the great desert and *Altai* mountains, towards *Kashgar*. These chiefs were bound, of course, to do homage to the person who was considered as the head of the family, and are therefore said to have been the vassals of *Kublaï*.

494. In the text of Ramusio the words are *la gran Turchia*, meaning *Turkistan* or country possesed by the *Turki* tribes, to whom the name of Tartars or Tatars has

has of late been exclusively applied. As the Ottoman empire, which has acquired in Europe the appellation of Turkey, was not founded until the beginning of the fourteenth century, we may conclude that the distinctive term of "*gran* or great" was added by the translator, in order to avoid confusion. It is not found in the other editions.

495. The following passages from l'Histoire génér. des Huns will shew the historical progress of these events and serve to prove the general accuracy of our author's account; "Pendant ce tems-là (1268) il s'élevoit de nouveaux troubles "dans la Tartarie. Caidou, neveu de Kublai, qui avoit été exilé autrefois par "Mangou-khan, pour avoir été attaché au parti de Schiramoun, s'étoit formé un "état assez considérable dans le pays d'Almaligh, et avoit gagné les chefs des "hordes qui campent au nord-nord-est de Turphan, et au nord des monts Altai. "Mais cette révolte fut presque aussi-tôt assoupie; Caidou fut battu et obligé de "se sauver à Almaligh." Liv. xvi. p. 151. "Le prince Caidou faisoit alors (1276) "des courses dans les environs d'Almaligh, et commençoit à se former un parti "considérable. Il étoit avec Touá à la tête d'une armée de cent mille hommes." P. 168. "Cependant la révolte commençoit à éclater en Tartarie, où le nom-"bre des rébelles augmentoit (1287). Caidou avoit attiré dans son parti Naïan, "descendu de Belgatai frère de Gengizkhan, auquel ce prince avoit donné un "grand département dans la Tartarie vers le Leao-tong, et Baian qui comman-"doit dans ce pays pensa être enlevé. Kublai lui ordonna de camper entre "Caracorom et Changtou, afin d'empêcher la jonction de Naïan et de Caidou; "il fit partir en même tems de grandes provisions par mer, et assembla de toutes "parts des troupes, à la tête desquelles il se mit." P. 181. Our author resumes the subject of *Kaidu's* independence in Chap. xliv. of Book iii.

496. A future occasion will present itself of speaking more particularly of this city, named *Khan-balig* or "the imperial residence," by the Tartars, and *Pe-king* or the northern court, by the Chinese, at a later period. See Chap. vi. of this Book.

497. The employment of troops of this description (corresponding to the *bostangis* بستنجي or gardeners of the Turkish seraglio) marks the already perceptible decline of that vigorous system which enabled the Tartars to subdue their civilised and luxurious neighbours, but which inevitably became relaxed from inactivity and indulgence in the manners of the conquered. The further progress of corruption in this respect may be observed in the account given by P. Gerbillon of the constitution of the army during the reign of *Kang-hi*, who was a warlike monarch compared with those who have succeeded him. "Le second de Mars "1691," says the learned Jesuit, who was then in attendance on the emperor,

as his instructor in mathematics " il partit d'ici (Peking) un corps de huit ou dix " mille cavaliers effectifs, qui faisoit quarante ou cinquante mille hommes, en " comptant les *valets* que les Tartares font servir de soldats au besoin : ils ont " soin d'instruire leurs gens à tirer de l'arc dès leur jeunesse, afin de leur pouvoir " procurer des places de cavalier ou au moins de fantassin, en quoi ils trouvent " leur compte, parce qu'ils profitent de la paye de leurs gens, et s'il y en a même " quelques-uns qui fassent des actions de valeur, c'est le maître qui en reçoit la " récompense." Du Halde, t. iv. p. 249.

498. By these we are to understand Northern and Southern China, separated by the great river *Hoang-ho*, on the eastern, and by the southern limits of *Shen-si*, on the western side. A more particular mention of the kingdom or empire of *Manji*, at that time lately conquered from the Chinese dynasty of the *Song*, will be found in Chap. lv. of this Book.

499. Not only a great part of the population, especially of Southern China, must have been loyally attached to the ancient race of their kings, but also there were in all the western provinces numerous partisans of the rival branches of *Kublaï's* own family, who were eager to seize all opportunities of fomenting disturbance.

500. These details, so probable in themselves, are not, I believe, to be found in any other original writer. It must have been the policy of *Kublaï* to keep his Tartarian troops as distinct as possible from the Chinese, and therefore instead of quartering them in the great towns, they were encamped at the distance of some miles from them, and the semblance at least of their former pastoral life was preserved, whilst they were surrounded with their herds and flocks.

501. Whilst we read in the histories of the Tartarian wars, of armies of one or more hundred thousand horse brought into the field by various contending chiefs, we ought not to be surprised at any extraordinary number of troops kept on foot by such a sovereign as *Kublaï*, their lord paramount; but our author has modestly, in this instance, and perhaps in consequence of prudent advice, described his myriads by a rhetorical figure, instead of venturing upon an enumeration that might have exposed him to the ridicule of the ignorant.

SECTION II.

Sect. II.

HAVING formed his army in the manner above described, the Grand *khan* proceeded towards the territories of *Nayan*, and by forced marches, continued

continued day and night, he reached it at the expiration of twenty-five days. So prudently, at the same time, was the expedition managed, that neither that prince himself nor any of his dependants were aware of it; all the roads being guarded in such a manner that no persons who attempted to pass could escape from being made prisoners. Upon arriving at a certain range of hills, on the other side of which was the plain where *Nayan's* army lay encamped, *Kublaï* halted his troops and allowed them two days of rest. During this interval he called upon his astrologers to ascertain by virtue of their art, and to declare in presence of the whole army, to which side the victory would incline. They pronounced that it would fall to the lot of *Kublaï*. It has ever been the practice of the Grand *khans* to have recourse to divination for the purpose of inspiriting their men.[502] Confident therefore of success they ascended the hill with alacrity the next morning, and presented themselves before the army of *Nayan*, which they found negligently posted, without advanced parties or scouts; whilst the chief himself was asleep in his tent, accompanied by one of his wives. Upon awaking, he hastened to form his troops in the best manner that circumstances would allow; lamenting that his junction with *Kaidu* had not been sooner effected. *Kublaï* took his station in a large wooden castle, borne on the backs of four elephants,[503] whose bodies were protected with coverings of thick leather, hardened by fire; over which were housings of cloth of gold. The castle contained many cross-bowmen and archers, and on the top of it was hoisted the imperial standard, adorned with representations of the sun and moon. His army, which consisted of thirty battalions of horse, each battalion containing ten thousand men, armed with bows, he disposed in three grand divisions; and those which formed the left and right wings, he extended in such a manner as to out-flank the army of *Nayan*. In front of each battalion of horse, were placed five hundred infantry, armed with short lances and swords, who, whenever the cavalry made a show of flight, were practised to mount behind the riders and accompany them; alighting again when they returned to the charge, and killing with their lances the horses of the enemy. As soon as the order of battle was arranged, an infinite number of wind instruments of various kinds were sounded, and these were succeeded by songs, according to the custom of the

Tartars

Tartars before they engage in fight; which commences upon the signal given by the cymbals and drums. This, by the orders of the Grand *khan*, was first given to the right and left wings; and then a fierce and bloody conflict began. The air was instantly filled with a cloud of arrows that poured down on every side, and vast numbers of men and horses were seen to fall to the ground. The loud cries and shouts of the men, together with the noise of the horses and the weapons, were such as to inspire terror into those who heard them. When their arrows had been discharged, the hostile parties engaged in close combat, with their lances, swords, and maces shod with iron; and such was the slaughter, and so large were the heaps of the carcasses of men, and more especially of horses, on the field, that it became impossible for the one party to advance upon the other. Thus the fortune of the day remained for a long time undecided, and victory wavered between the contending parties from morning until noon; for so zealous was the devotion of *Nayan's* people to the cause of their master, who was most liberal and indulgent towards them, that they were all ready to meet death rather than turn their backs to the enemy. At length, however, *Nayan* perceiving that he was nearly surrounded, attempted to save himself by flight, but was presently made prisoner, and conducted to the presence of *Kublaï*, who gave orders for his being put to death.[504] This was carried into execution by enclosing him between two carpets, which were violently shaken until the spirit had departed from the body; the motive for this peculiar sentence, being, that the sun and the air should not witness the shedding of the blood of one who belonged to the imperial family.[505] Those of his troops which survived the battle came to make their submission and swear allegiance to *Kublaï*. They were inhabitants of the four noble provinces of *Chorza, Karli, Barskol*, and *Sitingui*.[506]

Nayan, who had privately undergone the ceremony of Baptism, but never made open profession of christianity, thought proper, on this occasion to bear the sign of the cross in his banners;[507] and he had in his army a vast number of Christians, who were left amongst the slain. When the Jews,[508] and the Saracens perceived that the banner of the cross was overthrown, they taunted the Christian inhabitants with it, saying,

saying, " Behold the state to which your (vaunted) banners and those " who followed them, are reduced!" On account of these derisions the Christians were compelled to lay their complaints before the Grand *khan*, who ordered the former to appear before him, and sharply rebuked them. " If the Cross of Christ," he said, " has not proved " advantageous to the party of *Nayan*, the effect has been consistent " with reason and justice, inasmuch as he was a rebel and a traitor to " his lord, and to such wretches it could not afford its protection. Let " none therefore presume to charge with injustice the God of the " Christians, who is Himself the perfection of goodness and of " justice." [509]

NOTES.

502. If from some former expressions we might be led to suppose that our author was in any degree a dupe of the pretended sorcery so generally believed in at that period, not only in Asia but in Europe, we here see that both his master and himself were fully aware of the imposition, and that the emperors were (sometimes at least) confederates in the tricks of their astrologers and conjurers.

503. Elephants have never been commonly used in China either for war or parade; but during the operations carried on by *Kublaï* (whilst acting as his brother's lieutenant) in the province of *Yunnan*, bordering on *Ava* and other countries where these noble animals abound, he must have become well acquainted with the uses to which they might be rendered subservient, and it appears in a subsequent Chapter, that only three years before the period of which we are speaking, he had taken a number of elephants from the king of *Mien* or Ava (whom his generals defeated in 1283) and employed them in his armies. This consistency of circumstances is not unworthy of observation.

504. The particulars of the combat as given in the text, do not well agree with the account furnished by De Guignes; but this is not surprising when we consider how rarely two descriptions of any great battle are found to correspond. Those by whom they are recorded have not, in general, been eye-witnesses; and those who direct the movements too often find it their policy to falsify the results. Even the Gazettes of some European powers, in our own days, when the value

of

of historical truth is so well understood, have not been entirely free from this imputation. The following is the sequel of the passage from the Hist. gén. des Huns, referred to in Note 494. " Comme il (Kublai) s'étoit avancé des premiers " avec peu de monde, Naïan s'approcha avec cent mille hommes pour reconnoître " son camp. Malgré le danger que Kublai courut dans cette occasion, il fit " bonne contenance, et envoya promptement avertir le reste de ses troupes. Tous " les cavaliers montèrent aussitôt à cheval, menant en croupe les fantassins; " mais Naïan, qui de son côté craignoit quelque embuscade, n'avoit pas osé " attaquer le Grand-khan; et Li-ting, un des généraux de Kublai, avec dix " hommes déterminés, s'approcha du camp du rebelle et fit tirer un coup d'arme " à feu. Le bruit de cette machine que l'on pourroit soupçonner être un canon, " épouvanta tellement toutes les troupes de Naïan, qu'elles prirent la fuite, " croyant que toute l'armée du Grand-khan les suivoit. Aussi-tôt qu'elle fut " arrivée, elle fondit de tous côtés sur ces rebelles; Kublai lui-même conduisit " ses gardes et les troupes de Captchac: sa présence inspira du courage à ses " soldats, les ennemis furent défaits et Naïan fait prisonnier." P. 181. " La " révolte et la défaite de ce prince " says P. Gaubil " sont décrites dans l'histoire " Chinoise de la même manière à peu près, dont en parle Marc Paul; mais " l'histoire Chinoise ne nous apprend rien de son Christianisme.... Sa défaite " tombe à la seconde lune de l'an 1287." P. 200. See also, upon this subject, l'Histoire générale de la Chine, t. ix. p. 431-34.

505. This affectation of avoiding to shed blood in the act of depriving of life a person of high rank, is observable in many instances, and may perhaps have given occasion to the use of the bow-string in the Turkish seraglio. When the last of the khalifs of *Baghdad* was put to death by the order of *Hulagu*, the brother of *Kublaï*, " quelques-uns disent " as we are informed by De Guignes " que le khalif fut étranglé; d'autres, qu'il fut mis dans un sac, où on l'assomma, " et plusieurs, qu'il fut jetté dans le Tigre." Liv. xv. p. 133. The probability is that these two princes were executed in the same Tartarian mode.

506. It is not possible to identify in any modern map or account of Northern Tartary, the names of these tribes, which may have long ceased to exist under the same denominations. The difficulty is further increased by the extraordinary corruption of the words in different versions and editions. In the early Latin manuscript of the B. M. they are written *Fuciorcia*, *Cauli*, *Barseel*, and *Sichintingui*; in the early Latin Venice edition, we find them, *Futorcia*, *Cauli*, *Rascol*, and *Sinchitra*; in the Italian epitomes, *Furzorcia*, *Cauli*, *Barscor*, and *Sincingigui*; in the Latin of the Basle edition, *Funotia*, *Cauli*, *Barscol*, and *Sinchintingui*; and in the early English version, *Furciorcia*, *Guli*, *Baston*, and *Scincinguy*. In the name of *Cauli* they nearly all agree, and we may conjecture this to be the

Tchalei

Tchalei of the Jesuits' map, situated in the northern part of the province of *Korchin*, where we might naturally look for it; as in the word *Chorza*, *Fu-ciorcia*, or *For-zorcia*, we may trace some resemblance to the name of *Korchin* itself.

507. On the subject of what is here said respecting the Christianity of *Nayan* and his people, the reader is referred to Note 450, where I have endeavoured to shew that there is nothing unreasonable in the belief that many of the tribes of Tartars were, at an early period, converted by the Nestorian Christians. Our author's evidence to the fact is of the most unexceptionable kind. Whatever objections may be raised to the veracity of the missionary accounts of their own successes and importance, none can apply to his unaffected narrative, whom neither interest, nor vanity, nor party zeal can be supposed to have influenced, when he attributes the profession of Christianity to a prince whom he describes as an unsuccessful rebel against his legitimate sovereign, and whose conduct he does not attempt to palliate. Nor were the followers of the Nestorian heresy in such repute with our author's countrymen of the orthodox faith, as to furnish him with any inducement to exaggerate their merit and success as propagators of the Gospel. P. Gaubil, it is true, observes that the Chinese historians are silent with regard to the Christianity of *Nayan*; but this proves nothing. The literati of that country, in the pride of their ostentatious philosophy, hold all foreign religions in contempt, as equally irrational and idolatrous, and do not even condescend to distinguish the Christian ministers by any other terms than those which they apply to the priests of *Fo*. The religion of that unfortunate prince, although to us a subject of curiosity, was to them one of perfect indifference, and it is no more to be expected that their annals should record it, than that our gazettes should notice the tenets of a Mahratta or other chief whose aggression had been punished by our arms in India.

508. This is the first occasion on which our author speaks of Jews in Tartary or China. Of their existence in the latter country, at an early period, there is no room to doubt. In the Relations of the Mahometan Travellers of the ninth century, we are told that in the massacre which took place at the city of *Canfu*, when taken by a rebel leader after an obstinate siege, many of that race perished. "Des personnes bien informées des affaires de la Chine" says Renaudot's translation "assurent que sans compter les Chinois qu'il fit massacrer en cette occasion, "il périt six vingt mille Mahometans, Juifs, Chrestiens, ou Parsis, qui demeu- "roient dans la ville pour leur négoce." P. 51. The number we may presume to be very much exaggerated. See the notes of P. Gaubil to "l'Abrégé de "l'histoire Chinoise de la grande dynastie *Tang*." Mém. concern. les Chinois, t. xvi. p. 271.

BOOK II. CHAP. I. *Sect.* II. Notes.

509. The truly pious conclusion of this address we may suspect to be rather the sentiment of the Italian writer than of the Tartar emperor; although as an enlightened politician, desirous of preserving peace between his subjects of different sects, he may have thought it right to reprove this irritating conduct, and to take part with those who were in a state of humiliation.

CHAPTER II.

Of the return of the Grand khan to the city of Kanbalu, after his victory; of the honour he confers on the Christians, the Jews, the Mahometans, and the idolaters, at their respective festivals; and the reason he assigns for his not becoming a Christian.

CHAP. II. THE Grand khan having obtained this signal victory, returned with great pomp and triumph to the capital city of *Kanbalu*. This took place in the month of November, and he continued to reside there during the months of February and March, in which latter was our festival of Easter. Being aware that this was one of our principal solemnities, he commanded all the Christians to attend him, and to bring with them their Book, which contains the four Gospels of the Evangelists. After causing it to be repeatedly perfumed with incense, in a ceremonious manner, he devoutly kissed it, and directed that the same should be done by all his nobles who were present. This was his usual practice upon each of the principal Christian festivals, such as Easter and Christmas; and he observed the same at the festivals of the Saracens, Jews, and idolaters.[510] Upon being asked his motive for this conduct, he said: "There are four great Prophets who are reverenced "and worshipped by the different classes of mankind. The Christians "regard Jesus Christ as their divinity; the Saracens, Mahomet; the "Jews, Moses;[511] and the idolaters, *Sogomombar-kan*, the most emi- "nent amongst their idols.[512] I do honour and shew respect to all the "four, and invoke to my aid whichever amongst them is in truth "supreme in heaven." But from the manner in which his majesty acted

acted towards them, it is evident that he regarded the faith of the Christians as the truest and the best;[513] nothing as he observed, being enjoined to its professors that was not replete with virtue and holiness. By no means, however, would he permit them to bear the cross before them in their processions, because upon it so exalted a personage as Christ had been scourged and (ignominiously) put to death. It may perhaps be asked by some, why, if he shewed such a preference to the faith of Christ, he did not conform to it, and become a Christian? His reason for not so doing, he assigned to NICOLO and MAFFIO POLO, when, upon the occasion of his sending them as his ambassadors to the Pope, they ventured to address a few words to him on the subject of Christianity. "Wherefore, he said, should I become a Christian? You yourselves "must perceive that the Christians of these countries are ignorant, "inefficient persons, who do not possess the faculty of performing any "thing (miraculous); whereas you see that the idolaters can do what- "ever they will. When I sit at table the cups that were in the middle "of the hall come to me filled with wine and other beverage, spon- "taneously and without being touched by human hand, and I drink "from them. They have the power of controlling bad weather and "obliging it to retire to any quarter of the heavens; with many other "wonderful gifts of that nature. You are witnesses that their idols "have the faculty of speech, and predict to them whatever is required. "Should I become a convert to the faith of Christ and profess myself "a Christian, the nobles of my court and other persons who do not "incline to that religion, will ask me what sufficient motives have "caused me to receive baptism and to embrace Christianity? 'What "'extraordinary powers,' they will say; what miracles have been dis- "'played by its ministers? Whereas the idolaters declare that what "'they exhibit is performed through their own sanctity and the "'influence of their idols.' To this I shall not know what answer "to make, and I shall be considered by them as labouring under a "grievous error; whilst the idolaters, who by means of their profound "art can effect such wonders, may without difficulty compass my "death. But return you to your Pontif, and request of him, in my "name, to send hither an hundred persons well skilled in your law, "who being confronted with the idolaters, shall have power to coerce

" them, and shewing that they themselves are endowed with similar " art, but which they refrain from exercising, because it is derived " from the agency of evil spirits, shall compel them to desist from " practices of such a nature, in their presence. When I am witness " of this, I shall place them and their religion under an interdict, and " shall allow myself to be baptised. Following my example, all my " nobility will then, in like manner receive baptism, and this will be " imitated by my subjects in general; so that the Christians of these " parts will exceed in number those who inhabit your own country." [514] From this discourse it must be evident that if the Pope had sent out persons duly qualified to preach the Gospel, the Grand *khan* would have embraced christianity, for which, it is certainly known, he had a strong predilection. But, to return to our subject, we shall now speak of the rewards and honours he bestows on such as distinguish themselves by their valour in battle.

NOTES.

510. This conduct towards the professors of the several systems of faith is perfectly consistent with the character of *Kublaï*, in which policy was the leading feature. It was his object to keep in good humour all classes of his subjects, and especially those of the capital or about the court, by indulging them in the liberty of following unmolested, their own religious tenets, and by flattering each with the idea of possessing his special protection. Many of the highest offices, both civil and military, were held by Mahometans.

511. Neither do those who profess the mussulman faith regard Mahomet as a divinity, nor do the Jews so regard Moses; but it is not to be expected that a Tartar emperor should make very accurate theological distinctions.

512. This word, probably much corrupted by transcribers, must be intended for one of the numerous titles of Buddha or *Fo*, who, amongst the Mungals, as in India also, is commonly termed *Shakia-muni*, and in Siam, *Sommona-kodom*. In the Sanscrit vocabularies he is designated by no fewer than twenty epithets or attributes, each of which is occasionally employed as his proper name.

513. In

513. In forming our opinion upon what is here asserted, of the predilection shewn by the emperor for Christianity, some allowance will be made for the laudable bias of our author in favour of the religion in which he was educated: but his testimony is not on account of that bias to be held light. Had he been a bigot and disposed to sacrifice truth to his zeal, he would not have admitted that the other rival sects had been honoured by the sovereign with equal attentions, nor would he have recorded his interdiction of the cross.

514. If the emperor did not actually make the speech here attributed to him, and our author, like many great historians, only put into his mouth what he might be presumed to have said on the occasion, it must be allowed at least that nothing more consistently in character could possibly have been uttered by him. But the ideas and arguments are not such as were likely to originate in the mind of a conscientious believer in the Gospel; for not only the power of working miracles is admitted to belong to the idolaters, but these are described as possessing a supernatural influence to which the Christians on the spot had no pretensions. They were obviously not the sentiments of our travellers; for although the friars, Plano Carpini and Rubruquis, who visited the courts of Kublaï's predecessors in Tartary, might have reconciled this difficulty by denying that the schismatic Nestorians were real Christians, it does not appear that the former were imbued with the same illiberal prejudices, and throughout the work we find the terms of Christian and Nestorian employed almost indiscriminately; without any remarks upon the ignorance of these Syrian priests (excepting on this occasion through the mouth of the emperor) or reflexions on the immorality of their lives, with which the narratives of the orthodox brethren abound.

It is remarkable that after the interval of four hundred years, we find another emperor of China urging the same objection to the Christian missionaries at his court; although not (in their report at least) so argumentatively. " L'officier " qui parloit de la part de l'empereur " says P. Fontaney " nous dit, que, quoique " son maître ne nous connût pas encore, il avoit néanmoins déjà pour nous la " même bienveillance que pour les autres Pères; qu'il regardoit le courage avec " lequel nous quittions nos parens et notre patrie, pour venir à l'extrémité du " monde " (not a Chinese idea) " prêcher l'Evangile, comme une preuve sensible " de la vérité de notre religion; mais que pour en être parfaitement convaincu, " il voudroit voir à la Chine quelques miracles semblables à ceux qu'on racontoit " avoir été faits autrefois ailleurs pour la confirmer." Lett. édif. t. xvii. p. 255. ed. 1781.

CHAPTER III.

Of the kind of rewards granted to those who conduct themselves well in fight, and of the golden tablets which they receive.

BOOK II. CHAP. III.

THE Grand *khan* appoints twelve of the most intelligent amongst his nobles, whose duty it is to make themselves acquainted with the conduct of the officers and men of his army, particularly upon expeditions and in battles, and to present their reports to his majesty,[515] who, upon being apprised of their respective merits, advances them in his service; raising those who commanded an hundred men, to the command of a thousand, and presenting many with vessels of silver, as well as the customary tablets or warrants of command and of government.[516] The tablets given to those commanding an hundred men are of silver, to those commanding a thousand, of gold or of silver gilt; and those who command ten thousand receive tablets of gold, bearing the head of a lion;[517] the former being of the weight of an hundred and twenty *saggi*,[518] and these with the lion's head, two hundred and twenty. At the top of the inscription on the tablet is a sentence to this effect: "By the power and might of the great God, "and through the grace which he vouchsafes to our empire, be the "name of the *Kaan* blessed; and let all such as disobey (what is "herein directed) suffer death and be utterly destroyed." The officers who hold these tablets have privileges attached to them, and in the inscription is specified what are the duties and the powers of their respective commands. He who is at the head of an hundred thousand men, or the commander in chief of a grand army, has a golden tablet weighing three hundred *saggi*, with the sentence abovementioned, and at the bottom is engraved the figure of a lion, together with representations of the sun and moon.[519] He exercises also the privileges of his high command, as set forth in this magnificent tablet. Whenever he rides in public, an umbrella is carried over his head, denoting the rank and authority he holds;[520] and when he is seated, it is always upon a silver

silver chair. The Grand *khan* confers likewise upon certain of his nobles, tablets on which are represented figures of the gerfalcon,[521] in virtue of which they are authorised to take with them as their guard of honour, the whole army of any great prince. They can also make use of the horses of the imperial stud at their pleasure, and can appropriate the horses of any officers inferior to themselves in rank.

NOTES.

515. In the establishment of a Board of this nature it is probable that *Kublaï* only conformed to the system of the former or ancient Chinese government, which placed the various concerns of the state under the management of distinct tribunals, named *pû*, to each of which another word, expressive of the particular nature of the department, is prefixed. "La quatrième cour souveraine" says Du Halde "se nomme *ping-pou*, c'est-à-dire, le tribunal des armes. La milice "de tout l'empire est de son ressort. C'est de ce tribunal que dépendent les "officiers de guerre généraux et particuliers, &c." T. ii. p. 24. Under a warlike monarch, who owed the empire of China to his sword, it might well have been considered as the first in consequence, although now inferior in rank to three others.

516. See Note 25, where some account is given of these tablets or letters patent, called *tchi kouei*, according to the French orthography. It would seem from the following passage in Du Halde, that in modern times, instead of metal or other hard substance on which the characters and emblematical figures were formed by engraving or otherwise, they are represented on silk, and the diploma is worn upon the breast of the officer on whom it is conferred: "Tous les man-"darins sont infiniment jaloux des marques de leur dignité... Cette marque "consiste dans une pièce d'étoffe quarrée qu'ils portent sur la poitrine; elle est "richement travaillée, et au milieu se voit la devise propre de leurs emplois: "aux uns c'est un dragon à quatre ongles, aux autres un aigle, ou un soleil, et "ainsi du reste. Pour ce qui est des mandarins d'armes, ils portent des pan-"thères, des tygres, des lions, &c." T. ii. p. 28. An account is given of another kind of patent or passport, termed *kang-ho*. T. i. p. 95. It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader that the term *mandarin*, now so commonly used, is not of Chinese or Tartar origin, but a formative from the Portuguese verb *mandar* "to give orders," and appears to have been first applied to the magistrates and public officers of China by the missionaries of that nation; whose system of orthography also,

also, in which the letter *x* has the power of our *sh*, and *m* final that of *n* or *ng*, has generally, although with much inconvenience, prevailed.

Notes.

517. The Chinese representation of a lion, like the *singa* of the Hindu mythology from whence it seems to have been borrowed, is a grotesque figure, extremely unlike the real animal. An engraving of it will be found in Staunton's Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy, vol. ii. p. 311; and the figure is not uncommon in our porcelain collections. Occasion will be taken hereafter to shew that where the lion is spoken of by our author as a living animal, and an object of hunting sport, the tiger must be understood.

518. The *saggio* of Venice being equal to the sixth part of an ounce, these consequently weighed twenty ounces, and the others in proportion up to fifty ounces.

519. If it be meant that the figures of the lion and of the sun were united in the same tablet, we may presume a connexion with the celebrated emblem of *Sol* in the constellation of *Leo*, which appears on the coins of the *Seljuk* dynasty of Asia minor (conquered by a branch of this family), and was afterwards adopted by the kings of Persia, as well as by one of the Moghul emperors of Hindustan. On this subject see Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii. p. 563, 564 and notes.

520. In many parts of the east, the parasol or umbrella with a long handle, borne by an attendant, is a mark of high distinction, and even denotes sovereignty when of a particular colour. Du Halde in describing the parade of a *tsong-tû* or viceroy of a province, enumerates amongst the insignia "un parasol de soye "jaune à triple étage."

521. Amongst the emblematical ornaments worn by great officers, the eagle is mentioned by Du Halde, but which may probably have been intended for the ger-falcon, a bird more prized as the instrument of royal sport. See plate of ancient coins, to vol. ii. p. 168. "Next to the eagle," say our ornithologists, "this is "the most formidable, the most active, and the most intrepid of all voracious "birds, and is the dearest and most esteemed for falconry."

CHAPTER IV.

Of the figure and stature of the Grand khan; of his four principal wives; and of the annual selection of young women for him, in the province of Ungut.

Kublai, who is styled Grand *khan* or Lord of Lords, is of the middle stature, that is, neither tall nor short; his limbs are well formed, and in his whole figure there is a just proportion. His complexion is fair, and occasionally suffused with red, like the bright tint of the rose, which adds much grace to his countenance.[522] His eyes are black and handsome, his nose is well shaped and prominent. He has four wives of the first rank, who are esteemed legitimate,[523] and the eldest born son of any one of these, succeeds to the empire, upon the decease of the Grand *khan*.[524] They bear equally the title of empress, and have their separate courts. None of them have fewer than three hundred young female attendants of great beauty; together with a multitude of youths as pages, and other castrati;[525] as well as ladies of the bedchamber; so that the number of persons belonging to their respective courts amounts to ten thousand.[526] When his majesty is desirous of the company of one of his empresses, he either sends for her, or goes himself to her palace. Besides these he has many concubines provided for his use from a province of Tartary named *Ungut*, having a city of the same name, the inhabitants of which are distinguised for beauty of features and fairness of complexion.[527] Thither the Grand *khan* sends his officers every second year, or oftener, as it may happen to be his pleasure, who collect for him, to the number of four or five hundred, or more, of the handsomest of the young women, according to the estimation of beauty communicated to them in their instructions. The mode of their appreciation is as follows. Upon the arrival of these commissioners they give orders for assembling all the young women of the province, and appoint qualified persons to examine them, who upon careful inspection of each of them separately, that is to say, of the hair, the countenance, the eyebrows, the mouth, the lips, and other

features, as well as the symmetry of these with each other, estimate their value at sixteen, seventeen, eighteen or twenty, or more carats, according to the greater or less degree of beauty.[528] The number required by the Grand *khan*, at the rates, perhaps, of twenty or twenty-one carats, to which their commission was limited, is then selected from the rest, and they are conveyed to his court. Upon their arrival in his presence, he causes a new examination to be made by a different set of inspectors, and from amongst them a further selection takes place, when thirty or forty are retained for his own chamber, at a higher valuation. These, in the first instance, are committed separately to the care of the wives of certain of the nobles, whose duty it is to observe them attentively during the course of the night, in order to ascertain that they have not any concealed imperfections, that they sleep tranquilly, do not snore, have sweet breath, and are free from unpleasant scent in any part of the body.[529] Having undergone this rigorous scrutiny, they are divided into parties of five, one of which attends during three days and three nights, in his majesty's interior apartment, where they are to perform every service that is required of them. When this term is completed, they are relieved by another party, and in this manner successively, until the whole number have taken their turn; when the first five recommence their attendance. But whilst the one party officiates in the inner chamber, another is stationed in the outer apartment adjoining; in order that if his majesty should have occasion for any thing, such as drink or victuals, the former may signify his commands to the latter, by whom the article required is immediately procured: and thus the duty of waiting upon his majesty's person is exclusively performed by these young females.[530] The remainder of them, whose value had been estimated at an inferior rate, are assigned to the different lords of the household; under whom they are instructed in cookery, in dress-making, and other suitable works; and upon any person belonging to the court expressing an inclination to take a wife, the Grand *khan* bestows upon him one of these damsels, with a handsome portion. In this manner he provides for them all amongst his nobility. It may be asked whether the people of the province do not feel themselves aggrieved in having their daughters thus forcibly taken from them by the sovereign? Certainly not; but

on

on the contrary they regard it as a favour and an honour done to them; and those who are the fathers of handsome children feel highly gratified by his condescending to make choice of their daughters. "If, say "they, my daughter is born under an auspicious planet and to good "fortune, his majesty can best fulfil her destinies, by matching her "nobly; which it would not be in my power to do." If, on the other hand, the daughter misconducts herself, or any mischance befalls her (by which she becomes disqualified) the father attributes the disappointment to the malign influence of her stars.[531]

NOTES.

522. The complexions of the princes and superior classes of the Moghul-Tartars must have improved in each generation by their marrying the daughters of conquered princes, and selecting concubines from the fairest of their captives.

523. "Il avoit épousé plusieurs femmes" says De Guignes "dont cinq portoient "le titre d'impératrices;" but it is probable that not more than four of these (if so many) were contemporaneous; and the legitimacy of the latter number, which does not appear to be sanctioned by the ancient Chinese institutions, may have been suggested by the Mahometan usage. Three queens are mentioned by P. Magalhanes as belonging to the emperor *Kang-hi*, and the establishment of the late emperor *Kien Lông*, consisted in like manner, of one female with the rank of empress, two queens of the second order, and six of the third.

524. "Les fils de ces trois reines" adds Magalhanes "sont tous légitimes, "avec cette seule difference, que ceux de la première sont preferez aux autres "dans la succession de l'empire." Nouv. Relat. de la Chine, p. 308. But according to the laws of China, as we are told by Du Halde, the eldest son (or son of the superior wife) though he may have a preferable claim, has not an indefeisible right to the succession. "C'est l'empereur" he says "qui chosit parmi ses en-"fans, celui qu'il juge le plus propre à lui succéder....Ce choix tombe sur qui "il lui plaît, pourvû qu'il ait un vrai mérite et les talens propres pour gouver-"ner....Le feu empereur *Cang-hi* usa de ce droit en déposant d'un manière "éclatante un de ses fils, le seul qu'il eut de sa femme légitime, qu'il avoit "nommé prince héritier, et dont la fidelité lui étoit devenue suspecte." T. ii. p. 11. Amongst the predecessors of *Kublaï*, also, in the Moghul empire, we have instances of the hereditary claim being set aside, and *Oktaï* himself was

named Grand *khan*, by his father, in preference to *Jagatai*, the eldest son. Our author must therefore be understood to say, that the son first born to any one of the four empresses, was considered as the presumptive heir; and this in fact having been the case with respect to the eldest son of *Kublai*, whose succession, had he outlived his father, was undoubted, the prevailing sentiment of the court might naturally be mistaken for the established custom of the empire.

525. At all periods of Chinese history we read of eunuchs employed in great numbers at the court, absorbing the favours and confidence of the monarch, conspiring against the ministers, and effecting the most serious revolutions in the government. " When the Tartars conquered China " says Barrow " they found " all the great offices of state filled by eunuchs, and the palace swarmed with " these creatures; the greater part was immediately displaced, and other Chinese " of talent and education were put into their places. Having, however, adopted " the laws and customs of the conquered, it became necessary to keep up the " usual establishment of women in the palace, the inevitable consequence of " which was the retention of a certain number of eunuchs to look after them. " And they are at this moment as numerous, perhaps, in all the palaces, as they " were at the conquest; but none of them are dignified with any office of trust or " importance in the state." Travels in China, p. 230. " On compte présente- " ment " says De Guignes " de cinq à six mille eunuques existant, soit chez " l'empereur, soit chez les grands." T. i. p. 378.

526. This number appears excessive, but we are not to measure the extravagancies of enormous and uncontrouled power by any standard of our own ideas. Perhaps besides the establishment of female attendants and of eunuchs, old and young, a numerous military guard of honour might be attached to the court of each of the empresses. The early Venice edition, however, states the number much lower: " Ciascuna de queste quatro regine hanno in sua corte piu de " quatro millia persone infra homini e donne." P. Martini speaks of numerous females, below the rank of concubines, for the service of the palace: " Les unes " he says " y sont femmes de chambre, les autres y sont de la garderobe. J'ay oüi " dire qu'il y en avoit bien cinq mille." Thevenot, t. ii. p. 39.

527. The country here named *Ungut* is in other versions called *Origiach*, *Origiathe*, and *Ungrac*. There is little doubt of its being intended for that of the *Ighurs*, *Eighurs*, or *Uighurs*, who in the time of *Jengiz-khan* possessed the countries of *Turfan* and *Hami* or *Kamil*, and were always considered as superior, in respect both of person and acquirements, to the other nations of Tartary. See Note 24.

528. If by this gold-weight is meant the carat consisting of four grains, the estimated value of beauty must have been very low in that age and country; as twenty carats or eighty grains of gold, at four pounds sterling the ounce, amount to no more than thirteen shillings and fourpence. But the probability is that our author's words expressed some Chinese weight (the *taël*, perhaps, or the *mace*, which latter would bring it to about eight or nine pounds sterling), and the foreign term he employed may have been inaccurately rendered by *carato*.

529. The mode of selecting these canditates for the royal bed, and the precautions taken with regard to their personal qualities, appear to have varied little at the period when Magalhanes wrote (*1668*), from what our author describes them in the thirteenth century. " Quand le roy ou le prince héritier veulent épouser " une femme " says the missionary " le tribunal des cérémonies choisit à *Pe-kim* " des filles de quatorze ou quinze ans, les plus belles et les plus accomplies " qu'on peut trouver, soit qu'elles soient filles de grands seigneurs ou de gens de " basse naissance. Ce tribunal se sert pour cela de femmes agées et de bonnes " mœurs, qui font choix des vingt qu'elles estiment les plus parfaites. . . . Durant " quelques jours, elles sont examinées par la reine mere. . . . qui les visite, et les " fait courir pour reconnoître si elles n'ont point de défaut ou de mauvaise " odeur." Nouv. Relat. p. *330*.

530. It would appear from hence that *Kublaï*, although he adopted the Chinese custom of employing eunuchs as the attendants or guards of his females, did not so far forget his original manly habits, as to admit them near his own person. It is otherwise at the present day. " The eunuchs and the women " says Barrow " are the only companions of the emperor in his leisure hours." P. *234*.

531. If these young women were brought from the country of the *Ighurs*, said to be that of *Turfan* and *Kamil* or *Hami* (as mentioned in Note 527), the eagerness of the inhabitants to obtain for their daughters the honours of a splendid prostitution, is perfectly consistent with the relaxed state of morals prevailing at the latter place, as described by our author in Chap. xxxvii of Book I.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER V.

Of the number of the Grand khan's sons by his four wives, and of Chingis his first-born, whom he makes kings of different provinces; also of the sons by his concubines, whom he creates lords.

BOOK II. CHAP. V.

THE Grand *khan* has had twenty sons by his four legitimate wives, the eldest of whom, named *Chingis*,[532] was designed to inherit the dignity of Grand *khan*, with the government of the empire; and this nomination was confirmed to him during the life-time of his father. It was not however, his fate to survive him; but leaving a son, whose name is *Themur*, he, as the representative of his father, is to succeed to the dominion.[533] The disposition of this prince is good, and he is endowed with wisdom and valour; of the latter he has given proofs in several successful battles. Besides these, his majesty has twenty-five sons by his concubines, all of them brave soldiers, having been continually employed in the military profession. These he has placed in the rank of nobles.[534] Of his legitimate sons, seven are at the head of extensive provinces and kingdoms,[535] which they govern with wisdom and prudence, as might be expected of the children of one whose great qualities have not been surpassed, in the general estimation, by any person of the Tartar race.

NOTES.

532. Gaubil and De Guignes name this prince *Tchingkin* and *Tchenkin*, and such may perhaps have been the manner in which it was pronounced by the Chinese, who terminate all their monosyllables either with a vowel or a nasal; but the name as found in most of the versions of our author, is apparently more correct, being that of the great ancestor of the family; and in the early Venice epitome it is expressly said: "So primo hebbe nome *Chinchis chan* per amor de "*Chinchis*." It may be observed with regard to the orthography, that in the Italian of Rumusio it is written *Cingis* (equivalent to *Tchingis* in the French, or

Chingis

Chingis in the English mode of spelling), which is conformable to the usual pronunciation of the Persian *ch* or *tch*. See Note 368.

533. The name here written *Themur*, and in other versions *Temur*, is evidently the well known Tartar name of *Timur* تيمور; although the great conqueror so called did not acquire his celebrity until a century after. The circumstances of this prince's accession are thus stated by Gaubil; "L'an 1294, l'empereur *Hou-*
"*pilié* (Kublaï) mourut âgé de 80 ans, sans désigner par écrit de successeur à
"l'empire. Son fils *Tchingkin* prince héritier etoit mort quelque temps aupara-
"vant. *Peyen* alors ministre d'état assembla les princes du sang, et voyant
"qu'ils étoient partagez sur le choix d'un empereur, il leur dit d'un ton d'auto-
"rité: 'Je sai, et vous le savez aussi, que *Houpilié* a dit plusieurs fois qu'a-
"'près sa mort *Tiemour* son petit-fils lui succéderoit; il est présent, que n'obéis-
"sez-vous à l'ordre de l'empereur?' A ces mots tous les princes se réunirent, et
"on proclama sixième empereur des Mogols *Tiemour* troisiéme fils de *Tchingkin*
"et de la princesse *Hongkila*." Obs. Chron. p. 201.

534. "Les princes mêmes de son sang" observes Du Halde "n'en peuvent
"porter le nom sans sa permission expresse" "C'est en leur faveur qu'on a
"établi cinq degrés de noblesse titulaire, à peuprès semblables aux titres qu'on
"donne en Europe." T. ii. p. 11 and 58.

535. De Guignes enumerates ten of his sons, born of five empresses, and mentions the provinces of *Shensi*, *Sechuen*, and Tibet as being governed by *Mangkola*, the third son. P. Magalhanes notices the custom of sending the princes of the royal family into the provinces, with the title of kings; but in the reign of *Kang-hi* their authority was merely nominal. "Il donna le titre de *Cho-*
"*vâm* (*vang*) ou roy de *Cho*, à celuy qu'il envoya à la ville de *Chim-tu*, capitale
"de la province de *Su-chuen*, parce que cette province s'appelloit *Cho*, ancien-
"nement." P. 329.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the great and admirable palace of the Grand khan, near to the city of Kanbalu.

THE Grand *khan* usually resides during three months of the year, namely, December, January, and February, in the great city of *Kanbalu*,

balu,[536] situated towards the north-eastern extremity of the province of Kataia;[537] and here, on the southern side of the new city, is the site of his vast palace, the form and dimensions of which are as follows. In the first place is a square enclosed with a wall and deep ditch; each side of the square being eight miles in length,[538] and having at an equal distance from each extremity, an entrance-gate, for the concourse of people resorting thither from all quarters. Within this enclosure there is, on the four sides, an open space, one mile in breadth, where the troops are stationed;[539] and this is bounded by a second wall, enclosing a square of six miles,[540] having three gates on the south side and three on the north, the middle portal of each being larger than the other two, and always kept shut, excepting on the occasions of the emperor's entrance or departure. Those on each side always remain open for the use of common passengers.[541] In the middle of each division of these walls is a handsome and spacious building, and consequently within the enclosure there are eight such buildings, in which are deposited the royal military stores; one building being appropriated to the reception of each class of stores. Thus, for instance, the bridles, saddles, stirrups, and other furniture serving for the equipment of cavalry, occupy one storehouse; the bows, strings, quivers, arrows, and other articles belonging to archery, occupy another; cuirasses, corselets, and other armour formed of leather, a third storehouse; and so of the rest. Within this walled enclosure there is still another, of great thickness, and its height is full twenty-five feet. The battlements or crenated parapets are all white. This also forms a square four miles in extent, each side being one mile, and it has six gates, disposed like those of the former enclosure.[542] It contains in like manner eight large buildings, similarly arranged, which are appropriated to the wardrobe of the emperor.[543] The spaces between the one wall and the other are ornamented with many handsome trees, and contain meadows in which are kept various kinds of beasts, such as stags, the animals that yield the musk, roe-bucks, fallow-deer, and others of the same class. Every interval between the walls, not occupied by buildings, is stocked in this manner. The pastures have abundant herbage. The roads across them being raised three feet above their level, and paved, no mud collects upon them, nor rain-water settles, but on the contrary

runs

runs off, and contributes to improve the vegetation. Within these walls which constitute the boundary of four miles, stands the palace of the Grand *khan*, the most extensive that has ever yet been known. It reaches from the northern to the southern wall, leaving only a vacant space (or court), where persons of rank and the military guards pass and repass.[544] It has no upper floor, but the roof is very lofty.[545] The paved foundation or platform on which it stands is raised *ten spans* above the level of the ground, and a wall of marble, two paces wide, is built on all sides, to the level of this pavement; within the line of which the palace is erected; so that the wall extending beyond the ground plan of the building, and encompassing the whole, serves as a terrace, where those who walk on it are visible from without. Along the exterior edge of the wall is a handsome balustrade, with pillars, which the people are allowed to approach.[546] The sides of the great halls and the apartments are ornamented with dragons in carved work and gilt, figures of warriors, of birds and of beasts, with representations of battles. The inside of the roof is contrived in such a manner that nothing besides gilding and painting presents itself to the eye.[547] On each of the four sides of the palace there is a grand flight of marble steps, by which you ascend from the level of the ground to the wall of marble which surrounds the building, and constitute the approach to the palace itself.[548] The grand hall is extremely long and wide, and admits of dinners being there served to great multitudes of people. The palace contains a number of separate chambers, all highly beautiful, and so admirably disposed that it seems impossible to suggest any improvement to the system of their arrangement. The exterior of the roof is adorned with a variety of colours, red, green, azure, and violet, and the sort of covering is so strong as to last for many years.[549] The glazing of the windows is so well wrought and so delicate as to have the transparency of crystal.[550] In the rear of the body of the palace there are large buildings containing several apartments, where is deposited the private property of the monarch, or his treasure in gold and silver bullion, precious stones, and pearls, and also his vessels of gold and silver plate.[551] Here are likewise the apartments of his wives and concubines; and in this retired situation he dispatches business with convenience; being free from every kind of interruption.

tion.[552] On the other side of the grand palace and opposite to that in which the emperor resides, is another palace, in every respect similar, appropriated to the residence of *Chingis*, his eldest son, at whose court are observed all the ceremonials belonging to that of his father, as the prince who is to succeed to the government of the empire.[553] Not far from the palace, on the northern side, and about a bow-shot distance from the surrounding wall, is an artificial mount of earth, the height of which is full an hundred paces, and the circuit at the base, about a mile. It is clothed with the most beautiful evergreen trees; for whenever his majesty receives information of a handsome tree growing in any place, he causes it to be dug up, with all its roots and the earth about them, and however large and heavy it may be, he has it transported by means of elephants to this mount, and adds it to the verdant collection. From this perpetual verdure it has acquired the appellation of the Green mount. On its summit is erected an ornamental pavilion, which is likewise entirely green. The view of this altogether, the mount itself, the trees, and the building, form a delightful and at the same time a wonderful scene. In the northern quarter also, and equally within the precincts of the city, there is a large and deep excavation, judiciously formed, the earth from which supplied the material for raising the mount.[554] It is furnished with water by a small rivulet, and has the appearance of a fish-pond, but its use is for watering the cattle. The stream passing from thence along an aqueduct, at the foot of the Green mount, proceeds to fill another great and very deep excavation formed between the private palace of the emperor and that of his son *Chingis*; and the earth from hence equally served to encrease the elevation of the mount. In this latter bason there is great store and variety of fish, from which the table of his majesty is supplied with any quantity that may be wanted. The stream discharges itself at the opposite extremity of the piece of water,[555] and precautions are taken to prevent the escape of the fish, by placing gratings of copper or iron at the places of its entrance and exit. It is stocked also with swans and other aquatic birds. From the one palace to the other there is a communication by means of a bridge thrown across the water. Such is the description of this great palace. We shall now speak of the situation and circumstances of the city of *Taidu*.

NOTES.

NOTES.

536. The periodical change of the emperor's residence according to the season of the year, has been already adverted to, in Note 469. He was accustomed to pass the hottest months of the summer at his palace of *Shang-tu*, in Tartary, where the climate is then abundantly more temperate; not occasioned so much by the difference of latitude, which is not three degrees, as from its considerable elevation above the plain of that province in which the capital stands. The same practice is continued to the present day, but the distance of the summer palace is not so great as formerly. When Lord Macartney's embassy arrived at the mouth of the Peking river, in August 1793, it was announced to him on the part of the emperor *Kien-long*, that it was his majesty's intention to receive the English gentlemen at his seat of *Jehol*, which is amongst the mountains, about a hundred miles from the capital.

537. Relatively to the vast extent of the whole empire at that period, *Kataia* or northern China is termed by our author a province, although it contained the capital of that empire and the seat of government.

538. These dimensions as applicable to a palace, even for an emperor of China, appear at first view to be extravagant; but the seeming difficulty arises from the misapplication of a term, in calling that a *palace*, which was in fact the enclosure of a royal park and encampment. In the space afterwards described as occupied by the actual buildings for the residence of the emperor and his court, there is nothing that exceeds the measurement of those now existing.

539. The area allotted to the troops, upon this plan, would be twenty-eight square miles. Their number was of course very great, and being chiefly cavalry, the barracks or sheds for their accommodation, would necessarily occupy a vast range. In the early part of the last century the cavalry stationed in and about Peking, was reckoned at 80,000. Supposing it to have been about 112,000 in the days of *Kublai*, this would allow only a square mile for 4000 horse.

540. As this second enclosure not only contained the royal arsenals, eight in number, for every description of military store, but formed also a park for deer, there is nothing remarkable in its extent. It is not easy, however, to reconcile its position in respect to the city, with some of the circumstances here mentioned; but we must suppose that the interior enclosure (afterwards described) which contained the palace properly so called, was situated towards the northern side of this park, and was at the same time contiguous to the southern wall of the

 city.

city. It is proper to observe that the Basle edition, the Italian epitomes, and the early English version, are silent with respect to the two outer squares; whilst all agree in stating the third as being no more than one mile in the length of each of its sides, although made to contain, not only the buildings of the emperor's court and private palaces, with their pleasure grounds, but also the grand arsenals of military stores for the equipment of large armies; which is not reconcilable to probability. The insufficiency of the space for such various and incongruous purposes, will be obvious on perusing the following description from the Latin text: "Tribus anni mensibus.... Cublai rex in regia civitate Cambalu "moratur, ubi palatium habet miro artificio extructum. Ambitus enim ejus "continet miliaria quatuor, quadratura qualibet unum miliare complectente. Et "est murus is spissus valde, decem passibus in altum consurgens....In sin- "gulis quatuor muri angulis palatium pulchrum et magnum, fortalacii loco "conditum est. Sic in medio cujuslibet quatuor murorum, palatium egregium "extructum est: eáque in universum octo sunt. In his conservantur arma, in- "strumenta, tormenta, et vasa bellica, nempe arcus, sagittæ, pharetræ, calcaria, "frena, lancæ, clavæ, funiculi arcuum, et reliqua quæ in bello necessaria sunt, "singulaque armorum genera in singulis posita sunt palatiis. Porrò facies pala- "tii quæ meridiem respicit, quinque habet portas, quarum media major est "omnibus, nec unquam aperitur, nisi pro regis introitu..... Cæterum intra "jam memoratum murum, alius murus cingit hoc regium castrum, habens ut "prior murus, in angulis et meditulliis eorum octo palatia, in quibus continentur "alia vasa et pretiosa jocalia regis. In spatio vero medio interiori est regium "palatium, habitaculum scilicet in quo rex moratur..... Intra dictos muros "totum castrum ambientes, sunt plurima viridaria atque prata lignis pomiferis "atque variis consita arboribus. Discurrunt etiam per hæc viridaria, animalia "sylvestria, ut cervi et animantia ex quibus muscum colligitur, capreæ, damulæ, "et aliarum specierum animalia." Lib. ii. cap. ix. It is evident that the person by whom this version was made, endeavoured to contract what he may have thought an excessive space, by crowding within the interior enclosure, objects which the text followed by Ramusio has assigned to an exterior. Wherever the error may lie, the incongruity must be charged to those who have misunderstood or perverted our author's description.

541. The custom of reserving particular gates for the exclusive use of the emperor, is still observed. "Comme la porte du Midi" says Du Halde, speaking, not indeed of this particular enclosure, but of the palace itself "ne s'ouvre "que pour l'empereur, nous entrâmes par celle qui regarde l'Occident." T. ii. p. 17. De L'isle also, in his "Description de la Ville de Peking," notices this arrangement. "Ce premier appartement, No. 2, se nomme le portail de grande "pureté: au bas on voit trois grandes portes qui ne s'ouvrent jamais que quand "l'empereur

" l'empereur veut sortir du palais: les particuliers doivent entrer et sortir par " les portes 49 et 50 (du plan)." P. 13. This *etiquette* did not escape the observation of *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors, in the year 1420. " Le palais " says their Journal " a trois grandes portes..... L'empereur passe par celle du milieu et " le monde passe par celles des côtez." P. 5.

542. To this last enclosure it is that the appellation of the *palace* should be restricted; and when we read the description of the *meidan* of Ispahan, or of the Escurial with its twenty-two courts, we shall not deem the area of a square mile any extraordinary space to be occupied by the various buildings required for such an establishment as that of *Kublaï*. It is at the same time to be remarked that there is a striking agreement between the measure here stated, and that assigned to the modern palace in the descriptions we have from the Jesuits. " Ce palais," says Du Halde, " est un amas prodigieux de grands bâtimens, de vastes cours, " et de jardins: il est fermé d'une muraille de brique d'environ *douze lys* Chinois " de tour. Cette muraille est *crenelée* le long de la courtine....C'est là proprement ce qui s'appelle le palais, parce que cette enceinte renferme les appartemens de l'empereur et de sa famille." T. i. p. 116. The Chinese *li* or *ly* being equal to 296 French toises or 1776 feet, and the French foot being to the English in the proportion of 1068 to 1000 (or about 16 to 15) it follows that the *li* should contain 1897, or, for the sake of round numbers, 1900 English feet, and consequently twelve *li*, 22,800 such feet; which differs only by a $\frac{1}{21}$ part from the number of feet (21,120) in four English miles. It must be remarked, however, that De L'isle's Plan gives eighteen *li* for the compass of the *Hoang-ching*, originally designed by *Yong-lo* for the boundary of his palace, but which has been contracted by his successors, to what is termed the *Kong-ching* or *Tse-kin*, and measures only six *li* or 11,400 feet.

543. It is well known to have been the practice of eastern monarchs, from the earliest ages, to deliver changes of raiment to those whom they meant to distinguish by their favour. The Persian term *khilàt* is generally applied to these vestments, which consist of pelisses in the northern parts of Asia, and of dresses of cloth, silk, or muslin, in the temperate and warmer climates. We read of vast numbers of them being distributed on the occasion of great victories or the dismissal of important embassies; and this may account for the bulk of the wardrobes or buildings for what are here termed the *paramenti* of the emperor, which may also include the *regalia* carried in their splendid processions.

544. " C'est dans son avant-cour que se rangent tous les mandarins, lorsqu'aux " jours marquez, ils font les cérémonies déterminées par les loix de l'empire, " pour renouveller leurs hommages." Du Halde, t. i. p. 117.

545. It

545. It will be seen in the plates accompanying the accounts of various embassies to Peking that although the flooring of the palaces is elevated from the ground, they consist of but a single story. The height of the ornamented roofs is a striking feature in the architecture of these people.

546. The height of the terrace is said, in Ramusio's text, to be *dieci palmi* or about seven feet; but in the epitomes it is *doi brazza e mezo* or about twice that elevation; and this accords best with more modern descriptions. " Les terrasses " sur lesquelles sont placez ces appartemens " says Du Halde " sont hautes " d'environ quinze pieds, revetues de marbre blanc, ornées de balustrades assez " bien travaillées, et ouvertes seulement aux entrées des escaliers posez sur les " côtez et sur le milieu, aussi bien que vers les coins de la façade . . . . Ces terrasses " font devant les portes et les fenêtres de l'appartement une platte-forme pavée " de marbre fort large, et qui dans sa longueur de l'Est à l'Ouest, déborde tou- " jours hors de la salle de sept à huit pieds." T. i. p. 117. On another occasion he says: " Une espèce de chemin ou de levée haute de six ou sept pieds, bordées " de balustres de marbre blanc, et pavée de même, conduit à ce palais où est " l'appartement de l'empereur." T. ii. p. 19. All the accounts of missionaries and travellers serve to shew that in point of structure, materials, and style of embellishment, there has existed a perfect resemblance between the buildings of *Kublaï*, as described by our author, and those of *Kang-hi* and *Kien-long*, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

547. " Cette salle " adds Du Halde " a environ cent trente pieds de longueur, " et est presque quarrée. Le lambris est tout en sculpture vernissé de verd, et " chargé de dragons dorez: les colomnes qui soutiennent le toit en dedans sont de " six à sept pieds de circonférence par le bas: elles sont incrustées d'une espèce de " pâte enduite d'un vernis rouge." T. i. p. 117.

548. " Cette hauteur de quarante cinq marches " says Van Braam " est inter- " rompue par une première terrasse de dix pieds de profondeur, puis l'on trouve " une seconde portion d'escalier que suit aussi une seconde terrasse de la même " dimension. Ces deux repos ou terrasses forment des galeries, au moyen d'une " balustrade en pierre qui règne sur leur longueur, et dont les pilastres, mis à " environ douze pieds les uns des autres, portent des figures de lions ou d'autres " animaux." Voyage en Chine, t. i. p. 226.

549. The roofs are invariably covered with baked tiles, which, for the principal buildings, have a vitrified glazing of a bright colour. Such as are used for the palaces at the present day, are exclusively yellow; but this etiquette may not have been so strictly adhered to under the dynasty of the *Yuen*. " Le tout est " couvert

" couvert de tuiles vernissées d'un si beau jaune, que de loin elles ne paroissent " guères moins éclatantes, que si elles étoient dorées." Du Halde, t. i. p. 116.

550. Ramusio employs the word *vitreate*, which I have translated *glazing*, although there is no reason to suppose that glass was used for windows, in China, at that period. The meaning may be, that the pellucid substance employed for glazing (perhaps talc or laminæ of shells) was so delicately wrought *(cosi ben fatte e cosi sottilmente)* as to have nearly the transparency of crystal. " Les fenêtres " des maisons " says De Guignes " sont garnies avec des coquilles minces et assez " transparentes, ou avec du papier." T. ii. p. 178. Staunton mentions that the windows of some of the yachts or barges had glass panes, but the manufacture was probably European.

551. In the modern palace the buildings for this purpose are described as being (less appropriately), round the court in *front* of the great hall of audience. " La " cour qui est devant cette salle impériale " says Du Halde " est la plus grande de " toutes les cours du palais....Sur la galerie qui l'environne, sont les magazins " des choses précieuses qui appartiennent à l'empereur....On ouvre ces magazins " en de certaines occasions, comme à la création d'un prince héritier, d'une im- " pératrice, des reines, &c. L'un est de vases et d'autres ouvrages de différens " métaux. Un second renferme les espèces les plus belles de peaux, et en " grande quantité....Il y en a un de pierres précieuses, de marbres extraordi- " naires, et de perles pêchées en Tartarie." T. i. p. 118. We ought not to be surprised at any variation with respect to the arrangement of these buildings, when we learn that the whole of the palace has been repeatedly destroyed by fire.

552. " Les deux appartemens suivans " says De L'isle " forment avec le précé- " dent ce que l'on peut appeller proprement le logement de l'empereur: c'est " en effet dans ces trois appartemens que l'empereur réside avec l'impératrice " régnante, les reines et les concubines....L'enclos de l'appartement de l'em- " pereur et de l'impératrice a des murailles et des portes plus élevées, que n'en " ont les enclos des reines." Descr. de la Ville de Peking, p. 16.

553. " A l'est de la même cour est un autre palais, habité par le prince héri- " tier, lorsqu'il y en a un de déclaré." P. 16. It will not escape the observation of the reader that in a preceding part of this chapter our author noticed the untimely death of this prince, (see Note 533), who notwithstanding, is here mentioned as a living person. This is obviously to be accounted for from the circumstance of the work being composed, not from recollection merely, but from notes made at different periods, amongst which a description of the palaces might have been one

of

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of the earliest. *Kublaï* also, the event of whose death is related in the course of the returning journey, is spoken of throughout the work as the emperor actually reigning.

554. This artificial hill exists at the present day, and retains its original name of *King-shan* or the Green mountain; but it would seem that four others of inferior size have since been added. "Les portes No. 26, 28 et 29, (du plan de "M. De L'isle) sont celles d'un vaste enclos où est la montagne de *King* ou "*King-chan*: cette montagne a été construite de main d'homme; on y a employé "la terre qu'on a retirée en creusant les fossés et les lacs. Elle est composée "de cinq collines de hauteur médiocre; celle au milieu est la plus haute; les "autres se présentent à l'Est et à l'Ouest en dégradant. Elles sont couvertes "d'arbres rangés avec symmétrie jusqu'à leur sommet: on y avoit rassemblé des "liévres, de lapins, des cerfs, des daims, &c. C'est sur cette montagne que "l'infortuné *Tsong-tching*, dernier empereur de la dynastie *Ming*, se réfugia "(l'an 1644) pour éviter de tomber vif entre les mains du rebelle *Li-cong-tse*, "qui s'étoit rendu maître du palais....L'empereur actuellement régnant (l'an "1765) a beaucoup embelli le *King-chan*; il a fait construire de beaux jardins, "des promenades agréables, des appartemens magnifiques, des salles de specta-"cles et de concerts; le tout forme maintenant un séjour vraiment délicieux." P. 17. "Northward from the palace" observes our countryman Bell "is a large "canal of an irregular figure, where the imperial family divert themselves by "fishing. This canal is artificial; and the earth dug out of it has raised an high "bank, from whence you have a full view of the city and the country adjacent, "to a considerable distance. This mount rises to a ridge, which is planted with "trees; resembling the wild and irregular scenes of nature that frequently "present themselves in this country. The canal and mount are of an equal "length, which I compute to to be about an English mile. This must have been "a work of vast expense and labour; and, it must be confessed, contributes "greatly to the beauty of the place." Vol. ii. p. 52. These hills are noticed also in the Account of Lord Macartney's embassy. "A halt" says Sir G. Staunton "was made opposite the treble gates which are nearly in the centre of this "northern side of the palace wall. It appeared to enclose a large quantity of "ground. It was not level like all the lands without the wall; some of it was "raised into hills of steep ascent: the earth taken to form them left deep hollows "now filled with water. Out of these artificial lakes, of which the margins "were diversified and irregular, small islands rose with a variety of fanciful "edifices, interspersed with trees. On the hills of different heights the principal "palaces for the emperor were erected. The whole had somewhat the appear-"ance of enchantment. On the summit of the highest eminences were lofty "trees surrounding summer-houses and cabinets contrived for retreat and plea-"sure." T. ii. p. 121.

555. "Une

555. "Une petite riviere" adds De L'isle "que prend sa source dans des "montagnes à environ trois lieues au nord-ouest de Peking, entre dans le *King-* "*tching* (nouvelle ville ou ville Tartare) par sa partie septentrionale, se sépare "en plusieurs bras, environne le palais impérial, forme plusieurs lacs auxquels "il paroît que la nature n'a pas seule travaillé, entoure toute la ville Chinoise "(le P. Gaubil dit, que cette rivière entoure toute le *King-tching*) et réunie en "un seul bras qui porte le nom de *Yn*, elle se jette à *Tong-tcheou* dans le fleuve "*Pay-ho*, à quatre lieues à l'Est de Peking." Descrip. de la Ville de Peking, p. 11.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the new city of Tai-du built near to that of Kanbalu; of a rule observed respecting the entertainment of ambassadors; and of the nightly police of the city.

THE city of *Kanbalu* is situated near a large river in the province of Kataia, and was in ancient times eminently magnificent and royal. The name itself implies "the city of the sovereign."[556] But his majesty having imbibed an opinion from the astrologers, that it was destined to become rebellious to his authority, resolved upon the measure of building another capital, upon the opposite side of the river, where stand the palaces just described: so that the new and the old cities are separated from each other only by the stream that runs between them.[557] The new-built city received the name of *Tai-du*,[558] and all the Kataians, that is, all those of the inhabitants who were natives of the province of Kataia, were compelled to evacuate the ancient city, and to take up their abode in the new. Some of the inhabitants, however, of whose loyalty he did not entertain suspicion, were suffered to remain, and especially because the latter, although of the dimensions that shall presently be described, was not capable of containing the same number as the former, which was of vast extent.[559]

This new city is of a form perfectly square, and twenty-four miles in extent, each of its sides being neither more nor less than six miles.[560] It is enclosed with walls of earth, that at the base are about ten paces thick, but gradually diminish to the top, where the thickness is not more than three paces.[561] In all parts the battlements are white.[562] The whole plan of the city was regularly laid out by line, and the streets in general are consequently so straight, that when a person ascends the wall over one of the gates, and looks right forward, he can see the gate opposite to him, on the other side of the city.[563] In the public streets there are, on each side, booths and shops of every description.[564] All the allotments of ground upon which the habitations throughout the city were constructed, are square, and exactly on a line with each other; each allotment being sufficiently spacious for handsome buildings, with corresponding courts and gardens. One of these was assigned to each head of a family; that is to say, such a person of such a tribe had one square allotted to him, and so of the rest. Afterwards the property passed from hand to hand. In this manner the whole interior of the city is disposed in squares, so as to resemble a chess-board, and planned out with a degree of precision and beauty impossible to describe. The wall of the city has twelve gates, three on each side of the square,[565] and over each gate and compartment of the wall there is a handsome building; so that on each side of the square there are five such buildings, containing large rooms, in which are disposed the arms of those who form the garrison of the city;[566] every gate being guarded by a thousand men.[567] It is not to be understood that such a force is stationed there in consequence of the apprehension of danger from any hostile power whatever, but as a guard suitable to the honour and dignity of the sovereign. Yet it must be allowed that the declaration of the astrologers has excited in his mind a degree of suspicion with regard to the Kataians. In the centre of the city there is a great bell suspended in a lofty building, which is sounded every night, and after the third stroke no person dares to be found in the streets,[568] unless upon some urgent occasion, such as to call assistance to a woman in labour or a man attacked with sickness; and even in such necessary cases the person is required to carry a light.[569]

Without.

Without-side of each of the gates is a suburb so wide that it reaches to and unites with those of the other nearest gates on both sides, and in length extends to the distance of three or four miles;[570] so that the number of inhabitants in these suburbs exceeds that of the city itself. Within each suburb there are, at intervals, as far perhaps as a mile from the city, many hotels or caravanserais, in which the merchants arriving from various parts, take up their abode;[571] and to each description of people a separate building is assigned; as we should say, one to the Lombards, another to the Germans, and a third to the French. The number of public women who prostitute themselves for money, reckoning those in the new city as well as those in the suburbs of the old, is twenty-five thousand.[572] To each hundred and to each thousand of these there are superintending officers appointed, who are under the orders of a captain-general. The motive for placing them under such command is this: when ambassadors arrive charged with any business in which the interests of the Grand *khan* are concerned, it is customary to maintain them at his majesty's expense, and in order that they may be treated in the most honourable manner, the captain is ordered to furnish nightly to each individual of the embassy, one of these courtisans, who is likewise to be changed every night; for which service, as it is considered in the light of a tribute they owe to the sovereign, they do not receive any remuneration.[573] Guards, in parties of thirty or forty, continually patrol the streets during the course of the night, and make diligent search for persons who may be from their homes at an unseasonable hour, that is after the third stroke of the great bell. When any are met with under such circumstances, they immediately apprehend and confine them, and take them in the morning for examination before officers appointed for that purpose,[574] who, upon the proof of any delinquency, sentence them, according to the nature of the offence, to a severer or lighter infliction of the bastinade; which sometimes, however, occasions their death.[575] It is in this manner that crimes are usually punished amongst these people, from a disinclination to the shedding of blood, which their *baksis* or learned astrologers instruct them to avoid.[576] Having thus described the interior of the city of *Tai-du*, we shall now speak of the disposition to rebellion shewn by its Kataian inhabitants.

NOTES.

556. The name of this celebrated city, which our author writes *Cambalu* (for *Canbalu*, the *m* being substituted for *n* at the end of a syllable, in the old Italian, as well as in the Portuguese orthography) is by the Arabians and Persians written *Khan-balik* خان بالق and *Khan-baligh* خان بالغ, signifying, in one of the dialects of Tartary, the "city of the *khan* or sovereign." This terminating appellative is not uncommon, as we find it in *Ka-baligh* and *Bish-baligh*, cities of Turkistan, in *Ordu-baligh*, one of the names of *Kara-korum*, and in *Mu-baligh* or the city of desolation, a name given to *Bamian* in the territory of *Balkh*, upon the occasion of its destruction by *Jengiz-khan*. The site of *Khan-baligh*, as well as of *Khataï* خطاي or *Kataia*, of which it was the capital, was formerly the theme of much controversy amongst some of the learned of Europe, who were more intimately acquainted with the writings of the Greek than of the oriental geographers; but at the present day, when the subject is better understood, there are few, I believe, that doubt of the latter being intended for the northern division of China as distinguished from *Manji*, the southern division, or of the former being that metropolis to which the Chinese anciently gave the name of *Yen-king*, and which has since obtained that of *Pe-king*. For the satisfaction, however, of persons whose reading has not been directed to the histories which relate the invasions of that country or the journies of ambassadors who have entered it from the westward, I shall briefly state a few of those authorities which immediately apply to this point.

In "l'Histoire généologique des Tatars," translated from the manuscript of *Abu'lghazi*, we find the following passage: "L'ambassadeur s'en retournant avec "cette response observa soigneusement toutes les rivières, chemins et avenues "des frontières du *Kitay*, pour s'en pouvoir servir en temps et lieu. *Zingis-*"*Chan* ayant entendu son rapport, se mit aussi-tost en campagne avec des forces "très-considérables; *Altan-Chan* de son costé ayant pareillement assemblé une "nombreuse armée s'avança au devant de son ennemi, et vint occuper un camp "fort avantageux vers les frontières de son empire: Cependant *Zingis-Chan* "estant entré dans le *Kitay* emporta plusieurs villes à la barbe d'*Altan-Chan*, dont "il fit brûler quelques-unes et passer la plus part des habitants sous le sabre.... "Ensuite de quoy estant tombé inopinément sur la grande armée d'*Altan-Chan*, "il en tua 30,000 hommes, et obligea ce prince à se renfermer dans la ville de "*Chanbalik*. Après une si grande victoire *Zingis-Chan* s'empara sans trop de "résistance de plusieurs villes considérables du *Kitay*; cependant *Altan-Chan* "voyant que *Zingis-Chan* pénétroit de jour en jour plus avant dans son empire, "et qu'il s'approchoit mesme de la ville de *Chanbalik*, tint conseil, &c.... Voy-

"ant

" ant après la retraite des Moguls que toutes les provinces du Nord de son empire " estoient ruinées, laissa le gouvernement de la ville de *Chanbalik* à son fils, et " alla faire sa résidence dans la ville de *Namkin*." P. 210-222. The convention, however, was broken about six months afterwards, and *Abu'lghazi* proceeds to say: " A l'approche des généraux de *Zingis-Chan*, la ville de *Chanbalik* se rendit " sans coup férir. *Zingis-Chan* ayant appris cette nouvelle envoya un de ses " premiers officers a *Chanbalik*, pour y aller prendre le trésor d'*Altan-Chan* et le " faire conduire au lieu de sa résidence ordinaire." P. 225. It must be understood that the city here called *Namkin* or *Nan-king* (signifying the southern court) is not the place which afterwards became so well known by that appellation, but the city otherwise named *Kai-fong-fu*, in the province of *Ho-nan*. P. Gaubil gives an account of these events in the following words: " L'an 1210 *Gentchiskan* " refusa de payer le tribut aux princes *Kin*, et pour se venger du meurtre d'un " de ses parens fait par ordre des *Kin*, il entra en 1211 dans la province de *Chansi*. " En 1213 on assiégea la Cour. C'est la ville où est aujourd'hui *Péking* alors " appellée *Yenking*. Au commencement de l'année 1214 l'empereur des *Kin* fit " la paix avec *Gentchiskan* moyennant une grande somme d'argent, des étoffes, " &c. La même année 1214 les *Kin* violèrent le traité. Les Mogols rentrèrent " dans le *Petcheli*, rassiégèrent *Yenking*. L'an 1215 *Yenking* fut pris et pillé. " *Gentchiskan* n'étoit pas au siége. Le palais fut brûlé. L'empereur des *Kin* " avoit depuis huit ou neuf mois transporté sa cour à *Caifon-fou* capital du *Honan*, " appellée alors *Nan-king*." Observ. Chronol. p. 189.

The Arabian geographer commonly named *Ibn-saîd* thus speaks, in the translation of the learned Golius, of this imperial city: " Narrantur de urbis hujus," nempe Chambalic, " magnitudine, quæ superant mentis captum: est autem ipsa " metropolis, celebrata sermonibus mercatorum: incolæque ejus genus Chatæorum. " Ac propter amplitudinem hanc constituta est civitas *Tamgagii* (ita dicitur " Chatæorum imperator) cujus regio est terra Chatai. Existimant autem viatores " murum qui habitationes eorum cingit, protendi 23 dierum itinere ab occidente " in orientem." Notæ in Alferganum, p. 107. In this exaggerated measurement there appears to be some imperfect notion of the Wall of China, confounded with that of the city of Peking.

Benedict Goez, who, in the character of a merchant, travelled from Hindustan to the borders of China, and died at *So-cheu*, in the year 1607, whilst waiting for passports to join his brethren at Peking, was surprised at finding that the Kataia of which he had formerly read, and on his journey had heard so much, was no other than the Chinese empire. " Il estoit jà prest de partir de la ville " de Cialis, quand l'autre compagnie de marchands de l'année précédente arriva " de *Catay*. Iceux, comme c'est la coustume, estoient entré au royaume de " *Catay* souz le faux prétexte d'une ambassade supposée, et d'autant qu'ilz " avoient demeuré à Pequin dans le mesme palais des estrangers avec les nostres,

" ilz

" ilz dirent des nouvelles toutes certaines du P. Matthieu et ses compagnons.... " Nostre Benoist et son compagnon furent assez rejouys d'entendre ces nouvelles, " et ne firent plus en après aucun doute que le Catay ne fust différend du royaume " de la Chine que de nom tant seulement; et que ceste mesme cour royale que " les Sarazins appelloient *Cambalù*, estoit Pequin." " En l'une de ces villes de " la province de Scensi (*Shen-si*) nommée *Canceù* (*Kan-cheu*) demeure le vice-roy " avec les autres principaux magistratz. L'autre appellée *Socieu* (*So-cheu*), a son " propre gouverneur, et est divisée en deux parties; en l'un demeurent les Chi- " nois (que les Sarazins appellent icy *Cataiens*), et les Sarazins, qui viennent du " roiaume de *Cascar*, et autres semblables de l'occident, pour trafiquer, font " leur résidence en l'autre." Hist. du Royaume de la Chine, par N. Trigault. p. 484-486.

The ambassadors sent by *Shah Rokh*, the son of Tamerlane, to *Yong-lo*, emperor of China (who styles himself in his letters, *Dai-ming* or *Tai-ming*), entered the country, two centuries before the time of Goez, precisely at the same part of the province of *Shen-si*. To Thevenot we are indebted for a French translation of their Journal, from the Persian of *Abd-ur-Rezak*; a most curious and evidently authentic document; allowance being made for the unavoidable corruption of foreign proper names, in passing through the medium of different languages and transcriptions. " *Sekgiou* (*So-cheu*) est une ville grande et forte " (say these ambassadors) en forme de quarré parfait..... Cette ville est donc " la première de *Khataï*, éloignée de quatre-vingt-dix-neuf journées. de la " ville de *Kan Balik*, qui est le lieu de la résidence de l'empereur, par un " païs très-peuplé, car chaque journée on loge dans un gros bourg." " Les " ambassadeurs continuèrent ainsi leur marche, faisant quatre ou cinq parasanges " par jour jusques au 8 de la lune de *Zi'lhigeh* (823, or Dec. 1420), qu'ils " arrivèrent à la porte de *Khan Balik* un peu avant le jour. C'est une ville si " grande, que chaque pan de ses murailles a une parasange de long." In the publication called the Asiatic Miscellany, printed at Calcutta, we find a translation of the correspondence that passed between the two monarchs on this occasion, by Mr. W. Chambers, together with valuable explanatory notes. In one of these he says: " The word translated " China " in this extract is خطاي *Khatâi*; that " and the word چين *Chîn* are used indiscriminately by this author, in these and " other parts of his work, to signify the same country; which is a proof, if proofs " were wanting, that the Asiatics, by *Khatâi*, mean no other country than China. " This, however, was long a disputed point among the curious in Europe; and " some, in consequence, entirely rejected the testimony of MARCO POLO as fabu- " lous, while others who admitted it, sought for an empire in the wilds of Tartary, " that never had existence but in their imaginations. But latter accounts have put " the matter out of all doubt, and particularly that of the Russian embassy to " China in 1653; from which it appears that the Muscovites still call the northern

" parts

" parts of China, *Chatai (Cathâi)*, and its metropolis, *Cambalu*." Vol. i. p. 98. To such authorities, the reader will probably think that any addition would be superfluous.

With respect to the particular situation of the city, it is said, in the words of Ramusio, to have been " *sopra* un gran fiume," but in the Latin version, " *juxtà* " magnum fluvium," which affords more latitude. By this river must be understood the *Pe-ho*, which is navigable for loaded vessels up to *Tong-cheu*, within twelve miles of the capital; but in the higher part of its course it seems to approximate nearer. Our knowledge of the country that surrounds Peking is, however, extremely imperfect, nor do the different maps accord with respect to the number or course of the streams that, coming from the neighbouring mountains of Tartary, appear to unite at or above *Tong-cheu*. It should be observed also that the old city of *Yen-king* or *Khan-balig* might have stood some miles nearer to the *Pe-ho* than the site of the more modern city of Peking.

557. This would seem to imply a removal of the capital to a different side of the *Pe-ho* or larger river just mentioned; but it may be thought more probable that our author here speaks only of the rivulet which at the present day passes between what are denominated the Chinese and the Tartar cities, over which (however insignificant the stream) there is a handsome bridge of communication. Martini in his Atlas Sinensis, distinguishes two streams as contributing to supply the city with water. " *Yo* (he says, in Thevenot's translation) est une rivière " dans la montagne *Yo-ciuen*, qui tire sa source du lac *Si*....et s'en va de là au " palais de l'empereur dont elle arrose les jardins et les forests par le moyen des " destours et des lacs qu'on luy fait faire. Le fleuve *Lu-keu*, qui s'appelle aussi " *Sang-can*, passe au sud-ouest de la ville royale (the Tartar city or *King-ching*); " on le passe sur un magnifique pont, où on conte plusieurs arcades de pierre." P. 41.

558. The name of *Tai-du*, more correctly written *Ta-tû*, signifies the " great court," and was the Chinese appellation for the new city, which the Tartars and the western people in general, continued to name *Khan-baligh*. " *Kobilay*" says De L'isle " détruisit absolument la ville de *Yen-king*, et deux ou trois lieues (ou, " selon d'autres, une lieue et demie) au Nord-est, il fit jetter en 1267 les fonde- " mens d'une autre ville (De Guignes says it was completed in that year), à " laquelle il donna le nom de *Ta-tou* ou grande cour: elle fut aussi appellée " *King-tching:* son nom véritable est actuellement *Chun-tien-fou*; mais on le con- " noît plus généralement sous le nom de *Pe-king:* ce mot signifie, Cour du " Nord; et le nom de *Nan-king*, ville où les empereurs de la Chine ont souvent " résidé, signifie Cour du Midi. Les bâtimens actuels du palais *Yng-tay* à Peking " sont presque tous du temps de *Kobilay*, ainsi que la montagne appellée *King-*

" *chan*,

BOOK II. CHAP. VII. Notes.

" *chan*, les lacs et les canaux qui sont dans le *Tse-kin*." " La dynastie *Yuen*" this learned geographer adds " paroît avoir toujours résidé à Peking: elle fut " détruite en 1369 par *Tai-tsou* ou *Hong-vou*, chef de la dynastie Chinoise *Ming*, " qui occupa le trône pendant l'espace de 276 ans. *Tai-tsou* établit sa cour à " Nanking; il érigea la contrée où est Peking en souveraineté et il en gratifia son " quatrième fils *Tching-tchou* ou *Yong-lo* ....qui fut reconnu empereur quatre ans " après la mort de son père.... En la septième année de son règne, *Yong-lo* " abandonna Nanking, et vint établir sa cour à Peking; depuis ce temps Peking " a toujours été le séjour des empereurs et la capitale de toute la Chine.... En " 1544, *Kia-tsing*, onzième empereur de la même dynastie *Ming*, fit bâtir la " partie de la ville qu'on appelle vieille ville ou ville Chinoise; il en fit entourer " de murailles, il éleva ses portes : il paroît que la grandeur de Peking n'a pas " varié depuis." Descript. de la Ville de Peking, p. 4-6.

A doubt may be entertained whether the city of *Yen-king*, which Kublaï, from motives of superstition or of policy, abandoned, occupied the site of that now called the ancient or Chinese city, which is separated from the other only by a rivulet, and by the wall of the latter. The presumption against their identity arises from the assertion that the new city was built at the distance of four or five miles from the old; but in speaking of places whose walls (exclusive of suburbs) have a compass of more than twenty miles, an interval so small may be disregarded; and particularly as there is reason to conclude, from its buildings now embracing the palace (which is known, from the circumstance of the artificial mount, to preserve its original position), that it has gradually advanced to the southward and approximated to the old. But there is likewise evidence of a positive kind of their being the same; for *Yong-lo*, the rebuilder of Peking after it had been nearly destroyed in the preceding wars, erected within the bounds of what was equally in his time denominated the old city, and which could be no other than that depopulated by *Kublaï* a century and a half before, two remarkable temples, one of them dedicated to the heavens and the other to the earth, which temples are to be found in Du Halde's and De L'isle's plates, and exist, in the Chinese city at the present day. All the works of this great monarch, the third of the dynasty by which the Mungals were driven out, and who sat on the throne at the period of *Shah Rokh's* embassy, were begun about the year 1406, and completed about 1421.

559. In the " Mémoires concernant les Chinois " we find the following account of the extent of its walls at different periods: " Sous le *Kin* (the dynasty over- " turned by *Jengiz-khan*) dont il fut aussi la capitale, il eut soixante-quinze *li* de " tour, ou sept lieues et demie. Les *Yuen* qui le nommèrent d'abord la *capitale* " *du milieu*, puis la grande capitale, ne lui donnèrent que six lieues de tour et " onze portes, lorsqu'ils en réparèrent les ruines en 1274. Le fondateur de la " dynastie

" dynastie des *Ming* rasa deux de ces portes du côté du Midi pour le dégrader ; " et *Yong-lo*, qui en rebâtit les murailles en 1409, ne leur donna que quatre " lieues de tour : c'est leur mesure d'aujourd'hui, étant restées les mêmes. " Quant à la ville Chinoise, ce fut *Chin-tsong*, de la dynastie précédente, qui en " fit faire l'enceinte en murs de terre l'an 1524....Ce ne fut qu'en 1564 qu'elle " obtint l'honneur d'être incorporée à l'ancienne ville, avec celui d'avoir des " murailles et des portes en briques." T. ii, p. 553.

560. The square form prevails much amongst the cities and towns of China, wherever the nature of the ground and the course of the waters admit of it. This probably had its origin in the principles of castrametation. The dimensions of the present Tartar city, according to De L'isle, are eleven *li* in the length from north to south, by nine in width from east to west, making forty *li* or fifteen miles in the whole extent. He adds, that in the time of *Kublaï* the extent was sixty *li* or twenty-two miles and a half; which does not differ materially from the measurement in the text. It appears therefore, that when *Yong-lo* rebuilt the walls of the ruined city, he contracted its limits, as it was natural for him to do.

561. When it is said that the walls of the capital were of earth *(di terra)*, I am inclined to think that *terra cotta* or bricks should be understood; as they were in general use amongst the Chinese from the earliest ages, and employed in the construction of the Great Wall. " Les murs de Péking " says De L'isle, speaking of those built by *Yong-lo* and now existing " sont de brique, hauts de quarante " pieds, assez larges qu'on puisse s'y promener à cheval....Au reste, ce que " nous disons ici ne doit s'entendre que des murs de la ville Tartare; ceux de " la ville Chinois sont plus petits et plus simples; ils ne diffèrent point de ceux " des villes de la province." P. 7. It may be proper to observe that the distinguishing appellations of *Tartar* and *Chinese* cities did not take place under the *Yuen* or Mungal dynasty, nor until the subjugation of the empire by the *Tsing* or present race of Manchu Tartars, who succeeded to the *Ming* or Chinese dynasty, and drove the native inhabitants from what is commonly termed the new or northern city into the old or southern, to make room for their Tartar followers. In regard to the vague distinctions of *new* and *old*, which occasion some confusion, " J'emploie " says De L'isle " les termes usitées : à proprement parler, la ville " Chinoise est plus nouvelle que la Tartare; mais les bâtimens de la première " ont apparemment plus de signes extérieures de vétusté que ceux de la seconde." P. 7, note.

562. These battlements or *merli* must have been of solid materials, (whether of white bricks or stone); which seems to be inconsistent with the supposition of a mud or turf rampart; unless there was at least a *revêtement* of masonry. " The

" parapet " says Staunton " was deeply crenated, but had no regular embrazures." Vol. ii, p. 116.

563. The straightness of the streets of Peking is apparent from De L'isle's plan, and corroborated by the accounts of all who have visited that city. " Les rues " de cette grande ville " says Du Halde " sont droites, presque toutes tirées au " cordeau, longues d'une bonne lieue, et larges d'environ six vingts pieds." T. i, p. 114. The squareness of the Chinese cities is remarked by *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors: " Comme la ville est quarrée," they say, speaking of *So-cheu*, " chaque côté a une porte posée de telle manière, qu'elles se regardent toute " quatre en droite ligne.... ainsi elles se voyent toutes du milieu de la ville." Voy. de Thevenot, t. ii, p. 3.

564. " Les rues sont bordées la plûpart de maisons marchandes: c'est dommage " qu'il y ait si peu de proportion entre les rues et les maisons, qui sont assez mal " bâties sur le devant, et peu élevées." Du Halde, T. i, p. 114. " In front of " most of the houses in this main street " says Staunton " were shops painted, " gilt, and decorated like those of *Tong-choo-foo*, but in a grander stile. Over " some of them were broad terraces covered with shrubs and flowers..... " Outside the shops, as well as within them, was displayed a variety of goods " for sale." Vol. ii, p. 118.

565. The gates of the modern Tartar city are only nine in number, and not so regularly disposed as is here described. Those of the Chinese town are seven. It has been already observed that the building of the present walls was posterior by several centuries to the reign of *Kublaï*, and no precise resemblance, therefore, can be expected.

566. The practice of erecting places of arms over the gates, subsists at the present day. " Les portes de la ville hautes et bien voutées " says Du Halde " portent des pavillons extrêmement larges et à neuf étages.... L'étage en bas " forme une grande salle, où se retirent les soldats et les officiers qui sortent de " garde, et ceux qui doivent les relever." T. i, p. 114. " Over the gate " says Staunton " was a watch-tower several stories high." " Au dessus de chaque " porte " say the ambassadors of *Shah Rokh*, describing another Chinese city, " il y a un pavillon à deux étages, dont le toit est en dos d'âne, suivant la ma- " nière des Khataïens." Voy. de Thevenot, t. ii, p. 3.

567. This would seem to be the number that usually constitutes the guard of important gates in that country. " Having travelled about six or eight miles," says John Bell, " we arrived at the famous wall of China. We entered at a " great

" great gate, which is shut every night, and always guarded by a thousand men." T. i, p. 336.

568. " Au nord du dernier appartement du palais, est le *kou-leou* ou tour du " tambour..... un peu plus au nord, le *Tchong-leou* ou la tour de la cloche: " il y a en effet dans cette tour une grosse cloche, qui sert au même usage que " le tambour." Descr. de Peking, p. 24. " Il y a dans chaque ville " says Du Halde " de grosses cloches, ou un tambour d'une grandeur extraordinaire, qui " servent à marquer les veilles de la nuit. Chaque veille est de deux heures : la " première commence vers les huit heures du soir. Pendant les deux heures que " dure cette première veille, on frappe de tems en tems un coup, ou sur la cloche, " ou sur le tambour. Quand elle est finie, et que la seconde veille commence, " on frappe deux coups tant qu'elle dure: on en frappe trois à la troisième, et " ainsi de toutes les autres." T. ii, p. 50. To this third or midnight watch it is that our author alludes, when a treble stroke is given. Staunton also speaks of " the great fabric, of considerable height, which includes a bell of prodigious " size and cylindric form, that, struck on the outside with a wooden mallet, " emits a sound distinctly heard throughout the capital." T. ii, p. 122. This celebrated bell of Peking, of which a portrait is given in the " China illustrata " of Kircher, was cast by the order of *Yong-lo*, about the year 1420.

569. " Les petites rues qui aboutissent aux grandes, ont des portes faites de " treillis de bois, qui n'empêchent pas de voir ceux qui y marchent.... Les por- " tes à treillis sont fermées la nuit par le corps de garde, et il ne la fait ouvrir " que rarement, à gens connus, qui ont une lanterne à la main, et qui sortent " pour une bonne raison, comme seroit celle d'appeller un médecin." Du Halde, T. i, p. 115.

570. " Outre ces deux villes, il y a à Peking douze grands fauxbourgs d'une " demi-lieue ou même de trois quarts de lieue de longueur. Il n'y a point de " fauxbourg vis-à-vis des trois portes méridionales de la ville Tartare; la ville " Chinoise y met obstacle." Descr. de Peking, p. 9. John Bell speaks also of very extensive suburbs (in 1720); but according to Staunton's account, it employed only fifteen minutes to traverse one of the eastern suburbs, by which the English embassy approached the capital (in 1793), and twenty minutes to traverse that on the western side, by which it departed. The size of these suburbs may well be supposed to have varied at different periods, and to have diminished with the splendour of the monarchy.

571. These establishments for the accommodation of persons arriving from distant countries, are incidentally noticed by Trigault (Histoire du royaume de la

Chine) who speaks of " le palais des estrangers " at Peking. It would seem, however, that they are now situated within the walls of the Chinese town, rather than in the suburbs. " Outre ce que nous avons remarqué dans la ville Chinoise, " on y voit de plus de grandes hôtelleries, où logent les Chinois qui se rendent " à Peking des provinces méridionales." Description de Peking, p. 28.

572. It is evident that there is here a mistake in Ramusio's text, as not only all the modern authorities agree in the fact of the public women being excluded from the city and confined to the suburbs, but it is expressly so stated in the other versions of our author. " Per la grandissima quantità de signori che vien a la " chorte, e per merchadanti, e per terreri, e forestieri, ele habita in li borgi piu " de xx milia putane, e nesuna de queste non osano habitar in la cita sotto pena " de esser arse." Ven. ed. 1496, cap. lxv. " Et quoniam ingens multitudo " exterorum hominum semper illic versatur, habentur in suburbiis circitur xx " millia meretricum : intra vero mœnia civitatis nulla sustinent." Berlin ed. 1671, lib. ii, cap. xi. This regulation of police appears to have been equally enforced under later dynasties. " Il y a " says Du Halde " des femmes publiques et pros- " tituées à la Chine comme ailleurs, mais comme ces sortes de personnes sont " ordinairement la cause de quelques désordres, il ne leur est pas permis de " demeurer dans l'enceinte des villes : leur logement doit être hors des murs ; " encore ne peuvent-elles pas avoir des maisons particulières ; elles logent plu- " sieurs ensemble, et souvent sous la conduite d'un homme, qui est responsable " du désordre, s'il en arrivoit ; au reste ces femmes libertines ne sont que tolérées, " et on les regarde comme infâmes." T. ii, p. 51. Respecting their numbers, under the reign of *Kang-hi*, the missionaries do not furnish us with any information. They might not be competent so to do ; but there is an obvious disposition to gloss over whatever might tend to lower the moral character of the Chinese, in the estimation of their readers.

573. I do not trace any record of this extraordinary custom in the journals of our recent visits to Peking. Perhaps, from motives of delicacy, the notice of it may have been suppressed by " the gentlemen of the embassy ; " but it is more probable that a change of physical circumstances, consequent on the discovery of America, by which the value of the favour has been diminished, may have occasioned its discontinuance.

574. " Ils ne permettent à personne de marcher la nuit, et ils interrogent même " ceux que l'empereur auroit envoyé pour quelques affaires. Si leur réponse " donne lieu au moindre soupçon, on les met en arrêt au corps de garde..... " C'est par ce bel ordre, qui s'observe avec la dernière exactitude, que la paix, " le silence, et la sûreté règnent dans toute la ville." Du Halde, t. i, p. 115.

575. " La

575. "La bastonnade est le châtiment ordinaire pour les fautes les plus "légeres. Le nombre des coups est plus ou moins grand, selon la qualité de la "faute : c'est la peine dont les officiers de guerre punissent quelque fois sur le "champ les soldats Chinois, mis en sentinelle toutes les nuits dans les rues et les "places publiques des grandes villes, quand on les trouve endormis. Quand le "nombre des coups ne passe pas vingt, c'est une correction paternelle." Du Halde, t. ii, p. 132.

576. It has been already observed (in Note 475, on the authority of the *Ayin Akbari*) that the priests of *Buddha*, who in Tibet are called *lamas*, are by the Arabians and Persians named *bakshi*; and it is well known, that to abstain from shedding of blood and particularly from bloody sacrifices, is the characteristic precept of that sect; in which, say the brahmans, his disciples make virtue and religion to consist.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the treasonable practices employed to cause the city of Kambalu to rebel, and of the apprehension and punishment of those concerned.

PARTICULAR mention will hereafter be made of the establishment of a council of twelve persons, who had the power of disposing, at their pleasure, of the lands, the governments, and every thing belonging to the state. Amongst these was a Saracen named *Achmac*,[577] a crafty and bold man, whose influence with the Grand *khan* surpassed that of the other members. To such a degree was his master infatuated with him, that he indulged him in every liberty. It was discovered, indeed, after his death, that he had by means of spells so fascinated his majesty, as to oblige him to give ear and credit to whatever he represented, and by these means was enabled to act in all matters according to his own arbitrary will.[578] He gave away all the governments and public offices, pronounced judgment upon all offenders, and when he was disposed to sacrifice any man to whom he bore ill will, he had only to go to the emperor and say to him, "such a person has committed an offence "against your majesty, and is deserving of death;" when the emperor

was

BOOK II. CHAP. VIII.

was accustomed to reply, "Do as you judge best:" upon which he caused him to be immediately executed. So evident were the proofs of the authority he possessed, and of his majesty's implicit faith in his representations, that none had the hardiness to contradict him in any matter; nor was there a person, however high in rank or office, who did not stand in awe of him. If any one was accused by him of a capital crime, however anxious he might be to exculpate himself, he had not the means of refuting the charge, because he could not procure an advocate; none daring to oppose the will of *Achmac*. By these means he occasioned many to die unjustly.[579] Besides this, there was no handsome female who became an object of his sensuality, that he did not contrive to possess, taking her as a wife, if she was unmarried, or otherwise compelling her to yield to his desires. When he obtained information of any man having a beautiful daughter, he dispatched his emissaries to the father of the girl, with instructions to say to him: "What are your views with regard to this handsome daughter of yours? "You cannot do better than give her in marriage to the Lord Deputy "or Vicegerent[580] (that is, to *Achmac*; for so they termed him, as "implying that he was his majesty's representative). We shall prevail "upon him to appoint you to such a government or to such an office, for "three years." Thus tempted, he is prevailed upon to part with his child; and the matter being so far arranged, *Achmac* repairs to the emperor and informs his majesty that a certain government is vacant, or that the period for which it is held will expire on such a day, and recommends the father as a person well qualified to perform the duties. To this his majesty gives his consent, and the appointment is immediately carried into effect. By such means as these, either from the ambition of holding high offices or the apprehension of his power, he obtained the sacrifice of all the most beautiful young women, either under the denomination of wives, or as the slaves of his pleasure. He had sons to the number of twenty-five, who held the highest offices of the state,[581] and some of them availing themselves of the authority of their father, formed adulterous connexions, and committed many other unlawful and atrocious acts. *Achmac* had likewise accumulated great wealth; for every person who obtained an appointment found it necessary to make him a considerable present.

During

During a period of twenty-two years he exercised this uncontrouled sway.[582] At length the natives of the country, that is, the Kataians, no longer able to endure his multiplied acts of injustice or the flagrant wickedness committed against their families, held meetings in order to devise means of putting him to death and raising a rebellion against the government. Amongst the persons principally concerned in this plot was a Kataian named *Chen-ku*, a chief of six thousand men, who, burning with resentment on account of the violation of his mother, his wife, and his daughter, proposed the measure to one of his countrymen named *Van-ku*, who was at the head of ten thousand men,[583] and recommended its being carried into execution at the time when the Grand *khan*, having completed his three months residence in *Kanbalu*, had departed for his palace of *Shan-du*,[584] and when his son *Chingis* also had retired to the place he was accustomed to visit at that season; because the charge of the city was then entrusted to *Achmac*, who communicated to his master whatever matters occurred during his absence, and received in return the signification of his pleasure. *Van-ku* and *Chen-ku* having held this consultation together, imparted their designs to some of the leading persons of the Kataians, and through them to their friends in many other cities. It was accordingly determined amongst them, that on a certain day, immediately upon their perceiving the signal of a fire, they should rise and put to death all those who wore beards; and should extend the signal to other places, in order that the same might be carried into effect throughout the country. The meaning of the distinction with regard to beards was this; that whereas the Kataians themselves are naturally beardless, the Tartars, the Saracens, and the Christians wear beards.[585] It should be understood that the Grand *khan* not having obtained the sovereignty of Kataia by any legal right, but only by force of arms, had no confidence in the inhabitants, and therefore bestowed all the provincial governments and magistracies upon Tartars, Saracens, Christians, and other foreigners, who belonged to his household, and in whom he could trust. In consequence of this, his government was universally hated by the natives, who found themselves treated as slaves by these Tartars, and still worse by the Saracens.[586]

Their

Their plans being thus arranged *Van-ku* and *Chen-ku* contrived to enter the palace at night, where the former, taking his place on one of the royal seats, caused the apartment to be lighted up, and sent a messenger to *Achmac*, who resided in the old city, requiring his immediate attendance upon *Chingis*, the emperor's son, who (he should say) had unexpectedly arrived that night. *Achmac* was much astonished at the intelligence, but, being greatly in awe of the prince, instantly obeyed.[587] Upon passing the gate of the (new) city, he met a Tartar officer named *Kogatai*, the commandant of the guard of twelve thousand men, who asked him whither he was going at that late hour? He replied that he was proceeding to wait upon *Chingis*, of whose arrival he had just heard. "How is it possible (said the officer) that he can have arrived in so secret a manner, that I should not have been aware of his approach in time to order a party of his guards to attend him?[588] In the mean while the two Kataians felt assured that if they could but succeed in dispatching *Achmac*, they had nothing further to apprehend. Upon his entering the palace and seeing so many lights burning, he made his prostrations before *Van-ku*, supposing him to be the prince; when *Chen-ku*, who stood there provided with a sword, severed his head from his body. *Kogatai* had stopped at the door, but upon observing what had taken place, exclaimed that there was treason going forward, and instantly let fly an arrow at *Van-ku* as he sat upon the throne, which slew him. He then called to his men, who seized *Chen-ku*, and dispatched an order into the city, that every person found out of doors should be put to death. The Kataians perceiving, however, that the Tartars had discovered the conspiracy, and being deprived of their leaders, one of whom was killed and the other a prisoner, kept within their houses, and were unable to make the signals to the other towns, as had been concerted. *Kogatai* immediately sent messengers to the Grand *khan*, with a circumstantial relation of all that had passed, who in return directed him to make a diligent investigation of the treason, and to punish, according to the degree of their guilt, those whom he should find to have been concerned. On the following day, *Kogatai* examined all the Kataians, and upon such as were principals in the conspiracy he inflicted capital punishment. The same was done with respect to the other cities that were known to have participated in the guilt.[589]

When

When his majesty returned to *Kanbalu*, he was desirous of knowing the causes of what had happened, and then learned that the infamous *Achmac* and seven of his sons (for all were not equally culpable) had committed those enormities which have been described. He gave orders for removing the treasure that had been accumulated by the deceased to an incredible amount, from the place of his residence in the old city, to the new; where it was deposited in his own treasury. He likewise directed that his body should be taken from the tomb, and thrown into the street, to be torn in pieces by the dogs.[590] The sons who had followed the steps of their father in his iniquities, he caused to be flayed alive. Reflecting also upon the principles of the accursed sect of the Saracens, which indulge them in the commission of every crime, and allow them to murder those who differ from them on points of faith, so that even the nefarious *Achmac* and his sons might have supposed themselves guiltless, heheld them in contempt and abomination. Summoning therefore these people to his presence, he forbad them to continue many practices enjoined to them by their law,[591] commanding that in future their marriages should be regulated by the custom of the Tartars, and that instead of the mode of killing animals for food, by cutting their throats, they should be obliged to open the belly. At the time that these events took place, MARCO POLO was on the spot.[592] We shall now proceed to what relates to the establishment of the court kept by the Grand *khan*.

NOTES.

577. The name of this powerful and corrupt Arabian minister, whom the Chinese call *Ahama*, was doubtless *Ahmed* احمد, the *Achmet* of our Turkish historians. With regard to the orthography in European characters it may be observed, that our *h* is as much too weak for representing the harsh aspirate ح, as the *ch* of the Germans may be thought too rough (being a guttural), or that of the Italians too hard. Some have therefore written the word *Ahhmed*.

578. "Les plus grands princes" De Guignes observes "ne sont pas exempts "de défauts; celui de *Kublai* étoit d'aimer tellement l'argent, que les plus

BOOK II. CHAP. VIII. Notes.

" mauvais ministres paroissoient toujours innocens à ses yeux, lorsqu'ils sçavoient " trouver le moyen de lui en fournir, et il n'écoutoit pas avec plaisir les plaintes " qu'on lui portoit sur leur conduite. Un Arabe nommé *Ahama* (peut-être *Ah-* " *med*) chargé des douanes de l'empire, étoit un de ceux qui abusoient le plus de " la foiblesse de ce prince, pour s'enrichir par toutes sortes de voyes illicites." Liv. xvi, p. 143.

579. " Ce prince (*Kublai*) s'occupa encore à appaiser des murmures que la " mauvaise conduite du ministre *Ahama* avoit excités. Tout cet orage tomba " sur *Tsou-y-yu*, qui avoit résolu de faire connoître à *Kublai* les malversations " de ce ministre. *Ahama* eut le crédit de le faire passer pour coupable, l'accusa " d'avoir volé, plus de deux millions, et d'avoir déposé sans ordres plusieurs " officiers. Quoique les commissaires nommées pour examiner ce procès l'eus- " sent déclaré innocent, d'autres nommées par *Ahama*, qui recommencèrent la " procédure, le condamnèrent à perdre la tête." P. 173.

580. The term employed by Ramusio is *bailo*, which particularly belonged to the person who represented, at Constantinople, the Republic of Venice; not as ambassador (when the appointment first took place), but as joint sovereign with the Latin emperor. It is not easy to find an equivalent term in our language; nor does the Chinese title of *Colao* convey the idea intended to be given, of his inordinate power. The Arabs indeed might have styled him *khalifah*, which signifies a substitute, deputy, or vicegerent.

581. " Ahama, qui ne cessoit de le tromper par de nouveaux projets qui ten- " doient à faire venir beaucoup d'argent dans le trésor, avoit tant de crédit auprès " de lui, qu'il obtint pour son fils le département de la guerre." P. 153.

582. His death took place in 1281, and his functions of minister of finance are first noticed by De Guignes (Histoire des Mogols de la Chine) in 1262; which includes a space of nineteen years: but he might have been in office some time before his extortions gave notoriety to his name.

583. I apprehend that these were not military commands, but that the civil jurisdiction of the country was established on a footing analogous to that of the army. At the present day every tenth Chinese inhabitant is responsible for the conduct (so far as the public peace is concerned) of nine of his neighbours. Such was also the principle of our English tithings and hundreds. These conspirators were evidently citizens, not soldiers.

584. It

584. It will appear that, according to the Chinese authorities, this opportunity of the emperor's periodical absence was actually seized by the conspirators. See Note 589.

585. It is not in strictness a fact that the Chinese are naturally beardless; but, like the Malays, their beards are slight, and the growth of them is discouraged, excepting in particular cases. "Leur barbe" says P. Trigault "est claire, quel-"ques uns n'en ont point, le poil rude, et sans moustaches, elle paroist tard." Voy. de la Chine, p. 69.

586. "Les historiens Chinois" says P. Gaubil "exagèrent les défauts de "*Houpilié* (Kublai), et ne parlent guères de ses vertus. Ils lui reprochent "beaucoup d'entêtement pour les superstitions et les enchantemens des lamas, et "ils se plaignent qu'il a donné trop d'autorité aux gens d'Occident." Observ. Chronol. p. 201.

587. The jealousy with which this prince regarded the conduct of the minister, is repeatedly noticed. "Tous les princes et les grands, et particulièrement "*Tching-kin*, fils aîné de Kublai, ne purent garder le silence dans cette occasion, "et dirent publiquement qu'il étoit dangereux de confier au père et au fils des "postes si importans." "*Tchen-kin*" (the name is thus carelessly written by De Guignes in a different way) "ennemi déclaré du ministre, voulut s'y opposer (à la "mort de *Tsou-y-yu*), mais ses ordres arrivèrent trop tard." Hist. gén. des Huns, liv. xvi, p. 153-173. Respecting the name of the prince here spoken of, see Note 532.

588. It must have been at the southern gate that the minister, on his way from the old city, was challenged by the officer commanding the guard, whilst the prince, had he arrived as was pretended, would have entered by the northern or the western gates, being those which opened towards the country palaces. The words of the latter must therefore be understood as expressive only of surprise that he should not have had an immediate report from the proper officer, and not as implying a direct contradiction of the fact. From the sequel it appears that this officer as well as *Ahama* proceeded on the supposition of the prince being actually in the palace.

589. "La mort de *Tsou-y-yu*" adds De Guignes "fit beaucoup de mécon-"tens; et pendant que Kublai étoit allé faire un voyage à Chang-tou, un officier "nommé *Vang-tchou*, entra dans le palais de Pe-king, où Ahama étoit resté, et "le tua, sans que les gardes se missent en devoir de l'arrêter. Après cette action "Vang-tchou qui pouvoit se sauver, alla se rendre prisonnier, et on le condamna "à mort." P. 174. The circumstances of the conspiracy as thus briefly related

by De Guignes, although strongly corroborative of the genuineness of our author's narrative, yet vary enough to shew that their sources of information were entirely distinct from each other. It is to be observed, however, that the transaction is unnoticed both in the early Venetian and in the Latin editions, but of its authenticity, as we find it stated in Ramusio, there is very strong evidence both internal and external; and could we, admitting the facts to be historically true, for a moment suspect that it might have been added to the original text by Ramusio himself, it may be asked, where that industrious compiler, who died so early as the year 1557, could, with any probability, have obtained his Chinese information, or why, having procured it, he should prefer engrafting it on Marco Polo's travels, to giving it, in his Collection, on its real authority? But its not appearing in those editions is the less extraordinary, because upon comparing them throughout with Ramusio's version, they seem to have been intended for abridgements only of the work; and we ought not to be surprised that at a period, when printing was still an elaborate process, details of this kind should have been sacrificed to brevity. That such was the feeling of Purchas with regard to them, we have his own assertion, for upon coming to this part of Ramusio's text (from which his English translation was made) he says, in a marginal note, " the long storie of this rebellion is omitted." Of its degree of interest or importance it is for the reader to judge, and it ill becomes an editor to deprive him of the means, by suppressing the passage.

590. " Kublai n'ouvrit les yeux sur la conduite d'Ahama qu'après l'exécution; " il fit déterrer, mettre en pièces le corps du ministre Ahama, et livra tous ses " biens au pillage." P. 174. The manner in which our author states the wealth to have been disposed of, is more consistent both with the particular character of *Kublaï* and with the general practice of the country, than the giving it up to plunder. Modern times have furnished us with an example of a Tartar minister, whose conduct and fate resemble in many points those of the Arabian. The circumstances will be found, at length, in Barrow's travels in China, from whence the following passage respecting his treasures is extracted. " During " the life of his old master (*Kien Long*), over whom in his later years, he is " said to have possessed an unbounded influence, he availed himself of the " means that offered, by every species of fraud and extortion, by tyranny and " oppression, to amass such immense wealth, in gold, silver, pearls, and im- " moveable property, that his acquisitions were generally allowed to have ex- " ceeded those of any individual that the history of the country had made " known.... Of the crimes and enormities laid to his charge he was found, or " rather he was said to have pleaded guilty. The vast wealth he had extorted " from others was confiscated to the crown, and he was condemned to suffer an " ignominious death." P. 386.

591. Inter-

591. Interdicts of this nature, regarding only foreigners, the Chinese annals were not likely to notice, and we have no other authority than that of our author for this humiliation of the Mahometans. Many of them were subsequently employed in the higher ranks of the army.

592. As the POLO family were in China from about the year 1274 to 1291, and these events took place about 1281, it is consistently stated by our author that he was on the spot.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the personal guard of the Grand khan.

THE body-guard of the Grand *khan* consists, as is well known to every one, of twelve thousand horsemen, who are termed *kasitan*, which signifies "soldiers devoted to their master."[593] It is not however from any apprehensions entertained by him, that he is surrounded by this guard, but as matter of state. These twelve thousand men are commanded by four superior officers, each of whom is at the head of three thousand, and each three thousand does constant duty in the palace, during three successive days and nights; at the expiration of which they are relieved by another division. When all the four have completed their period of duty, it comes again to the turn of the first. During the day time the nine thousand who are off guard do not, however, quit the palace, unless when employed upon the service of his majesty, or when the individuals are called away for their domestic concerns, in which case they must obtain leave of absence through their commanding officer; and if in consequence of any serious occurrence, such as that of a father, a brother, or any near relation being at the point of death, their immediate return should be prevented, they must apply to his majesty for an extension of their leave. But in the night time these nine thousand retire to their quarters.

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593. I cannot trace this word (probably much corrupted) in any Mungal vocabulary, and dare not trust myself in the dubious paths of Chinese etymology, where the sound only is to be the guide.

CHAPTER X.

Of the style in which the Grand khan holds his public courts, and sits at table with all his nobles; of the manner in which the drinking vessels of gold and silver, filled with the milk of mares and camels, are disposed in the hall; and of the ceremony that takes place when he drinks.

CHAP. X. When his majesty holds a grand and public court, those who attend it are seated in the following order. The table of the sovereign is placed before his elevated throne, and he takes his seat on the northern side, with his face turned towards the south; and next to him, on his left hand, sits the empress. On his right hand, upon seats somewhat lower, are placed his sons, grandsons, and other persons connected with him by blood, that is to say, who are descended from the imperial stock. The seat, however, of *Chingis*, his eldest son, is raised a little above those of his other sons,[594] whose heads are nearly on a level with the feet of his majesty. The other princes and the nobility have their places at still lower tables;[595] and the same rules are observed with respect to the females, the wives of the sons, grandsons, and other relatives of the Grand *khan* being seated on the left hand, at tables in like manner gradually lower.[596] Then follow the wives of the nobility and military officers; so that all are seated according to their respective ranks and dignities, in the places assigned to them and to which they are entitled. The tables are arranged in such a manner, that his majesty, sitting on his elevated throne can overlook the whole. It is not however to be understood that all who assemble on such occasions can be accommodated

accommodated at tables. The greater part of the officers, and even of the nobles, on the contrary, eat, sitting upon carpets in the hall; and on the outside stand a great multitude of persons who come from different countries, and bring with them many rare and curious articles. Some of these are feudatories who desire to be reinstated in possessions that have been taken from them, and who always make their appearance upon the appointed days of public festivity, or occasions of royal marriages.[597]

In the middle of the hall where his majesty sits at table, there is a magnificent piece of furniture, made in the form of a square coffer, each side of which is three paces in length, exquisitely carved in figures of animals, and gilt. It is hollow within, for the purpose of receiving a capacious vase, shaped like a jar, and of precious materials; calculated to hold about a ton, and filled with wine.[598] On each of its four sides stands a smaller vessel containing about a hogshead, one of which is filled with mare's milk, another with that of the camel, and so of the others, according to the kinds of beverage in use.[599] Within this buffet are also the cups or flagons belonging to his majesty, for serving the liquors. Some of them are of beautiful gilt plate.[600] Their size is such that when filled with wine or other liquor, the quantity would be sufficient for eight or ten men. Before every two persons who have seats at the tables, one of these flagons is placed,[601] together with a kind of ladle, in the form of a cup with a handle, also of plate; to be used not only for taking the wine out of the flagon, but for lifting it to the head. This is observed as well with respect to the women as the men. The quantity and richness of the plate belonging to his majesty is quite incredible.[602] Officers of rank are likewise appointed, whose duty it is to see that all strangers who happen to arrive at the time of the festival, and are unacquainted with the etiquette of the court, are suitably accommodated with places; and these stewards are continually visiting every part of the hall, inquiring of the guests if there is any thing with which they are unprovided, or whether any of them wish for wine, milk, meat, or other articles; in which case it is immediately brought to them by the attendants.[603]

At each door of the grand hall, or, of whatever part of the palace his majesty happens to be in, stand two officers of a gigantic figure, one on each side, with staves in their hands, for the purpose of preventing persons from touching the threshold with their feet, and obliging them to step beyond it. If by chance any one is guilty of this offence, these janitors take from him his garment, which he must redeem for money; or, when they do not take the garment, they inflict on him such number of blows as they have authority for doing. But as strangers may be unacquainted with the prohibition, officers are appointed to introduce them, by whom they are warned of it; and this precaution is used because touching the threshold is there regarded as a bad omen.[604] In departing from the hall, as some of the company may be affected by the liquor, it is impossible to guard against the accident, and the order is not then strictly enforced.[605] The numerous persons who attend at the sideboard of his majesty, and who serve him with victuals and drink, are all obliged to cover their noses and mouths with handsome veils or cloths of worked silk, in order that his victuals or his wine may not be affected by their breath.[606] When drink is called for by him, and the page in waiting has presented it, he retires three paces, and kneels down; upon which the courtiers, and all who are present, in like manner make their prostration. At the same moment all the musical instruments, of which there is a numerous band, begin to play, and continue to do so until he has ceased drinking; when all the company recover their posture; and this reverential salutation is made so often as his majesty drinks.[607] It is unnecessary to say any thing of the victuals, because it may well be imagined that their abundance is excessive. When the repast is finished and the tables have been removed, persons of various descriptions enter the hall, and amongst these a troop of comedians and performers on different instruments, as also tumblers and jugglers, who exhibit their skill in the presence of the Grand *khan*, to the high amusement and gratification of all the spectators.[608] When these sports are concluded, the people separate, and each returns to his own house.

594. The reader's attention is again called to the inference drawn in Note 553, from the occasional mention of this prince as a living personage, although the circumstance of his having died during the lifetime of his father is particularly stated in Chap. v of this Book.

595. "Au nord de cette cour" says De L'isle "on voit la belle salle du "*Tay-ho-tien* ou la suprême salle impériale.... Au premier jour de l'an et en "d'autres jours de grand cérémonie, les mandarins s'assemblent selon leur rang "de dignité dans la cour du *Tay-ho-tien*: l'empereur est assis dans la salle sur "son thrône; les princes, les ministres, les grands du premier ordre sont assis "près de lui; les mandarins, soit d'armes, soit de lettres, font leurs soumissions "au souverain." Descr. de Peking, p. 15. "Où la magnificence Chinoise éclate "d'avantage, c'est lorsque l'empereur donne audience aux ambassadeurs, ou "qu'assis sur son trône, il voit à *ses pieds* les principaux seigneurs de sa cour, "et tous les grands mandarins en habits de cérémonie, qui lui rendent leurs hom-"mages. C'est un spectacle véritablement auguste, que ce nombre prodigieux "de soldats sous les armes, cette multitude inconcevable de mandarins avec "toutes les marques de leur dignité, et placez chacun selon son rang dans un "trez-grand ordre; les ministres d'état, les chefs des cours souveraines, les "regulos, et les princes du sang; tout cela a un air de grandeur extraordi-"naire.... On n'y dispute jamais du rang, chacun sçait distinctement sa place." Du Halde, t. ii, p. 88.

596. At the modern Chinese festivals no women, of any class whatever, make their appearance; but during the reign of *Kublaï*, the Tartar customs were blended with the Chinese at the imperial court, aud according to those, the females were regarded as efficient members of society. Even at the present day the Tartar women (who are distinguished as such, although descended of families who have been settled in China for many generations) enjoy a degree of liberty to which the Chinese women are strangers. Under the dynasty which succeeded that of the *Yuen* or Mungals, the females of rank were spectators of the festival, although themselves unseen. "Au fond de la sale" say the ambassadors of *Shah Rokh* "étoient suspendus des rideaux qui en couvroient une partie jusqu'au "trône, pour donner lieu aux femmes d'en approcher sans être vues." Thevenot, t. ii, p. 8.

597. It seems to have always been the policy of the Chinese court to defer the reception of ambassadors and their presents, until the occasion of some public festival; by which the double purpose is answered, of giving additional splendour to the business of the day, and at the same time of impressing the strangers with the magnificence of the ceremony attending the delivery of their credentials. It

may likewise be observed in the accounts of all European embassies, that their presentations are accompanied by those of the envoys or deputies of the neighbouring or dependent states. "On this occasion" says John Bell, speaking of an audience given to the minister of Peter the Great "were to be assembled seve-" ral Tartar princes; particularly the *Kutuchtu* and the *Tush-du-chan*, together " with many persons of distinction from Korea and all the dominions of China." Vol. ii, p. 50. "Of the small tents in front" says Staunton "one was for the use " of the embassy while it was in waiting for the arrival of the emperor. Some " of the others were destined in the same manner, for the several tributary prin-" ces of Tartary, and delegates from other tributary states, who were assembled " at *Zhe-hol* on the occasion of the emperor's birth-day; and who attended, on " this day, to grace the reception of the English ambassador." Vol. ii, p. 225. "Peu après on est venu, par ordre de l'empereur" says Van Braam "appeller les " trois ambassadeurs Coréens, et les deux ambassadeurs Hollandais, afin qu'ils " approchassent du trône." Voy. en Chine, t. i, p. 232. The same circumstance is noticed in the journal of *Shah Rokh's* ministers: "Les ambassadeurs" they say "ayant été conduits au nouveau palais, y trouvèrent cent mille hommes " qui y étoient accourus de tous les endroits du Khataï, des païs de Tachin, de " Machin, de Calmak, de Tebet, de Kabul, de Karakogia, de Giourga, et des " costes de la mer. L'empereur donna ce jour-là un festin à tous les émirs de " ses états." Thevenot, t. ii, p. 9. The coincidence of these, with our author's description of the assemblage of persons from the various provinces of the empire, is not a little striking; and we are unavoidably reminded of the sarcastic remark of Sherefeddin, who in relating the pompous circumstances of an entertainment given by Tamerlane, at Samarkand, says (in the words of Gibbon translating from P. de la Croix): "The orders of the state, and the nations of the earth " were marshalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambassadors of Europe " (says the haughty Persian) excluded from the feast; since even the *casses*, the " smallest of fish, find their place in the ocean." Vol. vi, p. 359.

598. Although the juice of the grape is expressed in some parts of China, what is usually termed Chinese wine is a fermented liquor from grain. "This conver-"sation being finished" says John Bell "the emperor gave the ambassador, " with his own hand, a gold cup, full of warm *tarassun* (written *dirasoun* in the " journal of *Shah Rokh's* embassy), a sweet, fermented liquor, made of various " sorts of grain, as pure and strong as canary wine, of a disagreeable smell, " although not unpleasant to the taste." Vol. ii, p. 8. "During the repast" says Staunton "he sent them (the English) several dishes from his own table; " and, when it was over, he sent for them, and presented with his own hands to " them a goblet of warm Chinese wine, not unlike Madeira of an inferior qua-"lity." Vol. ii, p. 237. Pallas says that the *tarasun* may be compared to a mixture

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of brandy with English beer. Reise, dritter Theil, p. 131. " Ils ne laissent pas " de boire souvent du vin " says Du Halde : ils le font d'une espèce particulière " de ris, différent de celui dont ils se nourrissent." T. ii, p. 118.

599. That milk is the favourite beverage of the Tartars is well known; and as the court and the army were, at the period in question, almost exclusively of that nation, we must not be surprised to find it introduced at a festival in the capital of China. With respect to the probability of camels' milk being found there, Staunton notices the employment of camels or dromedaries in great numbers, for the conveyance of goods, in the parts of Tartary bordering on the northern provinces of that country, and Du Halde enumerates " les chameaux à deux bosses " amongst the Chinese animals.

600. Ramusio's expression is: " *Sonvi alcuni d'oro bellissimi, che si chiamano vernique*," and he again uses *verniqua* as the name of the vessel. I suspect, however, some confusion. *Vernicato d'oro* (from *vernice* varnish) signifies gilt or washed with gold, and *verniqua* seems to be connected with this meaning. Besides, it is obvious that vessels capable of containing liquor for eight or ten persons, would, if formed of massive gold, be much too ponderous for use.

601. The tables at Chinese feasts are small, and generally calculated for two persons only. This leads to the remark, that in the journal of *Shah Rokh's* embassy there appears to be a mistranslation of the Persian text, where it is said, " Ils mettent trois tables devant les émirs et devant ceux à qui ils font le " plus d'honneur ; ceux que l'on considère ensuite en ont deux, et les autres n'en " ont qu'une." P. 8. As the greatest mandarin would find himself embarassed with *three* tables, I apprehend that the whole of the circumstances should be reversed, and that the lowest class were seated three at a table. The French translator adds, " Il y eut pour le moins ce jour-là mille tables couvertes et " servies." " Puis on disposa " says Van Braam " quatre rangs de petites " tables basses, couvertes d'un linge grossier, et disposées de façon qu'une " table se trouvait entre deux personnes, excepté vis-à-vis son Excellence et moi, " où l'on avait mis une table pour chacun de nous séparément." Voy. en Chine, t. i, p. 229.

602. After plundering a great part of the world, it is not surprising that the family of *Jengiz-khan* should be possessed of a quantity of the precious metals enormously large in proportion to what circulated in Europe or Asia, before the discovery of the Mexican and Peruvian mines. Frequent mention is made of golden cups or goblets, and Bell speaks of large dishes of massive gold sent by the emperor to their lodgings.

603. For the degree of civilisation which these attentions imply we should give credit to the long established usages of the conquered people, rather than to any regulations introduced by the family then on the throne. All our travellers concur in their description of the order and propriety observed at these entertainments, where a silence reigns approaching to solemnity.

604. This superstition is noticed both by Plano Carpini and Rubruquis as existing amongst the Tartars: " Si aussi quelqu'un marche sur le sueil de la porte du " palais impériale " says the former, " ou de quelqu'autre des chefs, il est " incontinent mis à mort." Bergeron, Voy. de Carpin, p. 32. " Puis il nous " avertirent " says the latter " de prendre soigneusement garde en entrant ou " sortant de ne toucher pas le sueil de la porte: " (and on another occasion): " Après cela etans sortis, mon compagnon demeura un peu derrière, et se " tournant vers *Mangu* pour lui faire la révérence, il chopa par hazard au sueil " de la porte.... Ceux qui prenoient garde à la porte voiant que mon compagnon " avoit ainsi choqué contre le sueil, l'arrêtèrent, et le firent mener devant le " grand prévôt de la cour. Je ne savois rien de cela, car bien que je ne le visse " point nous suivre, je croiois qu'on l'eût arrêté seulement pour lui donner quelques " habits un peu plus légers que les siens." Bergeron, Voy. de Rubriq. p. 33. 83.

605. This is one of the innumerable instances of *naïveté* or honest simplicity in our author's relations and remarks. Inebriety was the favourite vice of the Tartars, and at this period it had been but partially corrected by the more sober example of the Chinese.

606. Something of the same fanciful kind is noticed in the journal of *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors, where it is said: " Deux *khogias* (eunuques) du serail " étoient debout, l'un d'un côté, l'autre de l'autre, avec une espèce de carton " qui alloit jusques aux oreilles, où il étoit attaché, et leur couvroit la bouche." P. 7.

607. Music invariably accompanies these festivities. " Sa majesté arriva avec " une escorte de musiciens, et alla se placer sur le trône; alors tout le monde " se leva et fit le salut d'honneur, agenouillé. La musique continua, et l'on " s'occupa de servir une table pour l'empereur." " Après un certain intervalle, " on apporta à boire au monarque dans une tasse. Lorsqu'il eût fini, on servit à " tous les invités à la ronde. Chacun d'eux, en prenant la tasse, faisait le salut " d'honneur assis, en baisant une seule fois la tête." Voyage en Chine, par Van Braam, t. i, p. 230–1. " The musick " says John Bell " played all the time " of dinner. The chief instruments were flutes, harps, and lutes, all tuned to " the Chinese taste." Vol. ii, p. 12.

608. These

608. These histrionic, athletic, and juggling exhibitions, which at all periods have very much resembled each other, will be found circumstantially described in the accounts of the several embassies to Peking, from that of *Shah Rokh*, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, to those of the English and Dutch, in the latter part of the eighteenth.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the festival that is kept throughout the dominions of the Grand khan on the twenty-eighth of September, being the anniversary of his nativity.

ALL the Tartar and other subjects of the Grand *khan* celebrate as a festival the day of his majesty's birth, which took place on the twenty-eighth day of the moon, in the month of September;[609] and this is their greatest festival, excepting only that kept on the first day of the year, which shall be hereafter described. Upon this anniversary the Grand *khan* appears in a superb dress of cloth of gold, and on the same occasion full twenty thousand nobles and military officers are clad by him in dresses similar to his own in point of colour and form; but the materials are not equally rich. They are, however, of silk, and of the colour of gold;[610] and along with the vest they likewise receive a girdle of chamois leather, curiously worked with gold and silver thread, and also a pair of boots.[611] Some of the dresses are ornamented with precious stones and pearls to the value of a thousand bezants of gold, and are given to those nobles who, from their confidential employments, are nearest to his majesty's person, and are termed *quiécitari*.[612] These dresses are appointed to be worn on the thirteen solemn festivals celebrated in the thirteen (lunar) months of the year,[613] when those who are clad in them make an appearance that is truly royal. When his majesty assumes any particular dress, the nobles of his court wear corresponding, but less costly, dresses, which are always in readiness.[614] They are not annually renewed, but on the contrary are made to last about ten

ten years. From this parade an idea may be formed of the magnificence of the Grand *khan*, which is unequalled by that of any monarch in the world.

On the occasion of this festival of his majesty's nativity, all his Tartar subjects, and likewise the people of every kingdom and province throughout his dominions send him valuable presents, according to established usage.[615] Many persons who repair to court in order to solicit principalities to which they have pretensions, also bring presents, and his majesty accordingly gives direction to the tribunal of twelve, who have cognizance of such matters, to assign to them such territories and governments as may be proper.[616] Upon this day likewise all the Christians, Idolaters, and Saracens, together with every other description of people, offer up devout prayers to their respective gods and idols, that they may bless and preserve the sovereign, and bestow upon him long life, health, and prosperity.[617] Such, and so extensive, are the rejoicings on the return of his majesty's birth-day. We shall now speak of another festival, termed the White feast, celebrated at the commencement of the year.

NOTES.

609. According to the "Histoire générale de la Chine" (p. 282), *Kublaï* or Hupilaï (as the Chinese pronounce the name) was born in the eighth moon of the year corresponding to 1216; which, as will be seen in a subsequent Note respecting the commencement of the Kataian year, answers satisfactorily to the month of September, as stated by our author.

610. Although yellow has long been the imperial colour in China, it is said not to have been such at all periods, some of the early dynasties having affected red and other colours. It may be conjectured that the attachment to it has proceeded from its being worn by the predominant sect of *lamas* in Tibet, to whose superstitions the emperors of China have been zealously addicted; although on the other hand, it is possible that this sect of *lamas* may have adopted the imperial colour. To *Kublaï*, indeed, the establishment of the *lama* hierarchy, on its present

present footing, is by some attributed, and the first *Dalaï lama* is said to have been nominated by him. Others, however, suppose that the titles of *Dalaï lama* and *Panchan lama* were not conferred before the reign of *Hiuen-te*, fifth emperor of the *Ming*. Both dynasties appear to have been assiduous in their encouragement of these ecclesiastics, through whose influence they were enabled to govern the western provinces with more facility.

611. " People of condition " says the Abbé Grosier " never go abroad but in " boots, which are generally of satin." This article of dress is again mentioned in Chap. xxvi, and Note 736.

612. This word appears to be bastard Italian, a noun of agency formed from the verb *quiescere*, and may be thought to denote those persons who, throughout the East, are employed, in various modes, to lull great personages to rest. If such be meant, they are properly, however quaintly, said, to be the officers nearest to his majesty's person; nor must it be objected that such a service would be incompatible with the dignities of the state, when we reflect that in all the courts of Europe these dignities have belonged to the High Chamberlains, the Butlers, and the Stewards of its monarchs.

613. " Le calendrier ordinaire" observes the younger De Guignes " divise " l'année par mois lunaires." Voy. à Peking, t. ii, p. 418.

614. This uniformity of court-dress is not the practice in modern times; on the contrary the imperial colour is confined to the family of the sovereign. " Le " jaune " says Trigault " est la couleur du roy, et est défendue à tous autres: " nor have we reason to suppose that the dresses or liveries of any of the state officers are, in these days, provided by the crown. The scale of expenses of those who acquire their dominion by conquest is commonly much more extravagant, than of princes who succeed to an established throne, and who, in raising their supplies, must attend to the feelings of their subjects.

615. " Le mesme honneur est partout rendu au roy tous les ans le jour de sa " naissance, auquel jour les magistratz de Pequin, et autres ambassadeurs des " provinces, et aussi les parens du roy.... viennent là pour feliciter le roy de sa " longue vie, et tesmoigner avec des présens magnifiques le contentement qu'ilz " ont de la bonne continuation d'icelle." Trigault, Voy. de la Chine, p. 61.

616. It may be inferred from hence that all the feudal principalities, governments, and public offices, were bestowed upon those who brought the richest presents, or, in other words, were sold to the highest bidders. The boundless expenditure

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expenditure of this monarch, on the one hand, and the avaricious propensity with which he is reproached, appear to have produced a system of general rapacity. It is probable however, that the avarice may have been only inferred from the extortion.

617. The indiscriminate toleration of all religions allowed by the emperors of this dynasty, is attributed by some to a judicious policy, and by others to a perfect indifference about matters of faith. Superstition seems to have had no small influence on *Kublaï's* conduct in this respect, and whilst he appeared to conform to the religion of the great mass of his subjects (both Mungal and Kataian) he may have felt inward doubts of its truth or efficacy, and been anxious to conciliate the good will of whatever deity might be in fact the most powerful, without taking upon himself to determine the point.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the White-feast, held on the first day of the month of February, being the commencement of their year; of the number of presents then brought; and of the ceremonies that take place at a table whereon is inscribed the name of the Grand khan.

CHAP. XII. It is well ascertained that the Tartars date the commencement of their year from the month of February,[618] and on that occasion it is customary for the Grand *khan*, as well as all who are subject to him, in their several countries, to clothe themselves in white garments, which, according to their ideas, are the emblem of good fortune;[619] and they assume this dress at the beginning of the year, in the hope that, during the whole course of it, nothing but what is fortunate may happen to them, and that they may enjoy pleasure and comfort. Upon this day the inhabitants of all the provinces and kingdoms who hold lands or rights of jurisdiction under the Grand *khan*, send him valuable presents, of gold, silver, and precious stones,[620] together with many pieces of white cloth, which they add, with the intent that his majesty may experience throughout the year, uninterrupted felicity, and possess treasures

treasures adequate to all his expenses. With the same view the nobles, princes, and all ranks of the community make reciprocal presents, at their respective houses, of white articles; embracing each other with demonstrations of joy and festivity, and saying (as we ourselves are accustomed to do), "May good fortune attend you through the coming "year, and may every thing you undertake succeed to your wish."[621] On this occasion great numbers of beautiful white horses are presented to his majesty; or if not perfectly white, it is at least the prevailing colour. In this country white horses are not uncommon.

It is moreover the custom in making presents to the Grand *khan*, for those who have it in their power, to furnish nine times nine of the article of which the present consists. Thus, for instance, if a province sends a present of horses, there are nine times nine, or eighty-one head in the drove; so also of gold, or of cloth, nine times nine pieces.[622] By such means his majesty receives at this festival no fewer than an hundred thousand horses. On this day it is that all his elephants, amounting to five thousand, are exhibited in procession, covered with housings of cloth, fancifully and richly worked with gold and silk, in figures of birds and beasts.[623] Each of these supports upon its shoulders two coffers filled with vessels of plate and other apparatus for the use of the court. Then follows a train of camels, in like manner laden with various necessary articles of furniture.[624] When the whole are properly arranged, they pass in review before his majesty, and form a pleasing spectacle.

On the morning of the festival, before the tables are spread, all the princes, the nobility of various ranks,[625] the cavaliers, astrologers, physicians, and falconers, with many others holding public offices, the prefects of the people and of the lands,[626] together with the officers of the army, make their entry into the grand hall, in front of the emperor.[627] Those who cannot find room within, stand on the outside of the building, in such a situation as to be within sight of their sovereign.[628] The assemblage is marshalled in the following order. The first places are assigned to the sons and grandsons of his majesty and all the imperial family.[629] Next to these are the provincial kings[630] and

the nobility of the empire, according to their several degrees, in regular succession. When all have been disposed in the places appointed for them, a person of high dignity, or as we should express it, a great prelate,[631] rises and says with a loud voice: "Bow down and do reverence;" when instantly all bend their bodies until their foreheads touch the floor. Again the prelate cries: "God bless our lord, and long "preserve him in the enjoyment of felicity." To which the people answer: "God grant it." Once more the prelate says: "May God "encrease the grandeur and prosperity of his empire; may he preserve "all those who are his subjects in the blessings of peace and content-"ment; and in all their lands may abundance prevail." The people "again reply: "God grant it." They then make their prostrations four times.[632] This being done, the prelate advances to an altar, richly adorned, upon which is placed a red tablet inscribed with the name of the Grand *khan*. Near to this stands a censer of burning incense, with which the prelate, on the behalf of all who are assembled, perfumes the tablet and the altar, in a reverential manner; when every one present humbly prostrates himself before the tablet.[633] This ceremony being concluded they return to their places, and then make the presentation of their respective gifts; such as have been mentioned. When a display has been made of these, and his majesty has cast his eyes upon them,[634] the tables are prepared for the feast, and the company, as well women as men, arrange themselves there in the manner and order described in a former chapter. Upon the removal of the victuals, the musicians and theatrical performers exhibit for the amusement of the court, as has been already related.[635] But on this occasion a lion is conducted into the presence of his majesty, so tame, that it is taught to lay itself down at his feet.[636] The sports being finished, every one returns to his own home.

NOTES.

618. In this assertion our author presents a most unexceptionable test of his authenticity. It must be observed that in stating the commencement of the year to be reckoned from the month of February (*dal mese di Febraio*), he does not fix it to any precise day of our calendar; which in fact he could not have done with correctness;

correctness; and although Ramusio, in his title to the chapter, mentions the first day of the month, and the Latin version implies the same by the phrase of "in die calendarum Februarii," it is otherwise in the Italian epitomes, and their reading is justified by the actual circumstances. In the "Epochæ celebriores" of *Ulugh Beig* (the son of *Shah Rokh*), translated by the learned Greaves, we are informed that the solar year of the Kataians and Igurians commences on that day in which the sun attains the middle point of the constellation of Aquarius, and this we find from the Ephemeris, fluctuates between the third and the fifth of February, according to our bissextile. With respect to their civil year, which must be that of which our author speaks, we have a satisfactory account of it in the "Voyage de la Chine" of P. Trigault, compiled from the writings of the eminent Matt. Ricci, who says: "A chasque nouvelle an, qui commence à la "nouvelle lune qui précède ou suit prochainement le cinquiesme de Février, "duquel les Chinois content le commencement du printemps, on envoye de "chasque province un ambassadeur pour visiter officieusement le roy:" (p. 60) by which we should understand, the new moon that falls the nearest to (either before or after) the time of the sun's reaching the middle point of Aquarius; and consequently the festival cannot be assigned to any particular day of the European calendar.

619. The superstition of considering white, which is naturally the emblem of purity, as having an influence in producing good fortune, has been very prevalent throughout the world; as black, on the contrary, from its connexion with impurity, darkness, and the grave, has been thought the forboder of ill-luck, and become the type of sadness. The Chinese, however, whose customs, in many respects, run counter to those of other nations, have judged proper to establish the former, instead of the latter, as their mourning dress; but *Kublaï*, although he adopted most of the civil institutions of his new and more civilised subjects, did not, and possibly could not, even if he had wished it, oblige his own people to change their ancient superstitions. It accordingly appears that during his reign at least, and probably so long as his dynasty held the throne, the festival of the New year was celebrated in white dresses, and white horses were amongst the most acceptable presents to the emperor. When the dynasty of the *Ming*, which was native Chinese, succeeded to that of the Mungals, the use of white on this occasion, was again proscribed, as we find from the journal of *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors at the court of *Yong-lo*, where the following passage occurs: "Le 25 "de la lune de *muharrem* (evidently a mistake for 27) *Moulana Cadi Jousouf* "(chief magistrate of the Mahometan population) envoya avertir ses ambassa- "deurs que le lendemain étoit le premier jour de l'année, que l'empereur iroit à "un nouveau palais, et que personne n'y portait rien de blanc, parce que blanc "est une marque de deuïl auprès des Khataiens. Ainsi sur la minuit du 28 le

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" *se-gin* les vint prendre, et les conduisit à ce superbe et nouveau palais auquel on " travailloit depuis dix-neuf ans, et qui ne faisoit que d'être achevé." P. 8. Of the opinion entertained by the Kataians and Igurians that a connexion existed between certain colours and the prospect of good or bad fortune, we are furnished with proof in the Epochæ celebriores of *Ulugh Beig*, who gives an account of the divisions of time observed by these people: " Chataiis cyclus alius est, à " quo electio dierum dependet; isque in duodecim partes dividitur..... Ex eis, " quatuor erunt *chai*, hoc est dies nigri, iique infausti sunt.... et quatuor erunt " *chunee*, id est flavi, et sunt fausti.... et duo erunt *yeh*, hoc est, *candidi*, et " sunt *felicissimi*.... et duo *hûn*, it est furvi, et sunt infelicissimi." P. 88.

620. " Tout ce qui est de précieux ou bien fait par tout le royaume " says Trigault " tous les ans, en grande quantité et avec grandz despens est envoyé " au roy à Pequin." Voyage de la Chine, p. 63. It is for this object chiefly that articles of curiosity and of intrinsic value, from Europe, are purchased by the Chinese at Canton.

621. " The first day of the New year, and a few succeeding days " Barrow observes " are the only holidays, properly speaking, that are observed by the " working part of the community. On these days the poorest peasant makes " a point of procuring new clothing for himself and his family; they pay their " visits to friends and relations, interchange civilities and compliments, make " and receive presents; and the officers of government and the higher ranks give " feasts and entertainments." Trav. in China, p. 155. " Their whole time " says L'Abbé Grosier " is employed in plays, diversions, and feasting. The shops are " every where shut; and all the people dressed out in their richest attire, go to " visit their parents, friends, and patrons. Nothing, in this respect, can have " a greter resemblance to our visits on the first day of the new year." Vol. ii, p. 323.

622. The superstitious ideas prevailing amongst the nations of Tartary, respecting the properties of this number, are circumstantially detailed by Strahlenberg, from whose well-known work the following passage, which will be found abundantly sufficient to justify our author's assertion, is extracted: " I shall " therefore proceed to relate " says this observing traveller and laborious investigator " what I myself have observed, in those North-eastern parts, as likewise " what I have remarked in other writers, who have treated of this part of the " world, concerning this subject, and particularly with regard to the number " Nine, what yet remains amongst the inhabitants of these parts. L'Histoire du " grand *Ghenghizcan*, par M. Pétis de la Croix, p. 79, informs us that when " *Temugin* was elected Great *Chan*, and named *Ghenghiz-can*, all the people " bowed

" bowed their knees to him nine times to wish him a prosperous continuation of " his reign: and this is yet a custom with the Chinese-Tartarian emperors, before " whom ambassadors, when they are admitted to audience, are obliged to make " their obeisances kneeling, *nine* times at their entrance, and just as often at " their departure. The same ceremony is yet in use with the Usbeck-Tartars; " for when a person has any thing of importance to ask of, or to treat with, " their *Chan*, he must not only offer a present, consisting of *nine* particular " things or curiosities, but when he approaches him to deliver it, must bow " nine times; which ceremony these Tartars call the *Zagataian* audience." Introduction, p. 86.

623. As *Kublaï* had subdued Ava and other southern provinces where elephants are found in great number, and where they had been opposed to his armies in battle, it is natural that he should be inclined to add these powerful animals to his establishment, if not for military purposes, at least for parade or as beasts of burthen; and they were accordingly delivered to him in tribute from the conquered princes. A few are kept by the emperors of the dynasty now reigning, but, as it would seem, merely for state. " After dinner " says Bell " we were " conducted to the emperor's stables, where the elephants are kept. The " keeper asked the ambassador to walk into his apartments, till they were " equipped; then we went into the court, and saw these huge animals richly " caparisoned in gold and silver stuffs. Each had a rider on his back, who held " in their hands small battle-axes, with a sharp pike at one end, to drive and " guide them. We stood about an hour admiring those sagacious animals: some " of them were very large, who, passing before us at equal distances, returned " again behind the stables; and so on round and round, till there seemed to be " no end of the procession. The plot, however, was at last discovered, by the " features and dress of the riders; and the chief keeper told us there were only " sixty of them. The climate about Pekin is too cold for them to breed; and all " these were brought from warmer countries. The emperor keeps them only for " show, and makes no use of them, at least in these northern parts." Vol. ii, p. 25. " Nous rencontrâmes " says Van Braam " six grands éléphants qui " entraient dans *Pe-king*, ayant presque tous des dents longues, mais minces. " C'est un présent envoyé à sa majesté par un grand mandarin, résidant aux " frontières de l'Ouest." Voy. en Chine, t. i, p. 280

624. It has already been mentioned (Note 599), that camels or dromedaries, especially those with two bunches, are common in China.

625. Amongst the Chinese or Tartars there is no hereditary nobility, and the term is here, and elsewhere, employed, in default of a better, to express that class or rank of persons, who hold the great offices of state, and are in Persia and

and Hindustan, styled *amîrs*. The reader must be well aware that in the modern intercourse of Europeans with China, officers of all degrees, civil and military, from those who manage the great concerns of the empire, down to the persons stationed in boats to prevent, or connive at, smuggling, are indiscriminately called *mandarins*; but of this title, although it might often be convenient in translating, I do not avail myself, not only on account of the vagueness of its application, but because, as it was not known in our author's time, its introduction into his text would be a species of anachronism.

626. With a view not only to political security, but to the more ready collection of the capitation and other taxes, the people were numbered, and divided into classes, on a progressive decimal scale, from ten to ten thousand, over each of which a responsible officer presided; and as the revenue from the lands was collected in kind, officers, not unlike the *zemindars* of the Moghul government in Hindustan, were appointed by the emperor, to watch over and transmit the produce to the royal granaries near Peking.

627. "Chacun de ces jours" says P. Magalhanes "tous les grands seigneurs "et mandarins de la cour, qui sont au nombre de près de cinq mille, s'assemblent "dans les portiques, dans les salles et dans les chambres qui sont des deux costez "de la cour qui précède la porte du midy. Ils sont tous couverts de bonnets et "de robes très-riches en broderie d'or." Nouv. Relat. p. 302.

628. "The great hall" says Bell "was by this time almost full of company; "and a number of people of distinction still remained in the area, who could not "find room in the hall." T. ii, p. 60.

629. "Our station" says the same traveller "was to the right of the throne. "All the princes, the emperor's sons and grandsons, together with the *Tush-du-"chan* and some other persons of high distinction, were placed to the left, oppo-"site to us. As the customs of the Chinese are in many instances quite contrary "to those of Europeans; so, I have been informed, that, among them, the left "hand is the place of greatest honour." Ibid.

630. The Chinese title of *vang*, which the Portuguese render by the word *regulo*, and the French Jesuits by *roitelet* and *roi*, was usually conferred on the tributary princes throughout Tartary.

631. The term *prelato*, which has nothing corresponding to it in the other versions, seems to be gratuitous on the part of Ramusio. In the Basle edition the words are, "surgit unus in medio," and in the epitomes, "el se leva uno huomo in mezo."

632. "Le

632. "Le maître des cérémonies" says the younger De Guignes, "qui est un "des premiers mandarins du *Ly-pou*, ou tribunal des rites, s'étant placé près de "la porte *Ou-men*, crie d'une voix haute et perçante: 'mettez-vous en ordre;' "'tournez-vous; mettez-vous à genoux; frappez la tête contre terre; frappez "'encore; frappez de nouveau; levez-vous.' On se remet encore à genoux, "et l'on recommence deux fois le salut; ainsi l'hommage consiste à faire trois "fois trois saluts. Après le dernier, le mandarin crie: 'levez-vous; tournez-"'vous; mettez-vous en ordre:' puis il se met à genoux lui-même devant la "porte, et dit: 'Seigneur, les cérémonies sont terminées.'" Voy. à Peking, &c. t. iii, p. 44. An account agreeing precisely in substance with the above, but more circumstantial in the detail, will be found in the Nouv. Relat. of P. Magalhanes, p. 304. "The master of the ceremonies" says John Bell "brought "back the ambassador; and then ordered all the company to kneel, and make "obeisance nine times to the emperor. At every third time we stood up, and "kneeled again. Great pains were taken to avoid this piece of homage, but "without success. The master of the ceremonies stood by, and delivered his "orders in the Tartar Language, by pronouncing the words *morgu* and *boss*; "the first meaning to bow and the other to stand; two words which *I cannot* "*soon forget*." Vol. ii, p. 7. All the editions of our author's work agree in stating that this ceremony was repeated four times; whereas it is well known that the repetitions are *three* and *nine*. Either his memory must have failed him, or, which is more probable, the numeral figures of an early manuscript may have been mistaken by the copyists.

633. The ceremony of making prostrations before the empty throne, or before a tablet on which is written the name of the emperor, appears to belong rather to the festival of his Nativity, than to that of the New year. Barrow was informed, "that all the officers of government, in every part of the empire, made their "prostrations to the *name* of the emperor inscribed on yellow silk, on that day." Travels in China, p. 116. "Enfin, le cérémonial Chinois" says De Guignes "est si machinal et si peu éclairé, que les mandarins se prosternent non-seule-"ment devant la personne de l'empereur, mais encore devant son *nom* et même "devant son fauteuil." Voy. à Peking, t. ii, p. 258.

634. It is not to be presumed that his examination of presents is very minute, unless where there is some striking appearance of value or rarity in the articles, or they happen to be adapted to his particular taste or pursuit. "The different "machines and instruments" says Staunton "being, at length, mounted and "put in proper order, and, together with other presents, arranged to the best "advantage, in different parts of the hall of audience, and on both sides of the "throne.... it occurred to the principal eunuch of that palace, to declare that

"an

BOOK II. CHAP. XII. Notes.

" an order was come from the emperor to change the disposition of the presents, " and to place them all at one end of the hall of audience, ' that his imperial ' majesty might be able to view them from the throne, without being at the " ' trouble of turning his head.' " Vol. ii, p. 320.

635. This reference to his former account, of what had occurred at the celebration of the emperor's birthday, is similar to an observation on the same subject, made to Lord Macartney by the first minister of *Kien-long*: "The *Colao* added, " on his part, that as to the feast of the New year, for which he supposed his " Excellency might wish to wait, it was nothing more than a repetition of what " he had seen already at Zhe-hol (*Je-hol*)." P. 328.

636. Frequent mention is made of lions (which are not found either in China or Chinese Tartary) being sent as presents from the western potentates. Du Halde, speaking of the reign of *Hong-Vou*, the first of the *Ming*, who died in 1384, says: " Sa cour fut bientôt remplie d'ambassadeurs qui vinrent de tous côtez " le féliciter sur son avénement à la couronne. Parmi leurs présens, ils lui " offrirent un lion, et c'est le premier fois (as the writer supposed) que les Chi- " nois virent un animal de cette espèce." T. i, p. 506. *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors carried with them a lion, which was presented (in 1421) to *Yong-lo*, the son of the former. " Le dix-neuvième année de *Tcheng-hoa* (en 1478), *Ahema* (*Ahmed*, " petit-fils de *Khalil*) roi de Samarcande, envoya pour tribut deux lions.... La " nourriture de chacun des deux lions étoit de deux moutons par jour, et de " deux grands vases d'une liqueur faite avec du lait et du vinaigre. L'empereur " ordonna que ceux qui avoient eu soin des lions pendant le voyage, resteroient " à Peking." Mém. concern. les Chinois, t. xiv, p. 37. These authorities disprove the assertion of a respectable modern traveller, that the lion " has not been " brought amongst them (the Chinese), either as a present to the sovereign, or " as an object of curiosity to be shewn for profit."

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the quantity of game taken and sent to the court, during the winter months.

CHAP. XIII. At the season when the Grand *khan* resides in the capital of *Kataia*, or during the months of December, January, and February, at which time

time the cold is excessive, he gives orders for general hunting parties to take place in all the countries within forty stages of the court; and the governors of districts are required to send thither all sorts of game of the larger kind, such as wild boars, stags, fallow deer, roebucks, and bears; which are taken in the following manner. All persons possessed of land in the province repair to the places where these animals are to be found, and proceed to enclose them within a circle, when they are killed, partly with dogs, but chiefly by shooting them with arrows.[637] Such of them as are intended for his majesty's use, are first paunched for that purpose, and then forwarded on carriages, in large quantities, by those who reside within thirty stages of the capital. Those, in fact, who are at the distance of forty stages, do not, on account of the length of the journey, send the carcases, but only the skins, some dressed and others raw; to be made use of for the service of the army, as his majesty may judge proper.

NOTE.

637. This mode of hunting by surrounding the game within extensive lines, gradually contracted, has been often described by travellers. "After riding a "few miles" says John Bell "the *Taysha*, being master of the chace, ordered "his men to extend their lines. The *Taysha* and we were in the centre, and "often saw the game pass us, pursued by the horsemen, at full speed, with- "out the least noise but the whistling of arrows." P. 294. "In the morning "our *Taysha* dispatched some of his horsemen to the tops of the hills, in order "to discover where the antelopes were feeding....When they returned we "extended our wings to a great distance, that we might surround these creatures "with the greater ease; and, before noon, our people killed above twenty of "them." P. 296. A more particular account will be given where our author speaks of those hunting expeditions which were led by the emperor in person.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of leopards and lynxes used for hunting deer; of lions habituated to the chase of various animals; and of eagles taught to seize wolves.

BOOK II. CHAP. XIV.

THE Grand *khan* has many leopards and lynxes kept for the purpose of chasing deer, and also many lions, which are larger than the Babylonian lions, have good skins and of a handsome colour, being streaked lengthways, with white, black, and red stripes. They are active in seizing boars, wild oxen and asses, bears, stags, roebucks, and other beasts that are the objects of sport. It is an admirable sight, when the lion is let loose, in pursuit of the animal, to observe the savage eagerness and speed with which he overtakes it. His majesty has them conveyed for this purpose, in cages placed upon cars;[638] and along with them is confined a little dog, with which they become familiarised. The reason for thus shutting them up is, that they would otherwise be so keen and furious at the sight of the game, that it would be impossible to keep them under the necessary restraint. It is proper that they should be led in a direction opposite to the wind, in order that they may not be scented by the game, which would immediately run off, and afford no chance of sport. His Majesty has eagles also, which are trained to stoop at wolves, and such is their size and strength, that none however large, can escape from their talons.

NOTE.

638. It has already been observed in Note 465 that the Moghuls of Hindustan keep small leopards, to be employed in hunting. It would seem, however, that the largest animals of this genus were also tamed for the imperial sport. The former are described as being carried on horseback, behind their keepers; but these in cages on a sort of car. By some other of the old Italian writers they are termed "*leonze* domestice da cacciare."

It is evident from this description, as well as from the whole context, that the beast here spoken of as the lion, is in fact no other than the tiger, and ought to have

have been so named; but whether the mistake is to be attributed to our author himself, who might have forgotten some of the terms of his native language, or to his first translators, we have not the means of determining. The lion is known to be of a tawny colour, nearly uniform, whereas the tiger is marked with the colours mentioned above, if only, for red, we substitute a reddish yellow. "The beautiful bars of black with which his body was streaked (says "the History of Quadrupeds) are accurately copied: the colour of the ground "was yellow, deeper on the back, and softened by degrees towards the belly, "where it was white, as were also the throat and insides of the legs." The streaks however, are not longitudinal. It will not be thought an improbable supposition that the confounding of these appellations may have proceeded from our author's intercourse with Persians and other Mahometans, in his journey from China to Europe, as it is well known to oriental scholars, that with these people the same terms are, almost indiscriminately applied to both species of animal. This might be shewn from the Persian dictionaries, where the word *shêr* شیر stands both for lion and tiger; but a passage in Beatson's "View of the War "with Tippo Sultaun," will afford more circumstantial proof: "Tippoo" says the Colonel "seems to have adopted *Ali* (one of whose titles is *Asadallah* or the "Lion of God) as the guardian genius or tutelary saint, of his dominions.... "His selection of the tiger as an emblem, appears to be intended in honour of "*Ali*; for the natives of Hindostan make no distinction between a lion and a "tiger.... Hence the word *assud*, which has been interpreted by all the Euro-"pean orientalists, to signify, a lion, is by the natives of Hindostan termed "*sheer* or tiger. Moreover, *hyder*, which also signifies a lion, but interpreted "like the former by the natives of Hindostan, tiger, is another title of Ali." P. 155.

CHAPTER XV.

Of two brothers who are principal officers of the chase to the Grand khan.

His majesty has in his service two persons, brothers both by the father and the mother, one of them named *Bayan*[639] and the other *Mingan*, who are what in the language of the Tartars are called *chivichi*,[640] that is to say, "masters of the chase," having charge of the hounds fleet and slow, and of the mastiffs. Each of these has

under his orders a body of ten thousand chasseurs; those under the one brother wearing a red uniform, and those under the other, a sky-blue, whenever they are upon duty.[641] The dogs of different descriptions which accompany them to the field, are not fewer than five thousand.[642] The one brother with his division, takes the ground to the right hand of the emperor, and the other to the left, with his division, and each advances in regular order, until they have enclosed a tract of country to the extent of a day's march. By this means no beast can escape them.[643] It is a beautiful and an exhilirating sight, to watch the exertions of the huntsmen and the sagacity of the dogs, when the emperor is within the circle, engaged in the sport, and they are seen pursuing the stags, bears, and other animals, in every direction.[644] The two brothers are under an engagement to furnish the court daily, from the commencement of October to the end of March, with a thousand pieces of game, quails being excepted; and also with fish, of which as large a quantity as possible is to be supplied, estimating the fish that three men can eat at a meal, as equivalent to one piece of game.

NOTES.

639. This may have been the person of the same name, who so eminently distinguished himself as commander in chief of *Kublai's* armies, and who is mentioned, in a subsequent chapter, as the conqueror of southern China. Amongst these people the ablest warrior was generally the most expert and boldest hunter. In the early Italian epitome the names of the two brothers are written *Baxam* and *Mitigam*.

640. Our vocabularies of the Mungal language are so imperfect, that even if the words occurring in the text had been correctly written and preserved, we might fail in our endeavours to identify them; but corrupted as they are by transcription, the attempt is vain. This, which in Ramusio's version is *civici* (or *chivichi* according to our orthography) is, in the Italian epitome of 1496, written *civitri*, in the earliest Latin edition *cynici*, and in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts *canici*; from which latter, if the spelling has not been perverted by the fancy of copyists, we might be led to suppose the word a derivative from the Italian *cane* a dog. In the Basle edition it is entirely omitted.

641. The

641. The custom of giving uniforms to the huntsmen, I find incidentally mentioned in the accounts we have of the sporting excursions of the emperor *Kang-hi*; "A signal was then given" says Bell "that the emperor was coming; "upon which all the great men drew up in lines, from the bottom of the stairs "to the road leading to the forest, all on foot, dressed in their hunting habits, the "same with those used by the officers and cavalry of the army, when in the field, "and armed with bows and arrows." Vol. ii, p. 76. "Sa majesté" says P. Gerbillon "fit faire une enceinte par ses nouveaux Mantcheoux, ausquels il avoit "donné une veste courte de satin blanc, pour les distinguer des autres." Du Halde, t. iv, p. 290.

642. It is not common to find any mention of sporting dogs amongst the Chinese or Chinese Tartars; but of their existence Bell furnishes us with direct proof. "After this entertainment" he says "the aleggada (*colao*) carried us "first to see his dogs, of which he had great variety. I formerly observed that "this gentleman was a great sportsman. He took greater pleasure in talking of "hounds than of politicks; though at the same time he had the character of a very "able minister and an honest man." Vol. ii, p. 22.

643. "L'empereur" says P. Verbiest, speaking of *Kang-hi* "choisit trois "mille hommes de ses gardes du corps, armez de flèches et de javelots. Il les "dispersa de côté et d'autre, de sorte qu'ils occupoient un grand circuit autour "des montagnes qu'ils environnoient de toutes parts. Ce qui faisoit comme une "espèce de cercle dont le diamètre étoit au moins de 3000 pas. Ensuite venant "à s'approcher d'un pas égal, sans quitter leur rang, quelque obstacle qu'ils "trouvassent dans leur chemin, car l'empereur avoit mêlé parmi eux des "capitaines, et mêmes les Grands de la cour, pour y maintenir l'ordre, ils "réduisoient ce grand cercle à un autre beaucoup moindre, qui avoit environ "300 pas de diamètre; ainsi toutes les bêtes qui avoient été enfermées dans le "premier, se trouvoient prises dans celui-ci, comme dans un filet; parce que "chacun mettant pied à terre, ils se serroient si étroitement les uns contre les "autres, qu'ils ne laissoient aucune issue par où elles pussent s'enfuir. Alors "on les poursuivoit si vivement dans ce petite espace, que ces pauvres animaux "épuisez à force de courir, venoient tomber aux pieds des chasseurs, et se "laissoient prendre sans peine." Du Halde, t. iv, p. 77.

644. "Quelques-uns des officiers de la suite de l'empereur suivoient sa majesté "dans l'enceinte, et couroient çà et là, pour faire passer, autant qu'ils se "pouvoient, le gibier devant sa majesté, et pour achever de le tuer, lorsque l'em-"pereur l'avoit blessé....On y tua quatre vingt deux grands cerfs et chevreuils. "Il est difficile de voir une chasse plus agréable." P. 292.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Grand khan's proceeding to the chase, with his gerfalcons and hawks; of his falconers; and of his tents.

BOOK II. CHAP. XVI.

WHEN his majesty has resided the usual time in the metropolis, and leaves it in the month of March, he proceeds in a north-easterly direction, to within two days journey of the ocean,[645] attended by full ten thousand falconers, who carry with them a vast number of gerfalcons, peregrine falcons, and sakers, as well as many vultures, in order to pursue the game along the banks of the river.[646] It must be understood that he does not keep all this body of men together in one place, but divides them into several parties of one or two hundred or more, who follow the sport in various directions, and the greater part of what they take, is brought to his majesty. He has likewise with him ten thousand men of those of who are termed *taskaol*,[647] implying that their business is to be upon the watch, and who, for this purpose are detached in small parties of two or three, to stations not far distant from each other, in such a manner as to encompass a considerable tract of country. Each of them is provided with a call and a hood, by which they are enabled, when necessary, to call in and to secure the birds. Upon the command being given for flying the hawks, those who let them loose, are not under the necessity of following them, because the others, whose duty it is, look out so attentively, that the birds cannot direct their flight to any quarter where they are not secured, or promptly assisted if there should be occasion. Every bird belonging to his majesty, or to any of his nobles, has a small silver label fastened to its leg, on which is engraved the name of the owner, and also the name of the keeper. In consequence of this precaution, as soon as the hawk is secured, it is immediately known to whom it belongs, and restored accordingly.[648] If it happens that although the name appears, the owner, not being personally known to the finder, cannot be ascertained in the first instance, the bird is, in that case, carried to an officer termed *bulangazi*,[649] whose title imports that he is the "guardian of unclaimed property."

property." If a horse, therefore, a sword, a bird, or any other article is found, and it does not appear to whom it belongs, the finder carries it directly to this officer, by whom it is received in charge and carefully preserved. If on the other hand, a person finds any article that has been lost, and fails to carry it to the proper depositary, he is accounted a thief. Those by whom any property has been lost, make their application to this officer, by whom it is restored to them. His situation is always in the most elevated part of the camp, and distinguished by a particular flag, in order that he may be the more readily found by such as have occasion to apply to him. The effect of this regulation is, that no articles are ultimately lost.

When his majesty makes his progress in this manner, towards the shores of the ocean, many interesting occurrences attend the sport, and it may truly be said that it is unrivalled by any other amusement in the world.[650] On account of the narrowness of the passes in some parts of the country where his majesty follows the chase, he is borne upon two elephants only, or sometimes a single one, being more convenient than a greater number; but under other circumstances he makes use of four upon the backs of which is placed a pavilion of wood, handsomely carved;[651] the inside being lined with cloth of gold, and the outside covered with the skins of lions;[652] a mode of conveyance which is rendered necessary to him during his hunting excursions, in consequence of the gout, with which his majesty is troubled. In the pavilion he always carries with him twelve of his best gerfalcons, with twelve officers, from amongst his favourites, to bear him company and amuse him. Those who are on horseback by his side give him notice of the approach of cranes or other birds, upon which he raises the curtain of the pavilion, and when he espies the game, gives direction for letting fly the gerfalcons, which seize the cranes and overpower them after a long struggle. The view of this sport, as he lies upon his couch, affords extreme satisfaction to his majesty, as well as to the officers who attend him, and to the horsemen by whom he is surrounded. After having thus enjoyed the amusement for some hours, he repairs to a place named *Kakzarmodin*,[653] where are pitched the pavilions and tents of his sons, and also of the nobles, the life-guards,[654] and the falconers; exceeding

BOOK II. CHAP. XVI.

exceeding ten thousand in number, and making a handsome appearance. The tent of his majesty, in which he gives his audiences, is so long and wide that under it ten thousand soldiers might be drawn up, leaving room for the superior officers and other persons of rank.[655] Its entrance fronts the south,[656] and on the eastern side it has another tent connected with it, forming a capacious saloon, which the emperor usually occupies with a few of his nobility, and when he thinks proper to speak to any other persons, they are introduced to him in that apartment. In the rear of this there is a large and handsome chamber, where he sleeps; and there are many other tents and apartments (for the different branches of the household), but which are not immediately connected with the great tent. These halls and chambers are all constructed and fitted up in the following manner. Each of them is supported by three pillars of wood, richly carved and gilt. The tents are covered on the outside with the skins of lions, streaked white, black, and red,[657] and so well joined together that neither wind nor rain can penetrate. Withinside they are lined with the skins of ermins and sables, which are the most costly of all furs; for the latter, if of a size to trim a dress, is valued at two thousand besants of gold, provided it be perfect; but if otherwise, only one thousand. It is esteemed by the Tartars the queen of furs.[658] The animal, which in their language is named *rondes*,[659] is about the size of a pole-cat. With these two kinds of skin, the halls as well as the sleeping rooms are handsomely fitted up in compartments, arranged with much taste and skill. The tent-ropes, or cords by which they stretch the tents, are all of silk. Near to the grand tent of his majesty are situated those of his ladies, also very handsome and splendid. They have in like manner, their gerfalcons, their hawks, and other birds and beasts, with which they partake in the amusement.[660] The number of persons collected in these encampments is quite incredible, and a spectator might conceive himself to be in the midst of a populous city; so great is the assemblage from every part of the empire. His majesty is attended on the occasion by the whole of his family and household; that is to say, his physicians, astronomers, falconers, and every other description of officer.[661]

In

In these parts of the country he remains until the first vigil of our Easter,[662] during which period he never ceases to frequent the lakes and rivers, where he takes storks, swans, herons, and a variety of other birds. His people also being detached to several different places procure for him a large quantity of game. In this manner, during the season of his diversion, he enjoys himself to a degree that no person who is not an eye-witness can conceive; the excellence and the extent of the sport being greater than it is possible to express. It is strictly forbidden to every tradesman, mechanic, or husbandman throughout his majesty's dominions, to keep a vulture, hawk, or any other bird used for the pursuit of game, or any sporting dog; nor is a nobleman or cavalier to presume to chase beast or bird in the neighbourhood of the place where his majesty takes up his residence, (the distance being limited to five miles, for example, on one side, ten on another, and perhaps fifteen in a third direction), unless his name be inscribed in a list kept by the grand falconer, or he has a special privilege to that effect. Beyond those limits it is permitted. There is an order, however, which prohibits every person throughout all the countries subject to his majesty, whether prince, nobleman, or peasant, from daring to kill hares, roebucks, fallow deer, stags, or other animals of that kind, or any large birds, between the months of March and October; to the intent that they may increase and multiply; and as the breach of this order is attended with punishment, game of every description increases prodigiously.[663] When the usual time is elapsed, his majesty returns to the capital by the road he went; continuing his sport during the whole of the journey.

NOTES.

645. The simple construction of the words in Ramusio's text; "indi partendosi "il mese di Marzo, va verso Greco al mare oceano, il quale da li è discosta per "due giornate," would imply that he proceeded from the capital to the ocean, which was distant from thence two days journey: but either the author's sense must have been misunderstood, when he meant to say that the route was to a country situated within two days journey of the ocean, or, there must be a gross

 error

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error in the number of days, which should rather be read, months; for the whole context shews that he is speaking of one of the emperor's distant progresses, through the *Manchu* country, into the wilds of Eastern Tartary, and by no means of a petty excursion to the shore of the Yellow sea, which is only a few stages from Peking.

In the year 1682 an excursion very nearly similar in many of the leading circumstances, was made by the emperor *Kang-hi*, of which P. Verbiest, who was in his suite, has given the following particulars: "L'empereur partit le 23 "Mars pour aller dans la province de *Leao-tong*, pays de ses ancêtres, dans le "dessein de visiter leurs sépulcres, et après les avoir honorez avec les cérémo- "nies ordinaires, de poursuivre son chemin dans la Tartarie Orientale.... Les "trois premières reines furent du voyage qu'elles firent chacune sur un char "doré; les principaux régulos qui composent cet empire en furent aussi, avec "tous les Grands de la cour, et les plus considérables mandarins de tous les "ordres; ils avoient tous une fort grande suite et un nombreux équipage, ce "qui faisoit à l'empereur un cortège de plus de soixante-dix mille personnes."

"De *Peking* jusqu'à la province de *Leao-tong* le chemin, qui est d'environ 300 "milles, est assez uni; dans la province même il est de 400 milles, mais beaucoup "plus inégale à cause des montagnes; depuis la frontière de cette province jusqu'à "400 milles au delà, il est fort difficile, étant coupé tantôt par des montagnes "extrêmement escarpées, tantôt par des vallées d'une profondeur extraordi- "naire, et par des plaines désertes, où l'on fait deux ou trois jours de marche "sans rien trouver." "Depuis *Peking* jusqu'à cette extrêmité de l'orient on "fit un nouveau chemin, par lequel l'empereur pouvoit marcher commodément "à cheval, et les reines sur leurs chars.... Il s'étend jusqu'à près de 1100 "milles. Comme il n'y avoit point de ville sur toute la route qui pût ni loger "une si grande multitude de gens, ni leur fournir de vivres, et que d'ailleurs on "devoit faire une grande partie du voyage par des lieux peu habitez, on fut "obligé de faire porter tout ce qui étoit nécessaire pour le voyage, et même des "vivres pour plus de *trois mois*." "Après avoir fait environ 400 milles en "chassant toujours de cette maniere, nous arrivâmes enfin à *Chin-yang*, ville "capitale de la province, où nous demeurâmes quatre jours.... Après plusieurs "jours de marche et de chasse il (l'empereur) arriva à *Kirin*, qui est éloigné de "*Chin-yang* de 400 milles. Cette ville est bâtie le long du grand fleuve *Songari*." Du Halde, t. iii, p. 74-78.

646. The river here spoken of may be either the *Songari*, which we have seen in the preceding Note, was the limit of *Kang-hi's* expedition, or it may be the *Usuri*; to which latter I incline, as it is the most eastern, and consequently the nearest to the ocean, of the great streams that unite with the *Sagalien úla* and contribute to form the *Amûr*; the boundary between the Russian and Chinese dominions in that

that quarter. "L'empereur me dit" says P. Gerbillon, on another occasion, "qu'il avoit envoyé cette année des gens du côté de l'Orient, vers l'embouchûre "du fleuve *Saghalien oula*, et qu'ils avoient rapporté qu'au delà de cette embou- "chûre, ils avoient trouvé la mer encore glacée au mois de Juillet, et que le "pays y étoit tout-à-fait désert." Du Halde, t. iii, p. 244.

647. The word which in different versions takes the forms of *toscaol*, *toscaor*, *roscanor*, *restaor*, and, in the early Italian epitome, *tastori*, I am unable to refer to any known language. In the Basle edition it is translated "custodes"; by Ramusio, "huomini che stanno alla custodia."

648. From this practice we may infer, that what related to the amusement of hawking was conducted amongst these people in a style of great refinement. We read of instances of birds being found in Europe with similar labels, but these are spoken of as uncommon facts.

649. All endeavours to ascertain by any probable etymology, the true orthography of this word also, have been unsuccessful. It is written in the different versions, *bulangazi*, *bularguci*, *bugtami*, and *bugrim*. The first two may be presumed the more nearly correct, because all the nouns in the Kalmuk-Mungalian language that denote employments, terminate in the German *tschi* (of Strahlenberg), which is equivalent to the Italian *zi* or *ci*. The establishment of such an office does credit to the police of a Tartar camp.

650. Our author, who from this and many other expressions in the course of his work, appears to have been passionately fond of the sports of the field, must have recommended himself to the favour of his master by this congenial taste. Even John Bell, from travelling in the same country, partook occasionally of the enthusiasm: "One may easily imagine" he says "the exquisite entertainment, "in seeing several of these horsemen in pursuit of an elk or stag through the "valleys. When the animal is driven from the woods, it flies, for safety, to the "nearest rocks." But on another occasion he describes the amusement with more phlegm: "Their method is to form a semicircle of horsemen, armed with bows "and arrows, in order to enclose the game.... And, if killing harmless animals "can be called diversion, this may properly be reckoned one of the finest. After "this fashion they also hunt bears, wolves, foxes, and wild boars." Vol. i, p. 271—294.

651. It does not appear that any of the modern emperors of China have made use of these grand animals for their personal conveyance. "He" (the emperor *Kang-hi*, says Bell) "was seated, cross-legged, in an open machine, carried by

" four men, with long poles rested on their shoulders. Before him lay a fowling-
" piece, a bow, and sheaf of arrows. This has been his hunting equipage for
" some years, since he left off riding; but in his youth he went usually, every
" summer, several days journey without the long wall, and carried with him all
" the princes his sons, and many persons of distinction, to the number frequently
" of some thousands, in order to hunt in the woods and deserts; where he con-
" tinued for the space of two or three months." Travels, vol. ii, p. 76.

652. That is, of tigers or leopards, the skin of which are known to be in common use, for covering seats and other similar purposes, amongst persons of rank in China; as the animal itself abounds in Tartary and is the subject of royal sport; whereas all travellers agree in assuring us that the lion is not a native of that region. See Notes 636 and 638.

653. This name of *Kakzar-modin*, which in the Latin manuscript of the British Museum and early Italian epitome, is written *Cacia-mordin*, has some resemblance to *Chakiri-mondou*, situated, according to the Jesuit's map, at the head of the *Usuri* river (which falls into the *Amûr*), and about mid-way between a considerable lake amongst the mountains and the sea.

654. The *cavalieri* here mentioned appear to be that military class which Van Braam describes under the name of *chiouais*, and especially those of the third order. " Ils forment " he says " un corps uniquement composé des fils des prin-
" cipaux mandarins de l'empire... Les premiers sont les *Yuchin-chiouais*, qui
" gardent les portes de l'intérieur du palais... Les seconds sont les *Tinchin-*
" *chiouais*, auxquels sont confiées les portes extérieures du palais... Enfin les
" troisièmes ou *chiouais* ordinaires, accompagnent à pied ou montés sur des
" chevaux et armés de l'arc et de la flèche, le palanquin de l'empereur, quand sa
" majesté fait de grandes courses... J'ai trouvé de la conformité entre ce corps
" et les personnes que dans les cours de l'Europe on nomme des chambellans, des
" gentilhommes de la chambre, et des gardes-du-corps." Voy. en Chine, t. ii, p. 313. The *chiaoux* of the Turkish or Ottoman court perform duties analogous to those of the *huissiers* in France.

655. This number appears large, but it is no more than a body of one hundred men in rank and as many in file, who might also by narrowing their front, be drawn up under an awning of fifty yards, by two hundred in depth. The armies of the Tartars as well as of the Persians are commonly reckoned by *tomans* or brigades of ten thousand. It is recorded of *Timur* that he was accustomed to estimate the strength of his armies, not by individual numeration, but by the *quantity* of men who

who could stand within a given space, which was occupied in succession, until the whole were measured.

656. It has already been observed of the Tartars (Note 384) that it is their practice to make the doors or openings of their tents face the south. The same is frequently mentioned of the Chinese palaces and other buildings: "Il est à "remarquer" say the ambassadors of *Shah Rokh*, "que les Khataïens ont "toûjours la façade et les portes de leurs maisons tournées au Midy." P. 7. "The apartment itself" says Bell "was very simple, open to the south, and "the roof supported on that side by a row of well-turned wooden pillars." Vol. ii, p. 21. "All public buildings and most palaces" says Staunton "have their "chief doors and windows to the south." Vol. ii, p. 370. One of the missionaries, however, observes that the emperor's palace alone is to face to the south *precisely*, whilst other buildings are to have *nearly* that exposure. Lett. édif. t. xvii, p. 69, ed. 1781.

657. On the subject of confounding the names of the lion and the tiger, see Notes 638 and 652.

658. The northern Chinese are curious and expensive in furs, and the first of the sea-otter skins brought from the north-west coast of America were purchased at extravagant prices; although not so high as the sum mentioned in the text. The *besant* is supposed to have been equivalent to the sequin, the ducat, and the Arabian *dinar*, or about nine shillings of our money.

659. The word *rondes* (probably corrupted) is not to be traced in Strahlenberg's or other Mungalian vocabularies. The animal is more particularly mentioned in Book iii, chap. xliv.

660. It has been before observed that the Tartar customs impose no particular restraint upon the women, who, on the contrary, in their camps, are said to be the principal dealers in cattle and other articles. At *Kublai's* public entertainments, his empresses and all women of rank assisted; and even in the last century *Kang-hi* was accompanied to the wilds of Tartary by his queens; although it is not said that they partook in the sport. The translation of Ramusio's text made by Purchas, and which later editors have followed, entirely changes the meaning of the passage. Without any mention of the females, it says: "Further also, "the falcons and other birds which serve for hawking, have their tents wherein "they are contained." Pilgrims, vol. iii, p. 86.

661. This

BOOK II. CHAP. XVI. Notes.

661. This was rather an extraordinary assemblage for a hunting expedition; but on similar occasions *Kang-hi* was accustomed to have in his suite some of the European missionaries who were astronomers and mathematicians, and amused himself in observing with them the culmination of the stars, and in taking with a quadrant the altitude of mountains, buildings, and even of a gigantic statue of the idol *Fo*. It may be suspected, however, that *Kublaï's* astronomers were no other than astrologers or *shamans*.

662. The Kataïan festivals being regulated as ours are, by the new and full moons before or after the sun's reaching certain fixed points of the heavens, it is not surprising that the emperor's movements should seem to be regulated by our calendar. In the diaries of Carpini and Rubruquis, all the events of their journies are noted according to the feasts, fasts, or Saint's days of their rubrick, instead of the days of the month.

663. It appears from hence that the game-laws of the Tartars do not differ materially from our own; the object of both, independently of mere amusement, being to promote hardiness of constitution and a daring spirit, amongst the young men of a class of society, whose fortunes exempting them from laborious occupations, might otherwise sink into effeminacy or employ their active qualities in a manner less consistent with the public tranquillity.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the multitude of persons who continually resort to and depart from the city of Kambalu; and of the commerce of the place.

CHAP. XVII. Upon the return of the Grand *khan* to his capital he holds a great and splendid court which lasts three days, in the course of which he gives feasts and otherwise entertains those by whom he is surrounded. The amusements of these three days are indeed admirable. The multitude of inhabitants and the number of houses in the city, as also in the suburbs without the city, (of which there are twelve, corresponding to the twelve gates) is greater than the mind can comprehend. The suburbs are even more populous than the city, and it is there that the merchants

merchants and others whose business leads them to the capital, and who, on account of its being the residence of the court, resort thither in great numbers, take up their abode. [4] Wherever, indeed, his majesty holds his court, thither these people flock from all quarters, in pursuit of their several objects. In the suburbs there are also as handsome houses and stately buildings as in the city; with the exception only of the palace of the Grand *khan*. No corpse is suffered to be interred within the precincts of the city; [665] and those of the idolaters with whom it is customary to burn their dead, are carried to the usual spot beyond the suburbs.[666] There, likewise, all public executions take place. Women who live by prostituting themselves for money dare not, unless it be secretly, to exercise their profession in the city, but must confine themselves to the suburbs, where, as has already been stated, there reside above five and twenty thousand: nor is this number greater than is necessary for the vast concourse of merchants and other strangers, who, drawn thither by the court, are continually arriving and departing.[667] To this city every thing that is most rare and valuable in all parts of the world, finds its way, and more especially does this apply to India, which furnishes precious stones, pearls, and various drugs and spices.[668] From the provinces of *Kataia* itself, as well as from the other provinces of the empire, whatever there is of value is carried thither, to supply the demands of those multitudes who are induced to establish their residence in the vicinity of the court.[669] The quantity of merchandise sold there exceeds also the traffick of any other place; for no fewer than a thousand carriages and packhorses, loaded with raw-silk make their daily entry, and gold tissues and silks of various kinds are manufactured to an immense extent.[670] In the vicinity of the capital are many walled and other towns, whose inhabitants live chiefly by the court, selling the articles which they produce in the markets of the former, and procuring from thence in return such as their own occasions require.

NOTES.

Notes.

664. See Note 571.

665. " Il est défendu aux Chinois " says Du Halde " d'enterrer leurs morts " dans l'enceinte des villes, et dans les lieux qu'on habite." T. ii, p. 125.

666. The general practice of the Chinese is to bury, and not to burn their dead; but it was otherwise with the Tartars so long as they preserved their original habits: " Je dis les cendres " says P. Gerbillon, " car la coutume des " Tartares est de brûler les corps et d'en conserver les os et les cendres: " quoiqu'il y ait à présent plusieurs Tartares qui ne les brûlent point, personne " ne manque de le faire, lorsque ce sont des gens morts à la guerre ou en voyage " hors de la Chine, et les Chinois mêmes en usent quelque fois ainsi." Du Halde, t. iv, p. 238.

667. This direct assertion of their being excluded from the cities, confirms the supposition of Ramusio's oversight remarked in Note 572.

668. The enumeration here given of articles imported from India into China, however general and slight, is perfectly correct.

669. " Peu de nations " observes De Guignes fils " ont fait autant pour " l'établissement et la prospérité du commerce intérieur. Chaque province " échange sans peine ses productions avec celles des provinces les plus éloignées; " et des extrêmités de l'empire, un marchand peut arriver à Peking sans quitter " une fois le bateau dans lequel il s'est embarqué d'abord." Voyages à Peking, &c. t. iii, p. 298.

670. The prodigious quantity of silk produced in China, is matter of notoriety. " Tout le monde " says P. Magalhanes, a Portuguese missionary, from whose writings Du Halde has largely borrowed " connoît l'abondance et la bonté de la " soye qu'on fait par toute la Chine. Les anciens en ont eu connoissance, " puisqu'ils l'appelloient le royaume de la soye, et les modernes le sçavent par " experience; parce que beaucoup de nations de l'Asie et de l'Europe en sortent " tous les ans avec plusieurs caravanes et quantité de vaisseaux chargez de soye " ouvrée et non-ouvrée. On voit aussi cette abondance par le nombre incroyable " d'étoffes de soye simple ou mélee d'or ou d'argent, qui se consomment dans tout " le royaume.... Enfin on peut estre convaincu de cette abondance inépuisable " de soye par les trois cens soixante-cinq barques dont nous avons parlé cy-devant,

" que

" que les deux seules provinces de *Nan-kim* et de *Che kiang* envoyent à la cour " tous les ans, chargées non seulement de pièces d'étoffes de soye et d'or, de " damas, de satins et de velours de diverses manières et de différentes couleurs, " mais encore de riches et prétieux habillemens.... A quoy on peut encore " ajouter les centaines de milliers de livres de soyes simples ou mise en œuvre, " que les autres provinces payent chaque année de tribut au roy." Nouvelle Relation de la Chine, p. 172.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the kind of Paper-money issued by the Grand khan, and made to pass current throughout his dominions.

CHAP. XVIII.

In this city of *Kanbalu* is the mint of the Grand *khan*, who may truly be said to possess the secret of the alchymists, as he has the art of producing money by the following process.[671] He causes the bark to be stripped from those mulberry trees, the leaves of which are used for feeding silk-worms, and takes from it that thin inner rind which lies between the coarser bark and the wood of the tree. This being steeped and afterwards pounded in a mortar, until reduced to a pulp, is made into paper,[672] resembling (in substance) that which is manufactured from cotton, but quite black.[673] When ready for use he has it cut into pieces of money of different sizes, nearly square, but somewhat longer than they are wide. Of these, the smallest pass for a denier *tournois*; the next size, for a Venetian silver groat; others for two, five, and ten groats; others for one, two, three, and as far as ten *besants* of gold.[674] The coinage of this paper-money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony, as if it were actually of pure gold or silver; for to each note, a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their signets also; and when this has been regularly done by the whole of them, the principal officer, deputed by his majesty, having dipped into vermilion the royal seal committed to his custody, stamps with it the piece of paper, so that

the form of the seal tinged with the vermilion remains impressed upon it; [675] by which it receives full authenticity as current money, and the act of counterfeiting it is punished as a capital offence.[676] When thus coined in large quantities this paper-currency is circulated in every part of his majesty's dominions, nor dares any person, at the peril of his life, refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise they may have occasion for; such as pearls, jewels, gold, or silver. With it, in short, every article may be procured.[677]

Several times in the course of the year large caravans of merchants arrive with such articles as have just been mentioned, together with gold tissues, which they lay before his majesty. He thereupon calls together twelve experienced and skilful persons, selected for this purpose, whom he commands to examine the articles with great care, and to fix the value at which they should be purchased. Upon the sum at which they have been thus conscientiously appraised, he allows a reasonable profit, and immediately pays for them with this paper; to which the owners can have no objection, because, as has been observed, it answers the purpose of their own disbursements; and even though they should be inhabitants of a country where this kind of money is not current, they invest the amount in other articles of merchandise suited to their own markets.[678] When any persons happen to be possessed of paper-money which from long use has become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon the payment of only three per cent. they may receive fresh notes in exchange.[679] Should any be desirous of procuring gold or silver for the purposes of manufacture, such as of drinking cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they in like manner, apply at the mint, and for their paper obtain the bullion they require.[680] All his majesty's armies are paid with this currency, which is to them of the same value as if it were gold or silver. Upon these grounds it may certainly be affirmed that the Grand *khan* has a more extensive command of treasure than any other sovereign in the universe.

NOTES.

671. This is perhaps the only instance in which our author relaxes from the general gravity of his style, and condescends to be witty.

672. The accounts given by travellers of the vegetable and other substances from which paper is manufactured in China, vary considerably, and it would appear that in different provinces, different materials are employed. The most common and, at the same time the least probable assertion is, that it is made from the soft, inner bark of the bamboo cane (arundo bambos); but Du Halde informs us that it is not from the bark, but from the substance that paper is made. "Lorsqu'on le brise par morceaux," he says, "et qu'on le laisse pour-"rir et bouillir dans l'eau, jusqu'à ce qu'il soit reduit en une espèce de paste, on "en fait plusieurs sortes de papier fin ou grossier qui a cours dans le commerce." T. ii, p. 19. In another place he adds: "Marc Paul, gentilhomme Vénitien, "s'est trompé lorsqu'il a dit, que pour faire le papier qui étoit le corps de cette "monnoie, on se servoit de l'écorce de muriers. Les Chinois n'ont garde de "détruire des arbres qui leur sont si précieux: c'est de l'écorce de l'arbre "nommé *coutchu* qui est assez inutile, et que ressemble au sureau par l'abon-"dance de sa sève, qu'on fait une sorte de papier plus fort que celui qui se fait "de bambou, et c'est de cette écorce que se faisoit le papier dont il s'agit." P. 167. This argument, however, against an asserted fact, is not conclusive, because although the Chinese might have too just a sense of their own interest to allow of their destroying the mulberry trees for an inadequate object, it does not follow that this consideration should have had equal weight with their Tartar conqueror; but the best answer is to be found in a subsequent passage of Du Halde's own work, where he quotes the authority of a Chinese book, which relates that a certain ancient emperor "fit faire un excellent papier du chanvre "....que dans la province de *Fokien* il se fait de tendres bambous; (et) que "dans les provinces du nord, on y emploie *l'écorce des muriers*." P. 240. In addition to this, the circumstance of one species of the mulberry having received from Kœmpfer the appellation of "morus papyrifera," may be thought a sufficient vindication of our author's correctness.

673. "Cotton-paper (says a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences) is a sort of paper "which has been in use upwards of six hundred years. In the French king's "library are manuscripts on this paper, which appear to be of the tenth cen-"tury; and from the twelfth century, cotton-manuscripts are more frequent "than parchment ones. Cotton paper is still made in the East-Indies, by beat-"ing cotton rags to a pulp." Ramusio's expression of *tutte sono nere*, may perhaps

haps be stronger than was warranted by the original text, which more probably meant that the colour of that manufactured for the currency, was dark compared with other sorts of paper.

674. The *grosso* or gros is the drachma or dram, being the eighth part of an ounce of silver, and the coin should, if of full weight, be equivalent to about eight-pence of our money. The *picciolo tornese* is the denier or tenth part of the dram of silver, and consequently equal to four-fifths of our penny. As the former is the *tsien* or *mas*, so the latter is the *fen* or *candorin* of the Chinese reckoning. Upon the same principle, ten *grossi* or *tsien* constitute the *leang* or *taël*, which is valued at six shillings and eight-pence. It may be necessary to observe, that the French missionaries apply the term of *denier* to the small Chinese coin of base metal, named *caxa* by the Portuguese and *cash* by the English, of which a thousand are equal to the *taël*. The *besant*, a gold coin of the Greek empire, is equivalent, as has already been observed, to the Venetian sequin.

675. " La matière dont on se sert" says De Guignes fils " pour imprimer avec " les cachets, est composée de couleur rouge, mêlée avec de l'huile; on la tient " renfermée dans un vase de porcelaine destiné à cet usage, et couvert avec soin " de peur qu'elle ne se dessèche." Voy. à Peking &c. t. ii, p. 230. It happens that the writer of these Notes has been heretofore employed in the preparation of a paper currency, where the same forms were observed as those described by our author, with the difference only of affixing the seal of the East India Company (dipped equally into vermilion and oil) instead of that of the Grand *khan*. What renders the coincidence somewhat remarkable is, that the value of each billet or note was expressed in Chinese, as well as in English and Malayan characters.

676. " Ceux qui en feront de fausse" (says the inscription on paper-money issued by the *Ming*) " auront la teste coupée." Du Halde, t. ii, p. 168, planche.

677. According to P. Gaubil, paper money had already been current at Peking, under the Grand *khan*, *Oktaï*, who, himself, only imitated what had been practised by the dynasty that preceded the *Yuen* or family of *Jengiz-khan*. " C'est cette " année (1234) qu'on fit la monnoie de papier; les billets s'appelloient *tchao*. " Le sceau du *pou-tchin-se*, ou trésorier-général de la province étoit empreint " dessus, et il y en avoit de tout valeur. Cette monnoie avoit déjà couru sous " les princes de *Kin*." Observ. Chronol. p. 192. By Du Halde we are informed that its establishment was attempted also by the first prince of the dynasty that succeeded the Mungals, and he has given an engraving of the billets from specimens still preserved by the Chinese with superstitious care, as relicks of a monarch who

who relieved them from a foreign yoke. When he adds, "On l'avoit employé "avec aussi peu de succès sous la dynastie de *Yuen*," the assertion may be doubted; because the success of *Kublaï's* financial measures, oppressive as they were, would not, if at all noticed in the Chinese records, be impartially stated.

Whilst the evidence we possess for the existence of a paper-currency in China, puts it out of all reasonable question, we are surpised to observe in the writings of a missionary, who in general appears well-informed, an unqualified denial of the fact; but still more so to find him, in the course of his argument, confirming by positive testimony, what he had previously controverted. "Il faut remarquer en "passant" says P. Magalhanes "qu'il n'y a aucune mémoire dans la Chine, et "qu'on ne trouve aucune marque dans les livres, qu'on se soit jamais servy de "monnoyes de papier dans ce royaume, comme Marc Polo le dit.... Mais parce "que Marc Polo est un auteur digne de foy, je veux expliquer icy ce qui peut "avoir esté cause qu'il se soit trompé." This he attempts to do by supposing (with very little plausibility) that our author mistook for currency those tinned papers, understood to represent money, which are burned at funerals, and proceeds to say: "Ces figures de pâte ressemblent de telle sorte aux veritables "monnoyes de laiton et aux pains d'or et d'argent, que les étrangers qui ne sont "pas encore instruits des coûtumes et superstitions de cette nation" (which could not be MARCO POLO's case) "peuvent aisément y estre trompez; d'autant plus "qu'ils voyent à chaque pas dans les ruës et dans les places, des hommes chargez, "et des boutiques pleines de ces monnoyes contrefaites.... Il faut encore re-"marquer qu'anciennement, lorsque les rois de la Chine manquoient d'argent, "ils donnoient aux mandarins et aux soldats pour une partie de leur paye, *des "billets signez et scellez du sceau du roy.* Ces billets estoient aussi faits de pâte "de la grandeur d'une demy-feüille de papier, et on écrivoit dessus leur prix et "leur valeur. Ainsi quand quelqu'un devoit recevoir cent écus, on luy en "donnoit cinquante en argent, et les cinquante autres en ces sortes de billets, "qu'on nommoit *chao*.... Mais parce que le peuple faisoit difficulté de recevoir "ces papiers au lieu d'argent, le roi ordonna que l'on accorderoit une charge à "celuy qui ramasseroit et rapporteroit au tresor royal cent de ces billets, qu'on "donneroit une plus grande à ceux qui en rapporteroient mille, et ainsi à pro-"portion d'un plus grand nombre.... Cet expedient ne pût pas toutefois "appaiser le peuple, qui ne pouvoit se resoudre à donner ses marchandises et "ses provisions pour un morceau de papier; ce qui causoit beaucoup de disputes "et de querelles, et obligea enfin la Cour à les supprimer pour éviter ces incon-"véniens et plusieurs autres qui en provenoient tous les jours: ensorte que "depuis quelques siècles ces papiers ne sont plus en usage. Il ne faut pourtant "pas douter que ces choses n'ayent donné lieu à Marc Polo d'assurer en divers "endroits de son histoire, qu'on se servoit dans la Chine de monnoye de papier "ou de carton." Nouvelle Relation de la Chine, p. 168—171.

It

BOOK II. CHAP. XVIII. Notes.

It will be seen, on reference to Note 74, that an attempt was made by a Moghul ruler of Persia, the grand-nephew of *Kublaï*, to introduce a system of paper-currency in his dominions, at the period when the Polo family returning from China, resided at his court; and that upon a revolution which deprived him of the throne, this measure constituted one of the criminal charges against him. In Malcolm's History of Persia (vol i, p. 430) the reader will find several curious facts and judicious observations connected with this subject, which strongly tend to confirm the statements of our author; and it there appears indubitably, from the native historians, that a minister on the part of the emperor of China and Tartary had arrived at the court of Persia about this period, and been consulted respecting the currency.

678. In most states the issue of government paper is the resource of an exhausted treasury; but *Kublaï's* plan seems not to have been confined to the substitution of paper for cash in the public disbursements, but to have gone the length of endeavouring, by the operation of a forced currency, to draw all the specie and bullion of the country into his exchequer; for, although it is not expressly asserted, it is not improbable that the merchandise which he monopolized in the manner described, and paid for with his notes, was by him disposed of for gold and silver. In *Siam* and many other countries of the further East, the king is the principal merchant of his dominions, and no individual can purchase a cargo, until his majesty's agent has exercised the right of pre-emption.

679. Our author seems to consider this charge of three per cent. for renewing the decayed notes, as no more than what was reasonable, and to explain the whole system of extortion, with complacency, as affording a proof of the consummate policy and grand resources of his master. It appears that the dynasty of the *Ming* was less exorbitant, and demanded only two per cent.

Josaphat Barbaro, when he was at Asof in the Crimea, about the year 1450, was informed by an intelligent Tartar, who had been on an embassy to *Cataio* or China, that, " in quel luogo si spende moneta di carta; laquale ogni anno è " mutata con nuova stampa et la moneta vecchia in capo dell' anno si porta alla " zecca, ove à chi laporta è data altrettanta della nuova e bella; pagando tutta via " due per cento di moneta d'argento buona, et la moneta vecchia si butta nel fuoco." Viaggio alla Persia, &c. p. 44, 12mo. It may here be remarked that the expression of "con nuova stampa," which directly applies to the thing described in our text, serves to obviate the complaint made by the ingenious author of " Researches into " the History of Playing Cards," that " neither Carpini, St. Quintin, Rubruquis, " nor Marco Polo, have given the least hint upon the subject " of printing by means of stamps or blocks of wood. P. 75. " It is much to be regretted " he adds " that he (Marco Polo) had no motive to induce him to afford us his

" testimony

" testimony on the subject; for as most of his facts have been established by the
" evidence of other travellers in later times, his book has become one of those
" which may be cited with some degree of safety, although it was long considered
" little more than a tissue of romantic and improbable fabling.... And there is
" no reason to doubt but that block-printing was also in use there (in China);
" although for some reason, which it is now difficult to divine, no mention is
" made of it in the relation of this intelligent and observing traveller." P. 87.

680. This scheme of finance having the tendency of depriving the manufacturers in gold and silver of the materials of their trade, which were drawn out of the market by its vortex, a remedy became necessary for so serious an inconvenience, and the demands were accordingly supplied from the treasury.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the council of twelve great officers appointed for the affairs of the army, and of twelve others, for the general concerns of the empire.

THE Grand *khan* selects twelve noblemen of high rank and consequence (as has been mentioned) whose duty it is to decide upon every point respecting the army; such as the removal of troops from one station to another; the change of officers commanding them; the employment of a force where it may be judged necessary; and the numbers which it may be proper to detach upon any particular service, according to the degree of its importance. Besides these objects, it is their business to distinguish between officers who have given proofs of valour in combat, and those who have shewn themselves base and cowardly, in order to advance the former and to degrade the latter. Thus, if the commander of a thousand has been found to conduct himself in an unbecoming manner, this tribunal considering him to be unworthy of the rank he held, reduce him to the command of an hundred men. Or, on the contrary, if he has displayed such qualities as give claim to promotion, they appoint him commander of ten thousand. All this, however, is done with the knowledge and subject to the

the approval of his majesty, to whom they report their opinion of the officer's merit or demerit, and who, upon confirming their decision, grants to him who is promoted to the command of ten thousand men (for example) the tablet or warrant belonging to his rank, as before described; and also confers on him large presents, in order to excite others to merit the same rewards.[681]

The tribunal composed of these twelve nobles is named *thai*, denoting a supreme court, as being responsible to no other than the sovereign.[682] Besides this, there is another tribunal, likewise of twelve nobles, appointed for the superintendance of every thing that respects the government of the thirty-four provinces of the empire. These have in *Kanbalu* a large and handsome palace or court, containing many chambers and halls. For the business of each province there is a presiding law-officer, together with several clerks, who have their respective apartments in the court, and there transact whatever business is necessary to be done for the province to which they belong; according to the directions they receive from the tribunal of twelve. These have authority to make choice of persons for the governments of the several provinces, whose names are presented to the Grand *khan* for confirmation of their appointments and delivery of the tablets of gold or of silver appropriated to their ranks. They have also the superintendence of every matter that regards the collection of the revenue, both from land and customs, together with its disposal, and have the controul of every other department of the state; with the exception only of what relates to the army.[683] This tribunal is named *sing*, implying that it is a second high court,[684] and, like the other, responsible only to the Grand *khan*. But the former tribunal, named *thai*, which has the administration of military affairs, is regarded as superior in rank and dignity to the latter.[685]

NOTES.

681. The functions of the *pingpu* or tribunal of war are thus described by P. Magalhanes, from whom some later writers have copied almost *verbatim*, without

without acknowledging their obligation: " Il a la direction de la guerre et des " armes dans tout l'empire. Il choisit et avance tous les officiers, il les distribue " dans les armées, dans les frontières, dans les forteresses, et dans toutes les " parties de la Chine: il lève et exerce les soldats: il remplit de grands " arsenaux, &c." P. 205. On the subject of the tablets here mentioned, see Notes 25 and 516.

682. *Thai* is evidently the *tay* (N° 1121) of De Guignes' Chinese Dictionary, which he renders by "eminens, altus." The usual Chinese term for this tribunal denotes its *military* functions, but the name in the text is expressly said to refer to its *supremacy* as a court, which the word *thai* or *tay* directly implies.

683. This grand tribunal for the civil administration of the empire, appears to have united in *Kublaï's* time, the objects of two of those six which now constitute the official government. " La fonction de la première de ces cours " souveraines qui s'appellent *Lij pou*, est de fournir des mandarins pour toutes " les provinces de l'empire, de veiller sur leur conduite, d'examiner leurs " bonnes ou mauvaises qualitez, d'en rendre compte à l'empereur, &c." " La " seconde cour souveraine, appellée *hou pou*, c'est-à-dire, grand trésorier du roy, " a la surintendance des finances, et a le soin du domaine, des trésors, de la " dépense, et des revenus de l'empereur, &c. Pour l'aider dans ce prodigieux " détail, elle a quatorze tribunaux subalternes pour les affaires des quatorze " provinces dont est composé l'empire; car la province de *Pe tche li* étant la " province de la cour, ... jouit en beaucoup de choses des prérogatives de la " cour et de la maison de l'empereur." Du Halde, t. ii, p. 23. Besides these fifteen provinces of the modern empire (or sixteen including the island of *Hai-nan*), *Kublaï* had under his government all the kingdoms possessed by his family, before their conquest of China. In this sense it is that our author speaks of thirty-four provinces as under the jurisdiction of this tribunal.

684. The Chinese terms that present themselves as corresponding in sound to this of *singh*, and having at the same time an appropriate signification, are *sing* (N° 2938 of the Dictionary), which is rendered by " advertere, cognoscere," and *sing* (6606), by " examinare, considerare; " both of which, if they can be said to differ in sense, are completely applicable to the nature of a high court of justice; more so, perhaps, than *tsing* (3947) " claritas, splendor," or *tsing* (7698) " rectum, bonum, perfectum." That it should have received its appellation, according to the phrase in Ramusio's text, from the circumstance of its being *second* to any other tribunal, is not probable in itself nor justified by any analogy of sound.

BOOK II. CHAP. XIX. Notes.

685. In modern times, on the contrary, precedence is given to the civil departments, and the *ping-pû* or war tribunal ranks only as fourth of the six high courts. That it should have been otherwise under the government of a monarch who held the empire of China by the sword, and that in his estimation the department of the army should be paramount to all others, is what might be expected.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the places established on all the great roads for supplying post-horses; of the couriers on foot; and of the mode in which the expense is defrayed.

CHAP. XX.

From the city of *Kanbalu* there are many roads leading to the different provinces, and upon each of these, that is to say, upon every great high road, at the distance of twenty-five or thirty miles, accordingly as the towns happen to be situated, there are stations, with houses of accommodation for travellers, called *yamb* or post-houses.[686] These are large and handsome buildings, having several well furnished apartments, hung with silk, and provided with every thing suitable to persons of rank. Even kings may be lodged at these stations in a becoming manner,[687] as every article required may be obtained from the towns and strong places in the vicinity; and for some of them the court makes regular provision. At each station four hundred good horses are kept in constant readiness, in order that all messengers going and coming upon his majesty's business, and all ambassadors may have relays, and leaving their jaded horses, be supplied with fresh ones.[688] Even in mountainous districts, remote from the great roads, where there were no villages, and the towns are far distant from each other, his majesty has equally caused buildings of the same kind to be erected, furnished with every thing necessary, and provided with the usual establishment of horses. He sends people to dwell upon the spot, in order to cultivate the land, and attend to the service of the post; by which means large villages are formed. In consequence of these regulations,

lations, ambassadors to the court, and the royal messengers, go and return through every province and kingdom of the empire, with the greatest convenience and facility:[689] in all which the Grand *khan* exhibits a superiority over every other emperor, king, or human being. In his dominions no fewer than two hundred thousand horses are thus employed in the department of the post, and ten thousand buildings, with suitable furniture, are kept up.[690] It is indeed so wonderful a system, and so effective in its operation, as it is scarcely possible to describe. If it be questioned how the population of the country can supply sufficient numbers for these duties, and by what means they can be victualled, we may answer, that all the idolaters, and likewise the Saracens, keep six, eight, or ten women, according to their circumstances, by whom they have a prodigious number of children;[691] some of them as many as thirty sons, capable of following their fathers, in arms: whereas with us a man has only one wife, and even although she should prove barren, he is obliged to pass his life with her, and is by that means deprived of the chance of raising a family. Hence it is that our population is so much inferior to theirs. With regard to food, there is no deficiency of it, for these people, especially the Tartars, Kataians, and inhabitants of the province of *Manji* (or southern China), subsist, for the most part, upon rice, panicum, and millet; which three grains yield, in their soil, an hundred measures for one.[692] Wheat, indeed, does not yield a similar increase, and bread not being in use with them, it is eaten only in the form of vermicelli or of pastry. The former grains they boil in milk or stew with their meat.[693] With them no spot of earth is suffered to lie idle, that can possibly be cultivated; and their cattle of different kinds multiply exceedingly, insomuch that when they take the field, there is scarcely an individual that does not carry with him, six, eight or more horses, for his own personal use. From all this may be seen the causes of so large a population, and the circumstances that enable them to provide so abundantly for their subsistence.

In the intermediate space between the post-houses, there are small villages settled at the distance of every three miles, which may contain one with another, about forty cottages. In these are stationed the foot-

messengers, likewise employed in the service of his majesty.[694] They wear girdles round their waists, to which several small bells are attached, in order that their coming may be perceived at a distance; and as they run only three miles, that is, from one of these foot-stations to another next adjoining, the noise serves to give notice of their approach, and preparation is accordingly made by a fresh courier to proceed with the packet, instantly upon the arrival of the former.[695] Thus it is so expeditiously conveyed from station to station, that, in the course of two days and two nights, his majesty receives distant intelligence, that, in the ordinary mode, could not be obtained in less than ten days;[696] and it often happens that in the fruit season, what is gathered in the morning at *Kanbalu* is conveyed to the Grand *khan*, at *Shan-du*, by the evening of the following day; although the distance is generally considered as ten days journey. At each of these three-mile-stations there is a clerk, whose business it is to note the day and hour at which the one courier arrives and the other departs; which is likewise done at all the post-houses. Besides this, officers are directed to pay monthly visits to every station, in order to examine into the management of them, and to punish those couriers who have neglected to use proper diligence. All these couriers are not only exempt from the (capitation) tax, but also receive from his majesty good allowances. The horses employed in this service are not attended with any (direct) expence; the cities, towns, and villages in the neighbourhood being obliged to furnish, and also to maintain them. By his majesty's command the governors of the cities cause examination to be made by well informed persons, as to the number of horses the inhabitants, individually, are capable of supplying. The same is done with respect to the towns and villages; and according to their means the requisition is enforced; those on each side of the station contributing their due proportion. The charge of the maintenance of the horses is afterwards deducted by the cities out of the revenue payable to the Grand *khan*; inasmuch as the sum for which each inhabitant would be liable, is commuted for an equivalent of horses or share of horses, which he maintains at the nearest adjoining station.[697]

It must be understood, however, that of the four hundred horses the whole are not constantly on service at the station, but only two hundred, which

which are kept there for the space of a month, during which period the other half are at pasture; and at the beginning of the month, these in their turn take the duty, whilst the former have time to recover their flesh; each alternately relieving the other. Where it happens that there is a river or a lake which the couriers on foot, or the horsemen, are under the necessity of passing, the neighbouring cities are obliged to keep three or four boats in continual readiness for that purpose; and where there is a desert of several days' journey, that does not admit of any habitation, the city on its borders is obliged to furnish horses to such persons as ambassadors to and from the court, that they may be enabled to pass the desert; and also to supply provisions to them and their suite: but cities so circumstanced have a remuneration from his majesty. Where the post stations lie at a distance from the great road, the horses are partly those of his majesty, and are only in part furnished by the cities and towns of the district.

When it is necessary that the messengers should proceed with extraordinary dispatch, as in the cases of giving information of disturbance in any part of the country, the rebellion of a chief, or other important matter, they ride two hundred, or sometimes two hundred and fifty miles in the course of a day.[698] On such occasions they carry with them the tablet of the gerfalcon as a signal of the urgency of their business and the necessity for dispatch.[699] When two messengers take their departure together from the same place, mounted upon good fleet horses (there is a spirit of emulation between them[700]); they gird their bodies tight, bind a cloth round their heads, and push their horses to the greatest speed. As they approach the post-house, they sound a loud kind of horn, in order that horses may be in readiness when they arrive.[701] These they find fresh and in a state for work; they spring upon them, and changing in the same manner at every stage, until the day closes, they perform a journey of two hundred and fifty miles. In cases of great emergency they continue their course during the night, and if there should be no moon, they are accompanied to the next station by persons on foot, who run before them with lights; when of course they do not make the same expedition as in the day time, the light bearers not

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not being able to exceed a certain pace.[702] Messengers qualified to undergo this extraordinary degree of fatigue, are held in high estimation.[703]

NOTES.

686. This word, which in Ramusio's text is printed *lamb*, we find to be *ianli* in the Basle edition, *ianbi* in the older Latin, and *iamb* or, as we should write it, *yamb*, in the B. M. manuscript; and there explained by the term of "mansiones "equorum." It is evident therefore that the *l* for *i*, in the Italian, is a mistake of transcription, and we may conclude the word to be the Persian *yâm* or *îâm* يام, which Meninski translates, "stationarius, veredus seu veredarius equus," but which, in the following passage from the journal of *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors, is made to denote the inn or post-house (agreeably to our author's use of it), and not the post-horses: "Enfin ils arrivoient tous les jours (says this Persian "account of their progress through Kataia or China) dans un *jam* ou logement, "et chaque semaine dans une ville." P. 5. Meninski remarks that it belongs to the dialect spoken in Korasmia, which at the period of its conquest by *Jengiz-khan* and his sons, was amongst the most civilized countries of Asia, and the most likely to have had establishments of that nature. "Dans toutes les villes "qui sont sur les grandes routes" says P. Bouvet "il y a ordinairement des "*Yama*, c'est-à-dire, des bureaux où l'on entretient plus de 100 ou 150 chevaux "de poste; et quand les villes sont trop éloignées les unes des autres, il y a des "postes entre deux." Du Halde, t. i, p. 95. By the Chinese their post-houses are termed *tchan* or *chan*, and twenty-five to thirty miles is said to be their distance from each other. The Persian *marhileh* and *manzil* equally signify, "a "stage or halting place, after a day's journey (of about thirty miles)." The σταθμος statio, mansio, of the Greeks, was of the same nature.

687. By "kings" are here meant persons of that rank which the Chinese term *vang*, and the Portuguese *regulo*. They may be compared to the princes of the German empire, or to the Hindu *rajas* under the Moghul government.

688. To those who form their judgment of the ancient establishments of the Chinese empire from modern descriptions, this number of horses at each station or the end of each day's ordinary journey, may appear improbable; but the assertion is justified by the authority of the same journal that has so often served to throw light upon our author's relations, although written subsequently to

to his time by about a century and a half. "Au logement de chaque journée" say the ambassadors "on fournissoit quatre cens cinquante tant chevaux qu'ânes "et mulets, avec cinquante-six chariots pour les ambassadeurs.... Les chariots "sont tirez par un grand nombre d'hommes qui les tirent avec des cordes d'un "logement à un autre, quelque pluie qu'il fasse, quelque montagnes que l'on ait "à passer, et quelque difficiles que soient les chemins." P. 4.

689. By ambassadors, in Chinese history and accounts of China, we are to understand not only the representatives of foreign princes, to whom we confine the term, but every petty vassal of the empire, or deputy of such vassal, who repairs to the court, invested with a public character. Those of the first mentioned class were in the practice of taking under their protection, as a part of their suite, large bodies of traders, who by that means had an opportunity of introducing their goods into the country, in contravention of the established regulations, but obviously with the connivance of the governors of frontier towns, and perhaps of the court itself. This is avowed by *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors, and particularly described by Benedict Goez, who, himself, travelled in the capacity of a merchant.

690. An inconsistency in the numbers, not easy to reconcile, presents itself in this place; for if by ten thousand buildings are meant so many post-houses, the total number of horses, instead of being two hundred thousand, should amount to four millions. It is probable that a cipher should be cut off from the former, and that, for ten, we should read one thousand, which would bring the error within moderate bounds; or, it may be intended to include in that number the stations, at short intervals, for couriers on foot.

691. The modern accounts of Chinese polygamy or concubinage lead us to suppose that it is not common amongst the lower classes of society. "La loi" says De Guignes fils, "ne permet qu'à l'empereur, aux grands et aux mandarins "l'usage des concubines; elle le défend au peuple, à moins que l'épouse ne soit "stérile... Cette loi n'est pas suivie à la lettre... Chez les particuliers les "concubines sont reçues sans formalité; elles sont sous la dépendance de l'épouse "légitime." T. ii, p. 283. "It is among the upper ranks only and a few wealthy "merchants," says Barrow, "where a plurality of wives are to be found. Every "great officer of state has his *haram* consisting of six, eight, or ten women, "according to his circumstances, &c. Every merchant also of Canton has his "seraglio; but a poor man finds one wife quite sufficient for all his wants, and "the children of one woman as many, and sometimes more, than he is able to "support." Trav. in China, p. 148. It appears from hence that, whatever the law may be, no restraint, in fact, but that of poverty prevents them from indulging in the plurality of which our author speaks.

692. In

692. In Sumatra the rate of produce of up-land rice is reckoned at eighty, and of low-land, at an hundred and twenty for one. This increase, so disproportionate to what is known in Europe, I have ventured to attribute rather to the saving of grain in the mode of sowing, than to any superior fertility of soil. See Hist. of Sumatra, ed. 3, p. 77. See also Voy. à Peking &c. par De Guignes fils, t. iii, p. 332.

693. " Dans les provinces septentrionales " says De Guignes " où l'on récolte " du blé et de l'orge, on réduit le grain en farine; on en fait des espèces de " galettes minces, qu'on fait cuire dans une poêle.... Les Chinois font avec la " farine une grande quantité de vermicelle; nous en vîmes beaucoup dans notre " voyage.... On mange dans le nord le millet cuit en forme de galettes ou en " bouille." T. iii, p. 342. A stronger proof of our author's fidelity cannot be required, than is afforded by the minute agreement of these observations on the use made of certain grains as articles of food.

694. " Upon the road " says Bell " we met with many turrets, called post- " houses, erected at certain distances from one another... These places are guarded " by a few soldiers, who run a-foot, from one post to another, with great speed; " carrying letters or dispatches that concern the emperor... The distance of one " post-house from another is usually five Chinese *li* or miles... I compute five of " their miles to be about two and an half English." Vol. i, p. 340. " Il y a " aussi des postes réglées et disposées de trois en trois miles; mais il n'est pas " permis aux particuliers de s'en servir, et elles sont réservées pour les couriers " de l'Empereur, et pour les affaires qui concernent le gouvernement." Lett. édif. t. xviii, p. 314.

695. The use of bells for this purpose would seem, from what is stated by De Guignes, to be now confined to the messengers on horseback: " Les chevaux " des couriers " he says " portent des sonnettes au cou.... afin qu'on soit averti " de leur arrivée." T. ii, p. 223. It is likely, however, that the foot-messengers, have some similar mode of making known their approach.

696. An active man may, with perfect ease, run three miles at the rate of eight miles in the hour, and consequently one hundred and ninety-two miles might be performed by successive couriers, in twenty-four hours, or nearly four hundred miles in two days and nights: but if by the "ordinary mode" is to be understood ten stages of thirty miles, it is only necessary that three hundred miles should be performed in that time; which is at the rate of six miles in the hour. It appears from the newspapers that in the months of July and August 1817, a man walked 1050 miles in twenty successive days, at a place near Oxford.

697. It

697. It is not easy to comprehend to *whom* it is meant that this establishment was *not* attended with expense. If deducted from the amount of taxes to which the inhabitants were otherwise liable, it was ultimately a charge upon the revenue of the monarch. The whole is far from being clear, but the probable meaning is, that it was without expence, ultimately, to the individuals who performed the duty.

698. To those who are acquainted with what has been frequently done by horsemen in England, there is nothing extraordinary, much less incredible, in such a journey performed by a Tartar courier.

699. Our government-messengers wear a silver greyhound on the jacket, for the same object.

700. The part of the sentence between brackets, is added to make the sense complete; which it is not in Ramusio's text. In other translations the difficulty has been avoided by omitting what is said of the dispatch of two couriers.

701. For the horn a Chinese *gong* has been substituted in modern times. "Les "courriers" says Du Halde "trouvent toujours des chevaux prêts, et afin "qu'on n'y manque pas, un ou deux lys avant que d'arriver, il frappe fortement "et à diverses reprises sur un *bassin*, afin d'avertir qu'on selle promptement le "cheval, s'il ne l'étoit pas encore." T. ii, p. 53. This is not consistent with what is stated from De Guignes, in Note 695, respecting the small bells attached to the horses' necks, for the same purpose; but which our author says belonged to the foot-messengers only.

702. "Lorsque pour éviter les chaleurs on voyage pendant la nuit,... on "prend des guides sur les lieux, qui portent des torches allumées.... On en "change de lieue en lieue; chaque torche qui a six à sept pieds de long, dure "près d'une heure." P. 55.

703. "On en a vu" says De Guignes "ne mettre que onze jours pour se rendre "de Peking à Quanton; c'est plus de cinquante lieues par jour. Ils reçoivent "dans ces cas extraordinaires un *bouton* pour récompense." T. ii, p. 223.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the relief afforded by the Grand khan to all the provinces of his empire, in times of dearth or mortality of cattle.

BOOK II. CHAP. XXI.

THE Grand *khan* sends every year his commissioners to ascertain whether any of his subjects have suffered in their crops of corn from unfavourable weather, from storms of wind or violent rains, or by locusts, worms, or any other plague; and in such cases he not only refrains from exacting the usual tribute of that year, but furnishes them from his granaries with so much corn as is necessary for their subsistence, as well as for sowing their land. With this view, in times of great plenty, he causes large purchases to be made of such kinds of grain as are most serviceable to them, which is stored in granaries provided for the purpose in the several provinces, and managed with such care as to ensure its keeping for three or four years, without damage.[704] It is his command, that these granaries be always kept full, in order to provide against times of scarcity; and when, in such seasons, he disposes of the grain for money, he requires for four measures no more than the purchaser would pay for one measure in the market. In like manner where there has been a mortality of cattle in any district, he makes good the loss to the sufferers from those belonging to himself, which he has received as his tenth of produce in other provinces. All his thoughts, indeed, are directed to the important object of assisting the people whom he governs, that they may be enabled to live by their labour and improve their substance.[705] We must not omit to notice a peculiarity of his majesty; that where an accident has happened by lightning to any herd of cattle, flock of sheep, or other domestic animals, whether the property of one or more persons, and however large the herd may be, he does not demand the tenth of the increase of such cattle during three years; and so also if a ship laden with merchandize has been struck by lightning, he does not collect from her any custom or share of her cargo; considering the accident as an ill omen. God, he says, has shewn himself to be displeased with the owner of the goods,

goods, and he is unwilling that property bearing the mark of divine wrath should enter his treasury.[706]

NOTES.

704. " In such times (of scarcity) the emperor of China " says Staunton.... " orders the granaries to be opened; he remits the taxes to those who are " visited by misfortunes; he affords assistance to enable them to retrieve their " affairs." Vol. ii, p. 89. " In China " says Barrow " there are no great farmers " who store their grain to throw into the market in seasons of scarcity. In such " seasons the only resource is that of the government opening its magazines, and " restoring to the people that portion of their crop which it had demanded from " them as the price of its protection. And this being originally only a tenth " part, out of which the monthly subsistence of every officer and soldier had " already been deducted, the remainder is seldom adequate to the wants of the " people. Insurrection and rebellion ensue." P. 585. " Le gouvernement " says De Guignes " a fait construire de grands magasins pour conserver les " grains. On en voit de considérables à Peking et à *Tong-tcheou* pour subvenir " aux besoins de la capitale. Il y en a aussi dans chaque province; mais ces " magasins sont mal administrés." T. iii, p. 64. " Il n'y a guère d'années " says Du Halde " qu'il (l'empereur) n'exempte quelque province de tout tribut, " lorsqu'elle a été affligée de la disette, ou de quelque autre calamité." T. ii, p. 15. The practice of selling from the royal magazines, for the relief of the inhabitants in times of scarcity, is also noticed by the Arabian travellers of the ninth century. Anciennes Relat. p. 31, 203.

705. The edicts of the Chinese emperors, even of such as were kept by their eunuchs and other favourites in profound ignorance of the affairs of their empire, are filled with sentiments expressive of the most tender and anxious concern for the welfare of their people, whom they term their children. In *Kublaï's* actions there was probably no affectation of philanthropy; but from his general character it may be suspected that a regard for his own interest was the motive that actuated his benevolence to his Chinese subjects, of whose loyalty he always shewed himself suspicious.

706. No direct proof of the existence of this superstition in China, has presented itself. That thunder and lightning are regarded with feelings of extraordinary terror, is evident from the frightful representations of the deity who presides over and is supposed to wield this engine of divine wrath. " In the " original from whence the annexed figure " says Staunton " has been taken,

BOOK II. CHAP. XXI. Notes.

" the dreadful effects of this terrific spirit beneath the clouds are pointed out by the " appearance of animals struck dead and lying prostrate on the ground, build- " ings overturned, and trees torn up by the roots." Vol. ii, p. 305.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the trees which he causes to be planted at the sides of the roads, and of the order in which they are kept.

CHAP. XXII.

THERE is another regulation adopted by his majesty, equally ornamental and useful. At both sides of the public roads he causes trees to be planted, of a kind that become large and tall, and being only two paces asunder, they serve (besides the advantage of their shade in summer) to point out the road (when the ground is covered with snow); which is of great assistance and affords much comfort to travellers.[707] This is done along all the high roads, where the nature of the soil admits of plantation; but when the way lies through sandy deserts or over rocky mountains, where it is impossible to have trees, he orders stones to be placed and columns to be erected, as marks for guidance. He also appoints officers of rank, whose duty it is to see that all these are properly arranged and the roads constantly kept in good order. Besides the motives that have been assigned for these plantations, it may be added that the Grand *khan* is the more disposed to make them, from the circumstance of his diviners and astrologers having declared that those who plant trees are rewarded with long life.[708]

NOTES.

707. " Il y a de certaines provinces" says Du Halde, " où les grands chemins " sont comme autant de grandes allées, bordées d'arbres fort hauts." T. ii, p. 52. De Guignes describes the high roads of the provinces through which he travelled, as generally planted with trees. T. ii, p. 215–16. The paces by which the distance of the trees is estimated by our author, must be understood as geometric or Roman paces.

paces of five feet, and even on that scale the interval is too small. It is not improbable that he may in this instance, as well as in other parts of the work, have expressed himself in the measures of the country, which are rendered by Italian terms not strictly corresponding; or the passage may have been corrupted. The explanatory words between brackets, are added in the translation.

708. Solicitous as our author appears to be on all occasions, to represent his master's splendid qualities in the most advantageous light, this and some other admissions of the same kind, with respect to the motives by which he might have been actuated, are strong marks of his ingenuousness. It has been observed in Note 472, that superstition was a prominent feature in *Kublaï's* character.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the kind of wine made in the province of Kataia; and of the stones used there for burning, in the manner of charcoal.

THE greater part of the inhabitants of the province of *Kataia* drink a sort of wine made from rice mixed with a variety of spices and drugs. This beverage, or wine as it may be termed, is so good and well-flavoured, that they do not wish for better. It is clear, bright, and pleasant to the taste, and being (made) very hot, has the quality of inebriating sooner than any other.[709]

Throughout this province there is found a sort of black stone, which they dig out of the mountains where it runs in veins. When lighted, it burns like charcoal, and retains the fire much better than wood; insomuch that it may be preserved during the night, and in the morning be found still burning. These stones do not flame, excepting a little when first lighted, but during their ignition give out a considerable heat. It is true there is no scarcity of wood in the country, but the multitude of inhabitants is so immense, and their stoves and baths, which they are continually heating, so numerous, that the quantity could not supply the demand; for there is no person who does not frequent

BOOK II. CHAP. XXIII.

frequent the warm bath at least three times in the week, and during the winter, daily, if it is in their power. Every man of rank or wealth has one in his house, for his own use; and the stock of wood must soon prove inadequate to such consumption; whereas these stones may be had in the greatest abundance, and at a cheap rate.[710]

NOTES.

709. "Le vin, ou plutôt la bière Chinoise" says Du Halde "se fait avec une "espèce de ris particulier. Il faut, quand il est presque cuit, y ajouter certaines "drogues, pour le faire lever." T. ii, p. 307, note. "Leur vin" says De Guignes "se fait avec de l'eau dans laquelle on a mis fermenter du millet ou du "riz. L'eau de-vie est composée avec du gros millet ou du riz sauvage, macéré "dans l'eau avec un levain pour hâter la fermentation: on passe ensuite la li-"queur à l'alambic.... Les Chinois la boivent chaude, aussi que leur vin." T. ii, p. 278. "Les Chinois" says P. Parennin "ne boivent ni vin ni raque "qu'ils ne l'aient fait chauffer." Lett. édif. t. xxii, p. 185, ed. 1781. A detailed account of the manufacture is given in vol. xviii, p. 190, of the same collection.

710. This circumstantial account of the use made by the Chinese of pit or fossil coal, at a period when its properties were so little known in Europe, will deservedly be thought an interesting record of the fact, as well as a proof of undoubted genuineness and originality on the part of our author. "Les mines "de charbon de pierre sont en si grande quantité dans les provinces," says Du Halde, "qu'il n'y a apparemment aucun royaume au monde, où il y en ait tant, "et de si abondantes. Il s'en trouve sans nombre dans les montagnes des provin-"ces de *Chen-si*, de *Chan-si* et de *Pe-che-li*: aussi s'en sert-on pour tous les four-"neaux des ouvriers, dans les cuisines de toutes les maisons, et dans les hypo-"caustes des chambres qu'on allume tout l'hyver. Sans un pareil secours, ces "peuples auroient peine à vivre dans des pays si froids, où le bois de chauffage "est rare, et par conséquent très-cher." T. i, p. 29. "Nous avons eu" says P. d'Entrecolles "vingt jours de suite, par intervalle, quelques légers tremble-"mens; il y en a eu de semblables à cent lieues aux environs de Peking; on "croit qu'ils ont été causés par les mines que se trouvent dans les montagnes "qu'on découvre à l'occident de Peking, d'où l'on tire tout le charbon de terre "qui se consume dans le pays." Lett. édif. t. xix, p. 93. "Stoves" says Staunton "are common in large buildings. They are fed from without with fossil coal, "found plentifully in the neighbourhood." Vol. ii, p. 338.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the great and admirable liberality exercised by the Grand khan towards the poor of Kanbalu and other persons who apply for relief at his court.

It has been already stated that his majesty distributes large quantities of grain to his subjects (in the provinces). We shall now speak of his great charity to, and provident care of the poor in the city of *Kanbalu*. Upon his being apprized of any respectable family that had lived in easy circumstances, being by misfortunes reduced to poverty, or who, in consequence of infirmities, are unable to work for their living or to raise a supply of any kind of grain: to a family in that situation he gives what is necessary for their year's consumption, and at the customary period they present themselves before the officers who manage the department of his majesty's expences and who reside in a palace where that business is transacted; to whom they deliver a statement in writing of the quantity furnished to them in the preceding year; according to which they receive also for the present. He provides in like manner for their clothing; which he has the means of doing from his tenths of wool, silk, and hemp. These materials he has woven into the different sorts of cloth, in a house erected for that purpose, where every artisan is obliged to work one day in the week for his majesty's service. Garments made of the stuffs thus manufactured, he orders to be given to the poor families above described, as they are wanted for their winter and their summer dresses. He also has clothing prepared for his armies, and in every city has a quantity of woollen cloth woven, which is paid for from the amount of the tenths levied at the place.[711]

It should be known that the Tartars, when they followed their original customs, and had not yet adopted the religion of the idolaters, were not in the practice of bestowing alms, and when a necessitous man applied to them, they drove him away with injurious expressions, saying,

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saying, "Begone, with your complaint of a bad season, which God "has sent you: had he loved you, as it appears he loves me, you "would have prospered as I do."[712] But since the wise men of the idolaters and especially the *baksis*, already mentioned,[713] have represented to his majesty that providing for the poor is a good work and highly acceptable to their deities, he has relieved their wants in the manner stated, and at his court none are denied food who come to ask it.[714] Not a day passes in which there are not distributed, by the regular officers, twenty thousand vessels of rice, millet, and panicum.[715] By reason of this admirable and astonishing liberality which his majesty exercises towards the poor, the people all adore him as a divinity.[716]

NOTES.

711. At the present day the manufacture of woollen cloth or stuffs in China is very inconsiderable, but it may have been affected in the course of several centuries by the importations from Europe, which are known to have progressively increased. For its existence in the seventeenth we have the authority of the missionaries. "Quoy qu'on ne voye pas dans cette empire" says P. Magalhanes "des draps de laine pareils à ceux dont nous nous servons en Europe, il y a "toutefois diverses sortes de serges et quelques-unes très-fines et très-précieuses, "de couleur de cendre et de canelle, dont ordinairement les vieillards et les "personnes de considération s'habillent durant l'hyver." Nouv. Relat. de la Chine, p. 175.

712. If this imputation of uncharitableness was not merely a Chinese calumny, it must mean that the Tartars, during their wandering, military life, paid little attention to their poor, which, in a more regular state of society (such as that of the Chinese) they found to be an unavoidable duty. We have no reason to suppose that even amongst the rudest savages, individual assistance is denied to a companion when in distress. The principles or feelings of human nature are every where the same.

713. Respecting the priests of *Fo* or *Buddha*, called *Bakshi* by the Persians, *Ho-shang* by the Chinese, and *Bonzes* by Europeans, (from a Japanese word) see Note 475.

714. That

714. That our author did not attribute this meritorious exertion of influence to the Christian rather than to the Heathen priests, is an instance of his candour. The former, it is true, were Nestorians.

715. Purchas translates *scudelle* by "crowns" (écus), and supposes that grain to the amount of twenty thousand of that coin was distributed daily; but the dictionaries tell us that the Italian *scudella* is the French *écuelle*, a pipkin or porringer; and this meaning is the more simple and natural of the two.

716. "He appears to his subjects" says Staunton "as standing almost in the "place of Providence, in their favour." Vol. ii, p. 90.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the Astrologers of the city of Kanbalu.

THERE are in the city of *Kanbalu*, amongst Christians, Saracens, and Kataians, about five thousand astrologers and prognosticators,[717] for whose food and clothing the Grand *khan* provides in the same manner as he does for the poor families abovementioned; and who are in the constant exercise of their art. They have their astrolabes upon which are described the planetary signs, the hours (at which they pass the meridian), and their several aspects, for the whole year. The astrologers (or almanac-makers) of each distinct sect annually proceed to the examination of their respective tables, in order to ascertain from thence the course of the heavenly bodies, and their relative positions for every lunation. They discover therein what the state of the weather shall be, from the paths and configurations of the planets in the different signs, and thence foretell the peculiar phenomena of each month; that in such a month, for instance, there shall be thunder and storms; in such another, earthquakes; in another, strokes of lightning and violent rains; in another, diseases, mortality, wars, discords, conspiracies. As they find the matter in their astrolabes, so they declare it will come to pass; adding, however, that God, according to his good pleasure, may

do more or less than they have set down.[718] They write their predictions for the year, upon certain small squares, which are caled *takuini*, and these they sell, for a groat a piece, to all persons who are desirous of peeping into futurity.[719] Those whose predictions are found to be the more generally correct, are esteemed the most perfect masters of their art, and are consequently the most honoured.[720] When any person forms the design of executing some great work, of performing a distant journey in the way of commerce, or of commencing any other undertaking, and is desirous of knowing what success may be likely to attend it, he has recourse to one of these astrologers, and informing him that he is about to proceed on such an expedition, inquires in what disposition the heavens appear to be at the time. The latter thereupon tells him that before he can answer, it is necessary he should be informed of the year, the month, and the hour in which he was born, and that having learned these particulars he will then proceed to ascertain in what respects the constellation that was in the ascendant at his nativity, corresponds with the aspect of the celestial bodies at the time of making the inquiry. Upon this comparison he grounds his prediction of the favourable or unfavourable termination of the adventure.[721]

It should be observed that the Tartars compute their time by a cycle of twelve years; to the first of which they give the name of the lion, to the second year, that of the ox, to the third, the dragon, to the fourth, the dog; and so of the rest, until the whole of the twelve have elapsed. When a person, therefore, is asked in what year he was born, he replies, in the course of the year of the lion, upon such a day, at such an hour and minute; all of which has been carefully noted by his parents in a book. Upon the completion of the twelve years of the cycle, they return to the first, and continually repeat the same series.[722]

NOTES.

717. To account for this extraordinary number of astrologers, we must suppose that the priests of every description were adepts in the occult art.

718. How

718. How humiliating is the reflection, that in the present enlightened age, and in a country like ours, which boasts its eminence in science and philosophy, the publication that has by far the most extensive sale, is an almanac calculated to impose on the credulity of the lower classes of the community, by pretending to a supernatural knowledge precisely similar to what is here described, and expressed in nearly the same terms. Even in those almanacs which persons of liberal education are compelled (from the want of better) to make use of, a considerable portion of every page is childishly devoted to prognostications of the weather, that are continually falsified, and never read but to be ridiculed. Would it not be for the interest as well as the credit of the persons who are privileged to compile them, if the same space were to be filled with columns containing rational instruction founded on experience, and exhibiting, for example, the actual phenomena of the preceding year?

719. "Il s'en vend aussi un très-grand nombre" says De Guignes, "parce "que chaque individu cherche à se procurer un livre qui le guide dans les opéra- "tions futures de la vie." Voyage, t. ii, p. 419. In regard to the word *ta-kui-ni*, I am aware how little dependence can be placed upon a seeming resemblance of sound, in Chinese etymology, yet it may be allowable to remark that in De Guignes' dictionary the monosyllable *koùey* (which an Italian would write *kùei*) is explained by "Caractère du cycle, lequel est employé pour marquer le tems." (N° 6479).

720. In later times the publication of the Chinese almanac has been an affair of government, and none is circulated but under the sanction of the emperor; the astronomical part being computed by Europeans and the astrological part invented by the Chinese. "Tous les ans" says Du Halde "on publie un calendrier au "frais de l'empereur, dans lequel les officiers subalternes du tribunal des mathé- "matiques, afin de le vendre plus cher, ne manquent pas d'insérer ces jours "heureux et malheureux, qu'ils distinguent, selon les principes de leur astrolo- "gie judiciaire." T. ii, p. 285.

721. "Plusieurs sont persuadés" adds the same writer "que les événemens "dépendent de la disposition du ciel... qu'il est important à chacun de bien "observer la diversité et la différence de ces tems, pour les entreprises des voy- "ages, des traités, des négociations, et des mariages, pour s'aller présenter au "gouverneur et à l'empereur, afin d'obtenir des grâces, et pour autres choses "semblables." Ibid. It appears, however, that the astrologers of Peking were not exempt from the suspicion of sometimes using flagitious means to make the events tally with their prophecies; of which the journal of *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors affords a remarkable instance. "Les astrologues du Khataï" they observe

BOOK II. CHAP. XXV. Notes.

" avoient pronostiqué que cette année le palais de l'empereur seroit endommagé " du feu, et cette prédiction fut le sujet de cette illumination. Les *émirs* (man- " darins) s'étant assemblés, l'empereur leur fit un festin, et les régala." Three months afterwards we find the following passage: " La nuit suivante, par un " décret de Dieu, le feu prit au nouveau palais de l'empereur, non sans quelque " soupçon de quelque fourberie des astrologues. L'appartement principal qui " avoit quatre-vingt coudées de long et trente de large . . . fut entièrement brûlé." P. 9-12.

722. " Les Tartares ", says De Guignes p. " ont aussi un cycle de douze ans. " Les dénominations de chaque année sont prises des noms de différens animaux; " ainsi l'on disoit l'année de la souris, du bœuf, &c. pour dire la première ou la " seconde année; et à la fin des douze années on recommençoit de la même " façon. Les Chinois ont quelquefois fait usage de ce cycle." Hist. des Huns, t. i, p. xlvii. In the names of the years, as furnished by different writers, there is some variation, but according to the most modern of the authorities they are as follows: " the rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, " cock, dog, and hog: " from whence it appears that our author's account of the cycle is not merely imperfect, but incorrect, if he really placed the names in the order in which they are given in the text. By the lion, (as has already been shewn in Note 638) is meant the tiger; but this animal, instead of being the first of the series, is only the third, and should follow, instead of preceding the ox; nor does the dragon or the dog belong to those numerical years to which they are assigned. What he has said is fully sufficient to evince a general acquaintance with the Tartar calendar, and probably what he wrote, or dictated, amounted to this; that each of the twelve years bore the name of an animal, such as the lion, ox, dog, &c.; without any *intention* of furnishing an exact list. It is also not impossible that the respect paid to the king of beasts may have induced some transcriber to give him place before the ox and other ignoble animals. It is remarkable that neither in the Latin versions, nor in the early Italian epitome is any thing said on the subject of the Tartar cycle, the system of which might have been thought too ridiculous for publication.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the religion of the Tartars; of the opinions they hold respecting the soul; and of some of their customs.

As has already been observed, these people are idolaters, and for deities, each person has a tablet fixed up against a high part of the wall of his chamber, upon which is written a name, that serves to denote the high, celestial, and sublime God; and to this they pay daily adoration, with incense burning.[723] Lifting up their hands and then striking their faces against the floor three times,[724] they implore from him the blessings of sound intellect and health of body; without any further petition. Below this, on the floor, they have a statue which they name *Natigai*, which they consider as the God of all terrestrial things, or, whatever is produced from the earth. They give him a wife and children,[725] and worship him in a similar manner, burning incense, raising their hands, and bending to the floor. To him they pray for seasonable weather, abundant crops, increase of family, and the like. They believe the soul to be immortal, in this sense, that immediately upon the death of a man, it enters into another body, and that accordingly as he has acted virtuously or wickedly during his life, his future state will become, progressively, better or worse.[726] If he be a poor man, and has conducted himself worthily and decently, he will be re-born, in the first instance, from the womb of a gentlewoman, and become, himself, a gentleman; next from the womb of a lady of rank, and become a nobleman; thus continually ascending in the scale of existence, until he be united to the divinity. But if, on the contrary, being the son of a gentleman, he has behaved unworthily, he will, in his next state, be a clown, and at length a dog; continually descending to a condition more vile than the preceding.[727]

Their style of conversation is courteous; they salute each other politely, with countenances expressive of satisfaction,[728] have an air of good breeding, and eat their victuals with particular cleanliness. To their parents

parents they shew the utmost reverence,[729] but should it happen that a child acts disrespectfully to, or neglects to assist his parents in their necessity, there is a public tribunal, whose especial duty it is to punish with severity the crime of filial ingratitude, when the circumstance is known.[730] Malefactors guilty of various crimes, who are apprehended and thrown into prison, are executed by strangling,[731] but such as remain till the expiration of three years, being the time appointed by his majesty for a general gaol delivery, and are then liberated, have a mark imprinted upon one of their cheeks, that they may be recognised.[732]

The present Grand *khan* has prohibited all species of gambling and other modes of cheating, to which the people of this country are addicted, more than any others upon earth;[733] and as an argument for deterring them from the practice, he says to them (in his edict), "I "subdued you by the power of my sword, and consequently whatever "you possess belongs of right to me: if you gamble therefore, you "are sporting with my property." He does not, however, take any thing arbitrarily, in virtue of this right. The order and regularity observed by all ranks of people, when they present themselves before his majesty, ought not to pass unnoticed. When they approach within half a mile of the place where he happens to be, they shew their respect for his exalted character, by assuming a humble, placid, and quiet demeanour; insomuch that not the least noise, nor the voice of any person calling out, or even speaking aloud, is heard.[734] Every man of rank carries with him a small vessel, into which he spits, so long as he continues in the hall of audience; no one daring to spit on the floor;[735] and this being done, he replaces the cover, and makes a salutation. They are accustomed likewise to take with them handsome buskins made of white leather,[736] and when they reach the court, but before they enter the hall (for which they wait a summons from his majesty) they put on these white buskins, and give those in which they had walked, to the care of the servants. This practice is observed that they may not soil the beautiful carpets, which are curiously wrought with silk and gold, and exhibit a variety of colours.[737]

NOTES.

723. The custom of paying adoration to a written tablet instead of the image or representation of a deity, was properly Kataian rather than Tartar, but it might have been adopted by the latter people along with other Chinese practices, and especially by the emperor. The words inscribed are *tien* heaven, *hoang-tien* supreme heaven, *shang-ti* sovereign lord. "Le mot *tien*, ciel" says De Guignes f. "est pris indifféremment pour l'être suprême et pour le ciel visible." T. ii, p. 350.

724. "*Sbattere i denti*" is literally to gnash the teeth or strike them against each other; but this is obviously a misapprehension of what was meant to express the act of prostration and striking the ground with the forehead. The prostrations before the throne or tablet of the emperor are three times three. See Note 632.

725. On the subject of this idol see Book I, chap. xlvii, and Note 398. Staunton speaks of the worship of *Fo's* wife and child in the *Putala* or temple of Zhehol (*Jehol*) in Tartary. Vol. ii, p. 258.

726. This is the Hindu doctrine of the metempsychosis, which along with the schismatic religion of *Buddha*, was introduced into China (as the annals of that country inform us) about the year 65 of our era. It had not, however, (according to the elder De Guignes) made any considerable progress until the year 335, when the emperor then reigning took it under his protection. "*Fo* (on le "nomme encore *Fo-to*, *Phutta*, *Budda*, *Butta*, ou *Boudha*) est le fondateur de "cette religion étrangère, il est regardé comme un Dieu, et ceux qui ont "embrassé sa doctrine débitent à son sujet, beaucoup de fables.... Suivant le "plus grand nombre des historiens, *Fo* est né vers l'an mille vingt-sept avant "J. C. dans le Kaschmir, royaume considérable, situé dans la partie septen-"trionale de l'Indostan. On prétend qu'il voyagea dans les provinces de Perse, "voisines des Indes, telles que le Sejestan et le Zablestan. Ce n'est qu'après "son retour dans l'Inde, qu'il se dit Envoyé de Dieu, et qu'il prêcha sa nouvelle "religion.... Le dogme de la métempsychose reçu dans cette partie de l'Asie "est la base de toute sa doctrine." Hist. gén. des Huns, t. i, p. 11, liv. iii, p. 223.

727. According to the Hindu belief the souls of men reanimate new bodies, "until by repeated regenerations, all their sins are done away, and they attain "such a degree of perfection as will entitle them to what is called *mukti*, "eternal salvation, by which is understood a release from future transmigration;

"and

" and an absorption in the nature of the Godhead." Wilkins, notes to *Bhagvat Gītā*, p. 140.

728. It is evidently of the Kataians and not of the rude Tartars that our author here speaks. " Lorsque deux Chinois d'une condition égale se rencontrent, ils se " baissent l'un vers l'autre, joignent les mains du côté gauche, et les remuent " avec affection; mais si les personnes sont d'un rang supérieur, alors ils " joignent les mains devant eux, les élèvent et les abaissent plusieurs fois de " suite, en s'inclinant profondement et en répétant les mots *tsin-tsin* (*je vous* " *salue*)." De Guignes f. t. ii, p. 259.

729. " Nulle part les enfans n'ont autant de respect pour leurs parens. . . Les " fils viennent, à la nouvelle année, se prosterner devant leurs père et mère, et " se tiennent debout en leur présence." Id. p. 261. " Rien n'est comparable" says Du Halde " au respect que les enfans ont pour leurs pères . . . Leur coutume " est, sur tout en certains jours, comme au commencement de l'année, au jour " de leur naissance, et en divers autres occasions, de les saluer en se mettant à " genoux, et battant plusieurs fois la terre du front." T. ii, p. 102.

730. " Un fils" says De Guignes " qui accuse son père ou sa mère, même " avec raison, est puni par l'exil." T. iii, p. 117.

731. The Italian expression is, " *sono spacciati*," which bears the meaning given to it in the text; but the whole sentence is very obscure, and seemingly imperfect. Purchas, as usual, eludes the difficulty by omitting the first part, and only says: " prisoners are released at three years end, and marked in the cheeke, " to be knowne malefactors;" but imprisonment could not have been the only mode of punishing crimes. It is possible that the original passage may have been mutilated by those who might not understand the description of the Chinese *cangue*, which consists of two heavy pieces of wood, so fitted as to enclose the neck of the culprit, who carries this oppressive load about with him. Strangling is the punishment usually inflicted on those who have been guilty of unintentional homicide.

732. The distinction in the degree of punishment, between executing a criminal soon after condemnation or at the regulated period, is frequently adverted to in the Lettres édifiantes. " Or de si étranges desseins étant enfin venus au jour," says an edict issued in the reign of *Kien-long* (1746) against the propagators of the Christian religion, " il ne convient pas d'user d'aucune indulgence à l'égard des " auteurs. Et pour couper racine aux malheurs funestes, qui en seroient infail- " liblement provenus, nous condamnons conformément à nos loix, ledit *Pe-to-lo*

" (Pedro)

" (Pedro) à avoir la tête tranchée, sans attendre le temps ordinaire des supplices : " pour les quatre autres Européens, nous les condamnons pareillement à être " décapités, dans le temps ordinaire. A l'égard de *Ko-hoei-gin*, nous le condam- " nons à être étranglé dans le temps ordinaire. Quelques-uns des Chrétiens " seront seulement marqués au visage." T. xxiii, p. 74, ed. 1781. " Il y a " certains crimes " says Du Halde " pour lesquels on condamne le coupable à " être marqué sur les deux joues, et la marque qu'on leur imprime est un " caractère Chinois qui indique leur crime." T. ii, p. 135.

733. " Les Chinois " says De Guignes " sont passionnés pour le jeu; les " grands et le peuple s'y livrent avec une telle fureur, que plusieurs d'entre eux " se ruinent entièrement... Ils jouent par-tout où ils se trouvent... Enfin, les " gens du peuple passent souvent les nuits entières à jouer; mais ils n'en vont " pas moins le lendemain à leur ouvrage." T. ii, p. 310–313.

734. This perfect silence at the court of Peking is particularly noticed by Bell, who says: " as we advanced, we found all the ministers of state, and officers be- " longing to the court, seated upon fur-cushions, cross-legged, before the hall, in " the open air: among these, places were appointed for the ambassador and his " retinue; and in this situation we remained... till the emperor came into the " hall. During this interval... not the least noise was heard from any quarter." Vol. ii, p. 5. Again he observes: " By this time the hall was pretty full, and " what is surprising, there was not the least noise, hurry, or confusion... In " short, the characteristic of the court of Pekin is order and decency, rather " than grandeur and magnificence. P. 9.

735. This kind of utensil is common in many parts of the East Indies, where it is commonly termed, from the Portuguese, a *cuspidór*. It might be inferred from hence that the practice then prevailed of masticating something of the nature of *betel*.

736. " Les Chinois " says Du Halde " sur tout ceux qui sont qualifiez, n'ose- " roient paroître en public, sans être bottez: ces bottes sont ordinairement de " satin, de soye, ou de toile de coton, teinte en couleur." T. ii, p. 83. It is not unlikely that the Tartar officers might wear boots of leather, and of a light colour. See Note 611.

737. In the modern descriptions of Chinese furniture we do not find any notice taken of carpets, for which mats appear to be substituted; but it does not follow that they were equally disused in the palaces of *Kublaï*, whose family were the conquerors of Persia and other countries of Asia, where the manufacture of this

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article of luxury was in perfection. Du Halde, however, in describing the capital city of the province of *Shan-si*, says, "Outre différentes étoffes qui se fabriquent "en cette ville, comme ailleurs, on y fait en particulier des tapis façon de Tur- "quie, de quelque grandeur qu'on les commande." T. i, p. 204.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the river named Pulisangan, and of the bridge over it.

CHAP. XXVII.

HAVING thus completed the account of the government and police of the province of *Kataia* and city of *Kanbalu*, as well as of the magnificence of the Grand *khan*, we shall now proceed to speak of other parts of the empire, that were visited by MARCO, when employed on the public business of his Majesty.[738]

Upon leaving the capital and travelling ten miles,[739] you come to a river named *Pulisangan*, which discharges itself into the ocean, and is navigated by many vessels entering from thence, with considerable quantities of merchandise.[740] Over this river there is a very handsome bridge of stone, perhaps unequalled by any other in the world. Its length is three hundred paces, and its width, eight paces; so that ten men can, without inconvenience, ride abreast.[741] It has twenty-four arches, supported by twenty-five piers erected in the water, all of serpentine stone,[742] and built with great skill. On each side, and from one extremity to the other, there is a handsome parapet, formed of marble slabs and pillars arranged in a masterly style. At the commencement of the ascent the bridge is something wider than at the summit, but from the part where the ascent terminates, the sides run in straight lines and parallel to each other.[743] Upon the upper level there is a massive and lofty column, resting upon a tortoise of marble, and having near its base a large figure of a lion, with a lion also on the top.[744] Towards the slope of the bridge there is another handsome column or pillar, with its lion, at the distance of a pace and a half from

from the former; and all the spaces between one pillar and another, throughout the whole length of the bridge, are filled up with slabs of marble, curiously sculptured, and mortised into the next adjoining pillars, which are, in like manner, a pace and a half asunder, and equally surmounted with lions;[745] forming altogether a beautiful spectacle. These parapets serve to prevent accidents that might otherwise happen to passengers. What has been said applies to the descent as well as to the ascent of the bridge.[746]

NOTES.

738. In almost all parts of the work, where the Latin text differs from the Italian of Ramusio, the former is the more concise, and many passages found in the latter are there omitted; but in this instance the Latin describes more circumstantially than Ramusio's text, the spirit of observation with which our author professes himself to have been actuated. The words are: "Igitur cum Cham "magnus me Marcum ad remotas partes pro quodam regni sui negotio destinasset, "quod quatuor mensium spatio me in itinere retinuit, omnia diligentius consideravi "quæ vel eundo vel redeundo obtutibus meis occurrerunt."

739. In the epitome of 1496 and subsequent Venice editions, the words are *mesi* x, ten months, instead of *dieci miglia* ten miles; in which latter consistent sense, the Basle edition agrees with Ramusio. The period also of our author's journey to the westward is extended from four to fourteen months; the one error having evidently given birth to the other.

740. This river, the name of which is variously written *Pulisangan*, *Pulisangium*, *Pulisachniz*, *Pulsanchimz*, and *Paluisanguis*, appears from the circumstances stated to be the *Hoen-ho* of the Jesuits' map, which, uniting with another stream from the north-west, forms the *Pe-ho* or White river. This, in the lower part of its course, and to the distance of many miles from the Yellow sea, into which it disembogues, is navigable for vessels of considerable burthen, although too rapid for that purpose at the part where it crossed our author's route to the south-west. "L'auteur dit," says P. Magalhanes "que la rivière s'appelle *Puli Sangan*, ce "qui est un nom des Tartares de l'ouest.. Elle s'appelle en Chinois *Hoen-ho* ou "rivière trouble, parce que la rapidité de son cours entraîne beaucoup de terre "qui la rend tout l'année trouble et pleine de limon." Nouv. Relat. de la Chine, p. 15. It may be remarked that in the Persian language the words *puli-sangi* پول سنگ

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پول سنگی signify the "stone bridge," and it is not improbable that the western people in the service of the emperor may have given this appellation to the place where a bridge of great celebrity was thrown over the river, which is here applied to the river itself. It will be found to occur in Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, p. 429, and in Ouseley's Ibn Haukal, p. 277.

741. Ten horsemen could not draw up abreast in a less space than thirty feet, and might probably require forty when in motion. The paces here spoken of must therefore be geometric; and upon this calculation the bridge would be five hundred yards in length.

742. The serpent-stone, or serpentinstein of the Germans, is a well known species, and considered as an inferior kind of *jade*.

743. By P. Magalhanes, who particularly notices this description, our author is understood to speak here of the perfect level of the surface, and not of the straightness of the sides: "Aux deux extremités" he translates "il est plus "large qu'au haut de la montée: mais quand on a achevé de monter, on le trouve "plat et de niveau comme s'il avoit esté tiré à la ligne." Nouv. Relat. p. 14. But the words "*uguale per longo come se fosse tirato per linea*," seem rather to refer to the general parallelism of the sides, although at the ends they diverged; as is the case with almost all bridges.

744. It has been observed in a preceding Note (638) that when our author speaks of lions in China, as living animals, he undoubtedly means tigers; but it is otherwise with respect to the imaginary and grotesque representations of the lion, in marble, bronze, and porcelain, employed as ornaments in the public buildings and gardens of these people. A figure of it (not uncommon in our shops) is given in Lord Macartney's Embassy, vol. ii, p. 311. At p. 347 of the same work there is also a plate representing a column resting on the back of an animal not unlike the seal (*phoca*), but which in the ruder drawing of De Guignes (pl. 36) is evidently designed for a tortoise. "Dans une route de neuf lieues" says this traveller "nous ne vîmes qu'un arc de triomphe en bois, et une tortue "en pierre." T. i, p. 338. The ideas of the symbolic lion and of the tortoise are borrowed from the *singa* and the *kûrma* of Hindu mythology: "Then the "*surs* and the *asurs* spoke unto *Kûrma raj*, the king of the tortoises, upon the "strand of the ocean, and said: 'My lord is able to be the supporter of this "'mountain.' The tortoise replied: 'Be it so:' and it was placed upon his "back." Notes to the *Bhagvat gita*, by Wilkins, p. 147. "Depuis ce tems-là" says P. Amiot "les Chinois ont regardé la tortue comme un animal mystérieux, "qui pouvoit non-seulement leur apprendre les choses passées, mais encore leur "faire

"faire trouver la connoissance anticipée des événements." Mém. concern. les Chinois, t. xiii, p. 308.*

745. It is difficult to understand from the words of the text (the obscurity of which is likely to have been increased by successive transcripts) the position of these larger columns with regard to the other parts of the bridge; but it seems to be meant, that in the line of the parapet or balustrade, which was formed of alternate slabs of marble and pillars, there was in the middle (or over the centre arch or pier) a column of a size much larger than the rest, having a tortoise for its base or pedestal; and it may be presumed, although not so expressed, that there was a similar column in the balustrade on the opposite side. Our author seems, indeed, to have been sensible of this kind of deficiency in his description, when he says at the conclusion of the chapter: "Et nelle discesa del ponte è "come nell'ascesa." One of the Jesuit missionaries who mentions a bridge which he had crossed in this part of the province, says: "Les gardefous en sont "de marbre; on conte de chaque côté cent quarante-huit poteaux avec des "lionceaux au-dessus . . . et aux deux bouts du pont quatre éléphans accroupis." Lett. édif. t. xvii, p. 263.

746. Notwithstanding any partial difficulties in the description or seeming objections to the credibility of the account given of this magnificent bridge, there is unquestionable authority for the existence of one similar to it in all the essential circumstances, and as nearly about the situation mentioned as can be ascertained from the conciseness of the itinerary, so lately as the seventeenth century. It may well, however, be supposed that in the lapse of four hundred years, material changes must have taken place, in consequence of accidents, repairs, and perhaps renewals. "Marco Polo" says P. Magalhanes who wrote about the year 1668 "décrit un pont célèbre situé à deux lieues et demie de "*Pekim* vers l'ouest . . . . Il dit que ce pont a vingt-quatre arcades, quoy qu'il "n'en ait que treize; et que beaucoup de bâtimens naviguent sur cette "rivière, ce qui est impossible: car encore qu'elle ait une grande abondance "d'eau, elle n'est pas navigable à cause du grand nombre de chûtes, de "tournans et de roches dont elle est pleine." (He does not assert that it was navigable where the bridge stands, but that many vessels entered it from the sea). "Ce qui a fait tomber Marc Polo dans ces erreurs, est que "trois lieues plus loin vers l'ouest, il y a une autre rivière et un autre "pont de vingt-quatre arcades. Les cinq du milieu sont faites en voute: "les autres sont plates et couvertes de fort longues et fort larges tables de "marbre, toutes fort bien travailleés et tailleés en ligne droite. Au milieu "de ce pont on voit les colonnes dont parle Marc Polo dans sa description. "La rivière s'appelle *Ciêu lî hô*, ou rivière de verre, parce qu'elle est "claire,

" claire, paisible, et navigable; et ainsi je croy que cet auteur s'est trompé " en confondant les deux rivières et les deux ponts. Le premier est le plus " beau de la Chine et peut-être du monde, comme il dit, tant pour l'excellence " de l'ouvrage, que pour la matière dont il est fait. Il est tout de marbre " blanc très-fin et très-bien travaillé et d'une architecture parfaite; les rebords " ont cent quarante colonnes, soixante et dix de chaque côté. Elles sont " éloignées l'une de l'autre d'un pas et demy, et séparées par des cartouches " faites d'une belle pierre de marbre.... A l'entrée du pont qui regarde " l'Orient, il y a de part et d'autre deux beaux piédestaux fort élevez avec " des tapis de marbre au dessus, sur lesquels sont deux lions d'une grandeur " extraordinaire et faits en la manière que les Chinois les représentent.... Les " Chinois disent qu'il y a deux mille ans que ce pont a esté bâti, sans que " jusqu'à nos jours il eût souffert aucun dommage: mais la veille de S. Laurent " de cette année 1668, après une sécheresse extraordinaire qui avoit duré " toute l'année, il commença à pleuvoir, et la pluye continua jour et nuit " jusqu'au seizième d'Aoust.... Le dix septième, à huit heures du matin, " il vint tout d'un coup un déluge qui inonda la nouvelle ville, ses faux-bourgs, " et les plaines voisines.... Cette même inondation entraîna plusieurs rochers, " qui heurtant contre les piles de ce pont célèbre, les ébranlèrent de telle " sorte que deux arcades furent renversées." Nouv. Relat. de la Chine, p. 13-18. " Le P. Greslon ajoute que le reste de ce pont tomba le vingt- " sixième du mois d'Aoust de la mesme année.... Les P. P. Rougemont " et Intorcetta confirment dans leurs Relations la chute du reste de ce pont, " mil trois ans après sa fondation; et le premier dit que le mesme pont " avoit trois cens soixante pas de longueur." P. 35.

As the bridge thus described by Magalhanes was destroyed in the century before last, it would be fruitless to insist further on the resemblance it bore to that mentioned by our author, but it is proper to notice one, now existing, which appears to have been erected on its site, and to have preserved the style of its structure and ornaments. The mention of the bridge occurs in the journals of De Guignes and Van Braam, upon their near approach to Peking. Having taken their departure, in the morning, from the city of *Tso-cheu*, distant only twelve leagues from the capital, and passed the town of *Fang-shan-hien* (to the left of their route), and also a place named *Chang-tsin-tien* (which latter does not appear in Du Halde's map of the province), they reached the small but handsome town of *Fe-shing-hien*, which, from the circumstances noticed, must be within three or four leagues, or about ten miles, of the capital. " Nous trouvant peu éloignés " de cette ville" says De Guignes, " nous ne fûmes pas long-temps à arriver " auprès d'un pont sur lequel on passe avant que d'y entrer. Ce pont est " pavé de grandes pierres et garni de parapets très-bien travaillés; ils sont

" formées

" formés de dalles longues d'environ cinq pieds épaisses de six à sept pouces, " et hautes de trois pieds, enchassées dans des petits piliers carrés, dont la " partie supérieure représente la figure d'un animal. Le pont est en bon état, " et peut avoir près de deux cents pas de longueur." T. i, p. 356. Van Braam speaks of it in the following terms: " On trouve, près de cette ville, " un pont, en pierre de taille, d'une rare beauté; sa longueur est de deux " cent seize pas.... La rivière, qui est très-large, en cet endroit, était gelée " à une grande profondeur." Voy. en Chine, T. i, p. 168. It is to be regretted that these gentlemen have not mentioned the name of the river; but we cannot doubt its being the *Hoen-ho*, and consequently in the lower part of its course, the *Pe-ho*.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the city of Gouza.

After having passed this bridge, proceeding thirty miles in a westerly direction, through a country abounding with fine buildings, amongst vineyards and much cultivated and fertile grounds, you arrive at a handsome and considerable city, named *Gouza*,[747] where there are many convents of the idolaters.[748] The inhabitants in general live by commerce and manual arts. They have manufactures of gold tissues and the finest kind of gauze. The inns for accommodating travellers are there numerous.[749] At the distance of a mile beyond this place, the roads divide; the one going in a westerly, and the other in a south-easterly direction, the former through the province of Kataia, and the latter towards the province of *Manji*.[750] From the city of *Gouza* it is a journey of ten days through Kataia to the kingdom of *Ta-in-fu*;[751] in the course of which you pass many fine cities and strong places, in which manufactures and commerce flourish, and where you see many vineyards and much cultivated land. From hence grapes are carried into the interior of Kataia, where the vine does not grow.[752] Mulberry trees also abound, the leaves of which enable the inhabitants to produce large

large quantities of silk. A degree of civilisation prevails amongst all the people of this country, in consequence of their frequent intercourse with the towns, which are numerous and but little distant from each other.[753] To these the merchants continually resort, carrying their goods from one city to another, as the fairs are successively held at each. At the end of five days journey beyond the ten that have been mentioned, it is said there is another city still larger and more handsome (than *Ta-in-fu*) named *Achbaluch*,[754] to which the limits of his majesty's hunting grounds extend, and within which no persons dare to sport, excepting the princes of his own family, and those whose names are inscribed on the grand falconer's list; but beyond these limits, all persons qualified by their rank, are at liberty to pursue game. It happens, however, that the Grand *Khan* scarcely ever takes the amusement of the chase on this side of the country;[755] and the consequence is, that the wild animals, especially hares, multiply to such a degree, as to occasion the destruction of all the growing corn of the province. When this came to the knowledge of his majesty, he repaired thither, with the whole of his court, and innumerable multitudes of these animals were taken.[756]

NOTES.

747. From the relative situation and other circumstances mentioned of this place, I do not hesitate to consider it as intended for *Tso-cheu*, a city of the second class, spoken of in the preceding Note; and this will appear the more probable when it is understood, that, although corruptly written *Gou-za* in Ramusio's text, it is *Gio-gu* in the early Venice epitomes, *Geo-gui* in that of Basle, and *Cyongium* in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts; in all of which the first letter is meant to be soft, and evidently to represent the Chinese sound which we more aptly express by *Ts*. It has already been observed, and the instances will again frequently occur, of the Chinese appellative term *cheu* or *tcheou* (for a city of the second order) being corrupted to *gui*; apparently an orthographical mistake for *giu*, which nearly approaches to the true sound.

Tso-cheu, according to the journals both of Van Braam and De Guignes, is twelve French leagues distant from Peking; but as the former adds, that it was a hundred and twenty Chinese *li*, and as this is more likely to be the true distance

distance (for certainly those gentlemen did not measure it), we are justified in considering it as upwards of forty Italian miles; at which number our author states it.

748. These convents are usually attached to the temples of the bonzes, and are very numerous in every part of China. See Note 478.

749. Van Braam observes that at *Tso-cheu* they found an excellent *con-quan* (*kong-kuan*) or inn. "On ne manque point d'hôtelleries dans les chemins," says Du Halde, "on en voit un assez grand nombre, mais rien n'est plus "misérable, ni plus mal-propre, si vous en exceptez les grandes routes, où "vous en trouvez qui sont fort vastes." T. ii, p. 52.

750. The road by which the persons who composed the Dutch embassy of 1795, travelled from Canton to Peking, was this latter, which is here described as leading through *Tso-cheu*, to *Manji* or southern China. The western road diverges at this point, and is that which was taken, in 1668, by P. Fontaney, who particularly describes it in his journal, published by Du Halde. "Le 31 "Mars" he says "je passai par *Tso-tcheou*, où je pris la route de *Chan-si*." T. i, p. 81.

751. *Ta-in-fu* or *Tainfu* is obviously *Tai-yuen-fu*, the capital of the modern province of *Shan-si*, which was frequently, in ancient times, the seat of an independent government. Its direction is about west-south-west from *Tso-cheu*, and the distance appears to be about ten easy stages. For what further relates to this city, or kingdom, as it is termed, see the Notes to the following chapter, of which it is the particular subject, although, in fact, little else than a repetition of what is said in this place.

752. Respecting the exportation of grapes from this south-western province to the capital, see Note 759.

753. "L'air y est tempéré" says Du Halde, speaking of the adjoining western province of *Shen-si*, "le peuple doux, civil, traitable, et plus affectionné "aux étrangers, que les autres Chinois plus septentrionaux." T. i, p. 207.

754. The circumstances stated do not supply the means of identifying this place, which was known to our author only by report. Its situation was probably to the north-west, as he afterwards proceeds to speak of places more remote, in a south-western direction, and it may have been intended for the city of *Tai-tong-fu*, which lies in that direction. The name of *Ach-baluch* is evidently Tartar, and

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serves to shew that the want of the final guttural in *Kanbalu*, which the Persians give to it, is an accidental omission. No mention of this city is found in the Latin editions.

755. We have seen that his usual hunting expeditions took place either at *Shang-tu*, which lies northward of Peking, or in the direction of Eastern Tartary and the river *Amûr*.

756. It may be doubted whether the condition of the farmers was much improved by this species of relief.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of the kingdom of Ta-in-fu.

CHAP. XXIX. At the end of ten days journey from the city of *Gouza*, you arrive (as has been said) at the kingdom of *Ta-in-fu*, whose chief city, the capital of the province, bears the same name. It is of the largest size and very beautiful.[757] A considerable trade is carried on here, and a variety of articles are manufactured; particularly arms and other military stores, which are at this place conveniently situated for the use of his majesty's armies.[758] Vineyards are numerous, from which grapes in vast abundance are gathered; and although within all the jurisdiction of *Ta-in-fu* no other vines are found than those produced in the district immediately surrounding the capital, there is yet a sufficient supply for the whole of the province.[759] Other fruits also grow here in plenty, as does the mulberry tree, together with the worms that yield the silk.

NOTES.

757. "La ville capitale de *Tai-yuen*" says P. Martini, whom Du Halde copies, "a toujours esté mise au rang des plus considérables, ancienne, magnifique et "bien

" bien bastie: elle à de très-fortes murailles, environ de trois lieues de circuit, " fort peuplée; au reste est située dans un lieu fort agréable et fort sain.... " Il ne faut pas s'estonner s'il s'y trouve si grande quantité de bastimens et si " magnifiques, puis que ç'a esté la demeure de tant de roys." Thevenot, t. ii, p. 48. It may be necessary here to remark, that what appears to be the concluding syllable in the names of Chinese towns (but which is a distinct monosyllable), serves to indicate their size or rank, and municipal jurisdiction or dependence: thus *fû* or *fou* denotes a city of the first class, having under its superintendence a certain number of those belonging to the inferior classes; *cheu* or *tcheu* denotes a city of the second class, subject to the jurisdiction of its *fû*; and *hien* a city or town of the third class, subject to its *cheu*. It also appears that each greater city contains these subordinate jurisdictions within itself.

758. No notice is taken by the missionaries (on whose information alone we must depend in this part of the country) of any manufacture of arms at this place; but such works might well be of a temporary nature. We are told, however, by Du Halde, that, " comme on tire des montagnes quantité du " meilleur fer, il s'y fait un grand commerce des ouvrages de fer qu'on y travaille." T. i, p. 204. The advantage of iron on the spot would naturally create those manufactories in which the article is principally used, and although iron was not so material a part of the fabric of arms, in those times as the present, it must yet have been essentially necessary for the heads of arrows, spears, swords, and various machines.

759. In this instance I have ventured to correct the text of Ramusio, by substituting " grapes." for " wine," although it is in conformity with the Venice epitome and the Latin version; because I am persuaded that from ignorance of the facts, the expression of the original has been misunderstood, and our author is made to assert of the liquor, what was only intended to apply to the fruit. The words of Ramusio are: " *Vi sono anchora molte vigne, dallequali si raccoglie vino* " *in grand abbondanza; et benche in tutta Tainfu non si truovi altro vino di quello che* " *nasce nel distretto di questa città, nondimeno s'ha vino a bastanza per tutta la* " *provincia.*" In the epitome the passage stands thus: " *Ivi sono vini in grande* " *abundantia. In tutta la provincia del Cataio non nasce vin, se non in questa con-* " *trada, e questa contrada fornisse tutta la provincia del Cataio.*" In the Latin edition the words are: " Sunt in eo vineæ multæ: in provincia vero Cathai " nullum crescit vinum; sed ab hac regione illuc defertur." In all these sentences it will be observed that the terms " raccoglie," " nasce," " crescit," do not by any means apply to the manufactured article, but to the natural production alone, and that in the epitome, the word " *vini*" is used in a sense that can belong only to " vines," which in modern Italian would be expressed by " *vite.*"

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We had already been distinctly told that what is called the wine of that country is made, not from grapes, but from a fermentation of rice and millet, mixed with spices; and we shall now see how the circumstances are stated by those who, in later times, have had the opportunity of observing the productions and exports of the country. "Cette province" says Martini, who wrote about 1650 "a des "vignes; ses raisins sont les meilleurs qui se treuvent dans toute la Haute Asie. "Si les Chinois en vouloient faire du vin, ils en auroient de très-bon et en "abondance, mais il se contentent de seicher ces raisins, et les marchands les "vendent secs par toute la Chine.... Les Pères de nostre compagnie en font du "vin pour la Messe, et en envoyent à ceux qui sont dans les provinces voisines." Thevenot, t. ii, p. 47. "La Chine" says De Guignes "produit du raisin, mais "le pays n'est pas vignoble: le raisin même paroît peu propre à faire du vin, et "ce n'est qu'avec peine que les missionnaires à Peking réussissent à en faire." T. iii, p. 348. That these dried grapes or raisins, as they are termed in English, were the article of trade that our author meant to describe, will, I trust, be considered as at least highly probable, inasmuch as the correction renders him consistent with himself, and his information, with the knowledge we have since acquired; whilst the expressions from which a contrary inference might be drawn, are at best dubious and unappropriate.

CHAPTER XXX.

Of the city of Pi-an-fu.

CHAP. XXX.

LEAVING *Ta-in-fu*, and travelling westward, seven days journey, through a fine country in which there are many cities and strong places, where commerce and manufactures prevail, and whose merchants travelling over various parts of the country, obtain considerable profits, you reach a city named *Pi-an-fu*, which is of a large size and much celebrated.[760] It, likewise, contains numerous merchants and artisans. Silk is produced here also in great quantity. We shall not say any thing further of these places, but proceed to speak of the distinguished city of *Ka-chan-fu*; first noticing, however, a noble fortress named *Thai-gin*.

NOTE.

NOTE.

760. This is the city of *Pin-yang-fu*, situated in the direction of south-south-west from the former, upon the same river; the banks of which, in its whole course, appear to be covered with towns. "Quoique *Pin-yang*" says Du Halde, "ne soit que la seconde ville de la province, elle ne le cède point à sa "capitale, ni par son antiquité, ni pour la fertilité de son terroir....ni par le "nombre des villes qu'elle a dans sa dépendance." T. i, p. 205. From its situation with respect to the *Hoang-ho* or Yellow river, we are enabled to ascertain it to be the city visited by *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors when they had crossed the famous bridge of boats, and of which, after describing the magnificence, of its great temple, it is said: "Ils y remarquèrent trois bordels pub-"lics, où il y avoit des filles de joye d'une grande beauté. Quoique les filles "du Khataï soient belles communément, néanmoins elles sont là plus belles "qu'ailleurs, et la ville pour ce sujet s'appelle la ville de la beauté." Thevenot, iv. partie, p. 5. This we may conjecture to be the kind of celebrity to which our author so modestly alludes. "A *Pin-yang-fou*" says P. Fontaney "je quittai "le grand chemin qui mène dans la province de *Chensi*." Du Halde, t. i, p. 88.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the fortress of Thaigin or Tai-gin.

In a western direction from *Pi-an-fu* there is a large and handsome fortress named *Thai-gin*,[761] which is said to have been built, at a remote period, by a king who was called *Dor*.[762] Within the walls of the fort stands a spacious and highly ornamented palace, the hall of which contains paintings of all the renowned princes, who, from ancient times, have reigned at this place; forming together a superb exhibition. A remarkable circumstance in the history of this king *Dor* shall now be related. He was a powerful prince, assumed much state, and was always waited upon by young women of extraordinary beauty, a vast number of whom he entertained at his court. When for recreation he went about the fortress, he was drawn in his carriage by

by these damsels, which they could do with facility, as it was of a small size.[763] They were devoted to his service, and performed every office that administered to his convenience or amusement. In his government he was not wanting in vigour, and he ruled with dignity and justice. The works of his castle, according to the report of the people of the country, were beyond example strong. He was, however, a vassal of *Un-khan*, who, as we have already stated, was known by the appellation of Prester John;[764] but influenced by pride, he rebelled against him. When this came to the knowledge of *Un-khan*, he was exceedingly grieved; being sensible that from the strong situation of the castle, it would be in vain to march against it, or even to proceed to any act of hostility. Matters had remained some time in this state, when seven cavaliers belonging to his retinue presented themselves before him and declared their resolution to attempt the seizure of king *Dor's* person, and to bring him alive to his majesty. To this they were encouraged by the promise of a large reward. They accordingly took their departure for the place of his residence, and feigning to have arrived from a distant country, made him an offer of their services. In his employment they so ably and diligently performed their duties, that they gained the esteem of their new master, who shewed them distinguished favour, insomuch that when he took the diversion of hunting, he always had them near his person. One day when the king was engaged in the chase, and had crossed a river which separated him from the rest of his party, who remained on the opposite side, these cavaliers perceived that the opportunity now presented itself of executing their design. They drew their swords, surrounded the king, and led him away by force towards the territory of *Un-khan;* without its being possible for him to receive assistance from his own people. When they reached the court of that monarch, he gave orders for clothing his prisoner in the meanest apparel, and with the view of humiliating him by the indignity, committed to him the charge of his herds. In this wretched condition he remained for two years; strict care being taken that he should not effect his escape. At the expiration of that period *Un-khan* caused him to be again brought before him, trembling from apprehension that they were going to put him to death. But on the contrary, *Un-khan*, after a sharp and severe admonition,

nition, in which he warned him against suffering pride and arrogance to make him swerve from his allegiance in future, granted him a pardon, directed that he should be dressed in royal apparel, and sent him back to his principality with an honourable escort. From that time forward he always preserved his loyalty, and lived on amicable terms with *Un-khan*. The foregoing is what was related to me on the subject of king *Dor*.[765]

NOTES.

761. The place here called *Thai-gin* and *Tai-gin* is in the Latin versions *Chincui* and *Cay-cui*, and in the Italian epitomes *Chai-cui*: names so unlike that it may well be thought difficult to identify it from the orthography; but its situation between *Pin-yang* and the great Yellow river, points it out, with some probability, as the *Kiai-tcheou* of the Jesuits' map; nor will the sound of the word *Kiai*, which is the essential part of the name, be found to differ materially from the *Cay* and *Chai* of the Latin and early Italian versions. With respect to the latter monosyllable, whether it be corruptly written *gin* (for *giu*) or *cui* (for *ciu*), it is indubitably meant for the term *cheu*, *tcheou*, *giu*, or *ciu* (according to the mode of writing it with the different European alphabets) which denotes (as already observed) a city of the second order.

762. The name of this prince, which in Ramusio's text as well as in the Italian epitome, is written *Dor*, is in the Latin editions absurdly transformed to *Darius*. The former, it must be confessed, bears no resemblance to a Chinese, and but little to a Tartar word; yet even on the supposition of the story being merely a popular legend with which our author was amused in the course of his travels through the country, the names of the actors ought not to be the less in harmony with the language of its inhabitants. I am therefore disposed to hazard a conjecture respecting it, that by some may be thought too bold, but which, I am persuaded will appear most probable to those readers who are best acquainted with the histories of these people. It is known that previously to the invasion of *Jengiz-khan*, the northern provinces of China were held in subjection by a race from eastern Tartary, called *Niuche*, but whose dynasty received the apellation of *Kin*, from a term signifying "gold" in the Chinese language. "L'an 1118" says the historian of the Huns "*O-ko-ta* fut proclamé empereur, "et donna à sa dynastie le nom de *Kin* en Chinois, et d'*Altoun* dans la langue "de ces peuples, c'est-à-dire, *Or*; c'est de-là que les Arabes les ont appellés "*Altoun-khans*." T. i, p. 208. May not the prince here spoken of have belonged

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belonged to this family of the *Kin*, who were the cotemporaries of *Un-khan*, and may not the *D'or* or *Doro* of our author be intended for a translation of the Chinese term? The word enters into the composition of many proper names, and is often rendered by its equivalent in European languages; as in the instance of "*Kin-chan* ou Montagne d'or."

763. It may be thought more likely that the prince should have been carried in a palanquin or species of sedan chair, as being the more usual Chinese conveyance, and better adapted to a *tour de promenade* about the works of a fort; but we have unquestionable evidence that chariots or cars, drawn by *men*, were formerly the vehicles of persons of rank. "Les chariots" say the ambassadors of *Shah Rokh*, describing the equipages furnished to them on the road, by the government of China, "sont tirés par un grand nombre d'hommes qui "les tirent avec des cordes par dessus leurs épaules." Thev. ivme partie, p. 4. "Sa majesté" says P. Contancin, speaking of the emperor *Kang-hi* "parut revêtue "de ses habits impériaux, et monté sur un grand char qui étoit traîné par une "vingtaine de vigoureux eunuques, habilés très-proprement." Lett. édif. t. xxi, p. 340. The circumstance of this king being drawn by females is introduced in order to render the contrast of his reverses more striking, by shewing the style of luxury to which he had been accustomed.

764. For what relates to *Un-khan*, whose existence even as a temporal prince some writers in Europe have thought proper to call in question, because the Nestorian priests bestowed on him an ecclesiastical title that became obnoxious to ridicule, see Book i, Chap. xliii, with Notes 364 and 365. "What genius "not wholly barbarous and uncultivated" says Cervantes "can be satisfied with "reading, that a vast tower full of knights scuds through the sea like a ship "before the wind, and this night is in Lombardy, and the next morning in "the country of Prester John in the Indies, or in some other that Ptolemy "never discovered nor Marcus Paulus ever saw." Chap. cxlvi.

765. It will be observed that our author does not express himself with any degree of confidence as to the authenticity of this romantic adventure. If it was only an idle tale imposed upon him for an historical fact, it must have been the invention of Tartars rather than of Chinese, who would not have made a prince of *Shan-si* the vassal of a Tartar sovereign. On the contrary it is asserted by Gaubil that their annals describe *Un-khan* himself as tributary to the sovereigns of the dynasty of *Kin*, and that the Chinese title of *vang* or prince was prefixed to his original title of *khan*, forming together *Vang-khan*, of which the Arabs made *Ung-khan* or *Un-khan*. Allowance, however, should be made for the fictions of Chinese vanity, as well as for those of Tartar ignorance.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the very large and noble river called the Kara-moran.

Upon leaving the fortress of *Thai-gin*, and travelling about twenty miles, you come to a river called the *Kara-moran*,[766] which is of such magnitude, both in respect to width and depth, that no solid bridge can be erected upon it.[767] Its waters are discharged into the ocean, as shall hereafter be more particularly mentioned.[768] On its banks are many cities and castles, in which a number of trading people reside, who carry on an extensive commerce. The country bordering upon it produces ginger, and silk also in large quantities. Of birds the multitude is incredible, especially of pheasants,[769] which are sold at the rate of three for the value of a Venetian groat. Here likewise grows a species of large cane, in infinite abundance; some of which are a foot, and others a foot and half (in circumference,) and they are employed by the inhabitants for a variety of useful purposes.[770]

NOTES.

766. This name (written *Caromoran* in the Latin, and *Carmoro* in the early epitomes), which signifies the Black river, is well known to be the Tartar appellation of that vast stream which, with a very winding course, traverses the whole of China, under the name of the *Hoang-ho* or Yellow river, so called from the colour of its waters, impregnated as they are with yellow clay. It is at the same time not improbable that in the upper part of its course through a different and perhaps mossy soil, its hue may equally justify the epithet of black. "*Hoang-ho* ou fleuve jaune, ainsi nommé" says Du Halde "à cause de la couleur de ses "eaux troubles mêlées d'une terre jaunâtre, qu'il détache sans cesse de son lit "par la rapidité de son cours." T. i, p. 97. "Le Fleuve jaune ou bourbeux: "les Tartares" says De Guignes p. "le nomment *Caramouran* ou le Fleuve noir, "et Marc-Paul, *Caramoran*." Hist. gén. des Huns, liv. i, p. 21.

767. The passage of this river, but higher in its course than the point to which our author's route led him, is thus described by *Shah Rokh's* ambassadors: "Ils

" vinrent le 4 de la lune Schouval aux bords du fleuve *Caramouran*, qui est " grand comme le Gihoun (ou Oxus); il est traversé d'un pont de vingt-six " bateaux arrêtés ensemble, avec des chaînes attachées d'une rive à l'autre à des " colonnes de fer, de la grosseur de la cuisse d'un homme. Les bateaux étoient " encore arrêtés et attachés les uns aux autres par de gros crampons, et couverts " de planches, de sort que tout le pont étoit ferme et égal, et que les ambassadeurs " n'eurent aucun embarras à le passer." P. 5. But in addition to the chains, there must have been anchors or piles, as no bridge of boats could remain without them.

768. By this information, which may seem superfluous, he probably meant no more than that the course of the river was towards the Eastern sea; but it should be recollected that some of the rivers of Tartary discharge themselves into lakes, whilst others are lost in the sandy deserts.

769. Frequent mention is made of these birds, at places in the vicinity of the Yellow river. " Nous passâmes le *Hoang-ho*" says P. Gerbillon . . . " L'empereur " qui marcha tout le jour en chassant, tua grand nombre de lièvres et de faisans: " on en prit aussi beaucoup avec les oiseaux de proye et à la main." Du Halde, t. iv, p. 345.

770. The bamboo cane (*arundo bambos*), one of the most useful materials with which nature has furnished the inhabitants of warm climates, is known to be common in China. " On trouve" says Du Halde " dans tout l'empire des cannes " ou des roseaux, que les Portugais ont appellés *bambous;* mais le *Tche-kiang* en " est plus fourni qu'aucune autre province. Il y en a des forêts entières. Ces " bambous sont d'un usage infini à la Chine, où ils sont très-gros et très-durs: " bien qu'ils soient creux en dedans, et partagés de nœuds, ils sont très-forts, et " soutiennent les plus lourds fardeaux." T. i, p. 174. In the Mém. concern. les Chinois, t. ii, p. 532, it is observed that the greater part of the houses in the province of *Se-chuen* are constructed of bamboos. The latitude of the part of the *Kara-muran* or *Hoang-ho* here spoken of is about 35°. Further northward the bamboo is not likely to flourish.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the city of Ka-chan-fu.

HAVING crossed this river and travelled two days journey, you arrive at a city named *Ka-chan-fu*,[771] whose inhabitants are idolaters. They carry on a considerable traffic and work at a variety of manufactures. The country produces in great abundance, silk, ginger, galangal,[772] spikenard, and many drugs that are nearly unknown in our part of the world. Here they weave gold tissues, as well as every other kind of silken cloth. We shall speak in the next place of the noble and celebrated city of *Ken-zan-fu*, in the kingdom of the same name.

NOTES.

771. The name of *Cucianfu* or *Ka-chan-fu*, which in the early Venice epitome is *Cancianfu*, and in the Basle, *Cianfu* (but which does not occur in the B. M. manuscript nor in the early Latin edition) cannot be traced in Du Halde's map, nor does there appear any city of the first class (implied by the adjunct *fu*) between that part of the *Hoang-ho*, and the capital of the province of *Shen-si*, towards which our author's route is here directed.

772. Galanga or galangal, well known in the *materia medica*, is the root of the Kæmpferia. By the Italian *spico* I suppose is meant spikenard, nardus Indica, concerning which, see Papers in the Philosophical Transactions and the Asiatic Researches.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of the city of Ken-zan-fu.

DEPARTING from *Ka-chan-fu* and proceeding seven days journey in a westerly direction, you continually meet with cities and commercial towns,

towns, and pass many gardens and cultivated grounds, with abundance of the mulberry or tree that contributes to the production of silk. The inhabitants in general worship idols, but there are also found here Nestorian Christians,[773] Turkomans,[774] and Saracens. The wild beasts of the country afford excellent sport, and a variety of birds also are taken. At the end of those seven stages you arrive at the city of *Ken-zan-fu*, which was anciently the capital of an extensive, noble, and powerful kingdom, the seat of many kings, highly descended and distinguished in arms.[776] At the present day it is governed by a son of the Grand *khan*, named *Mangalu*, upon whom his father has conferred the sovereignty.[777] It is a country of great commerce, and eminent for its manufactures. Raw silk is produced in large quantities, and tissues of gold, and every other kind of silk are woven there. At this place likewise they prepare every article necessary for the equipment of an army. All species of provisions are in abundance, and to be procured at a moderate price. The inhabitants in general worship idols, but there are some Christians, Turkomans, and Saracens.[778] In a plain about five miles from the city, stands a beautiful palace belonging to king *Mangalu*, embellished with many fountains and rivulets, both within and on the outside of the buildings. There is also a fine park, surrounded by a high wall, with battlements, enclosing an extent of five miles; where all kinds of wild animals, both beasts and birds, are kept for sport. In its centre is this spacious palace, which for symmetry and beauty cannot be surpassed.[779] It contains many halls and chambers ornamented with paintings in gold and the finest azure, as well as with great profusion of marble. *Mangalu*, pursuing the footsteps of his father, governs his principality with strict equity, and is beloved by his people. He also takes much delight in hunting and hawking.[780]

NOTES.

773. The province of *Shen-si* is understood to have been the principal seat of Christianity when preached in this country at an early period, by the Nestorians. Being the most western of the provinces that compose the empire of China, it was the easiest of access to those who travelled by land, from Syria and other countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

774. By

774. By Turkomans we are not to understand the Tartars of the Desert, but merchants either from Turkomania of Asia minor (the kingdom of the *Seljuks* of *Rûm*), or from *Bokhâra*, formerly the capital of Turkistan, a place of considerable traffick and civilization. They were probably the same people with those now called Bucharians.

775. However different the name of *Ken-zan-fu* may be from *Si-ngan-fu* or *Si-gan-fu* (as it is more commonly written) circumstances shew that the eminent city described in the text, is meant for the capital of the province of *Shen-si*, which appears to be distant about nine stages from the passage of the *Hoang-ho*. The practice of changing the appellations (always significant) of important places, upon the accession of a new family, is matter of notoriety, and accordingly the several names of *Kan-chug*, *Yun-ghing*, *Chang-gan*, and *Ngan-si*, which under the dynasty of the *Ming* (1370) was reversed and made *Si-ngan*, are recorded as having at different periods belonged to this city. Of which of these, *Ken-zan* might be supposed the corruption, it is difficult to pronounce; nor have we any assurance that this is the true reading; for in the early Italian epitome we find the name written *Guen-gu-mi*, in the Basle, *Quen-qui-na*, in the earlier Latin, *Quin-gian*, and in the B. M manuscript, simply *Gyan-fu*. The last may be considered as approaching nearly to the *Gnan-fu* or *Ngan-fu* of the modern name, to which the *si* had not been prefixed (as we are informed by P. Martini) until a period later than that of our author's residence in China; but from the prevalence of the syllable *Ken* or *Quen* through almost all the readings, it would seem that he must have expressed the word by some orthography conveying the sound of *Ken-ngan-fu*.

776. " *Si-gan* " says P. Martini " qui est la ville capitale, cède à fort peu " d'autres, si on regarde à sa situation dans un pays fort beau et récréatif, à sa " grandeur, à son antiquité, à la force et fermeté de ses murailles, à la beauté " de son aspect, et à son commerce.... Vous pouvez juger de son antiquité, de " ce que les trois familles impériales de Cheu, Cin, et Han y ont régné." Thevenot, partie iii, p. 58.

It was near this capital that an ancient inscription on stone was discovered, which, in Syriac and Chinese characters, recorded the state of Christianity in that province or kingdom, set forth the protection and indulgence it received from different emperors, and contained a list of its bishops. " Cette province " says P. Martini " est encore celèbre par une pierre fort antique, sur laquelle la " loy de Dieu est escrite en caractères Syriaques et Chinois, apporté à ceux de la " Chine par les successeurs des Apostres: on y list le nom des évesques et des " prestres de ce temps-là, et celui des empereurs Chinois qui leur furent favora- " bles et leur accordèrent des privilèges: elle contient aussi une courte explica- " tion

" tion de la loy Chrestienne, mais tout-à-fait admirable, composée en langage " Chinois très-éloquent.... On l'a trouvé l'an 1625 dans la cité de *San-yuen*, " comme on creusoit les fondemens d'une muraille : le gouverneur de la ville, " ayant esté informé aussi-tost de ce monument qu'on avoit treuvé, en considéra " l'inscription de plus près, et, comme ils sont grands amateurs de l'antiquité, il " la fit imprimer, et ensuite un écrit à la louange du monument, et puis après " tailler sur une autre pierre de mesme grandeur une copie de celle qu'on avoit " treuvée, en observant les mesmes traits et caractères, avec toute la fidélité " requise. Les Pères de nostre Société en ont porté à Rome un exemplaire selon " l'original, avec l'interprétation : on la garde à présent avec son interprétation, " dans la bibliothèque de la Maison professe de Jésus : elle fut imprimée à Rome " l'an 1631." Thevenot, p. 57. Some suspicions were naturally excited in Europe, as to the genuineness of a monument of so peculiar a nature, and it has been the subject of much discussion; but those who have been the most forward to pronounce it a forgery, seem actuated rather by a spirit of animosity against the Order of Jesuits, whose members brought it to notice, than by the pure love of truth or a disposition to candid inquiry; and since that hostile feeling has subsided, its authenticity appears to be no longer disputed by those who are best enabled to form a correct judgment. " L'établissement des Nestoriens " says De Guignes f. " date de 635 ans après J. C. qu'un certain *Olopuen* vint à la Chine sous *Tay-* " *tsong* des *Tang* : ce fait est prouvé par le monument découvert à Sy-ngan-fou en " 1625, sous *Hy-tsong* des *Ming*." T. ii, p. 334. For more particular information respecting this celebrated monument, see the following works: Athanasii Kircheri China illustrata (1667), where will be found a fac-simile of the inscription, with a literal translation of each character: Andræ Mülleri Opuscula; De monumento Sinico Commentarius, (1695): Laurentii Moshemii, ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam Tartarorum Appendix, monumenta et epistolas exhibens (1741): and Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, t. xxx, p. 802.

777. In a list of the sons of *Kublaï* given by De Guignes (Hist. gén. des Huns, liv. xvi, p. 189) we find the third, there named *Mangkola*, to have been governor of *Shen-si*, *Se-chuen*, and Tibet; and in a Note to l'Hist. gén. de la Chine, p. 489, we are told that *Honanta*, the eldest son of *Mangkola*, succeeded his father in the same government; his usual residence being at *Si-ngan-fu*.

778. " Les Mogols ou Yuen " says the younger De Guignes " qui s'emparèrent " du trône en 1279 et chassèrent les *Song*, amenèrent un grand nombre de Mussul- " mans. Ceux-ci furent très-nombreux jusqu'à la dynastie des *Ming*, qui commença " à régner en 1368, après avoir détruit les Tartares." " Les Mahométans, que " les Chinois appellent *Hoey*, et qui habitent les pays situés à l'extrêmité du " *Chensy* jusqu'à *Ily* en Tartarie, sont partagés en trois classes." T. ii, p. 344-45.

779. " Celuy

779. " Celuy qui est au zud-est de la ville " says P. Martini " est un lac artifi- " ciel, fait par le moyen des canaux qu'on y a conduits de la rivière de *Guei*; " l'empereur *Hiao* le fit embellir d'un palais fort remarquable, avec des bois et " des jardins pleins de fleurs qu'il faisoit cultiver avec grand soin." Thevenot, partie iii, p. 59.

780. It may be doubted whether, in the estimation of our author, this latter quality of attachment to field sports, did not raise his character as high, as did the the vigour and policy of his government.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Of the boundaries of Kataia and Manji.

TRAVELLING westward three days from the residence of *Mangalu*, you still find towns and castles, whose inhabitants subsist by commerce and manufactures, and where there is an abundance of silk; but at the end of these three stages you enter upon a region of mountains and vallies, which lie within the province of *Kun-kin*.[781] This tract however has no want of inhabitants, who are worshippers of idols and cultivate the earth. They live also by the chase, the land being much covered with woods. In these are found many wild beasts, such as lions (tigers), bears, lynxes, fallow deer, antelopes, stags, and many other animals; which are made to turn to good account.[782] This region extends to the distance of twenty days journey, during which the way lies entirely over mountains and through vallies and woods, but still interspersed with towns where travellers may find convenient accommodation. This journey of twenty days towards the west being performed, you arrive at a place called *Ach-baluch Manji*, which signifies the White city[783] on the confines of *Manji*, where the country becomes level and is very populous. The inhabitants live by trade and manual arts. Large quantities of ginger are produced here, which is conveyed through all the province of Kataia, with great advantage to the merchants.[784] The country yields wheat, rice, and other grain plentifully, and at a reasonable rate. This plain, thickly covered with habitations,

habitations, continues for two stages, after which you again come to high mountains, vallies, and forests. Travelling twenty days still further to the west, you continue to find the country inhabited, and by people who worship idols, and subsist upon the produce of their soil, as well as that of the chase. Here also, besides the wild animals above enumerated, there are great numbers of that species which produce the musk.[785]

NOTES.

781. The country to which our author's description here applies, is evidently the province of *Se-chuen*, which lies south-westward from *Si-ngan-fu*, and is a mountainous region. No direct authority appears for its having borne the name of *Cun-chin*, or *Kun-kin*, but which in the Italian epitomes is *Chin-chin*, or *Kin-kin* according to our orthography, in the Basle edition *Cun-chi*, and in the older Latin *Chym* or *Kyn*. The names of *Kin* and *King*, however, will be perceived to abound in this province. One of its principal cities is named *Chan-king*, another *Tchong-king*, its great river is the *Kin-cha-kiang* (or river of golden sands), and P. Martini says: "Sur les plus hautes montagnes de cette province, du costé du "nord-est.... est le royaume de *King*, qui ne relève point de l'empereur de la "Chine.... Je nomme ce royaume *King*, parce qu'il fut fondé par le peuple de "*King*, et des pays voisins." P. 80.

782. Some of the animals here enumerated might serve the inhabitants for food, and the skins of all were more or less valuable.

783. The name here written *Ach-baluch* and said to imply the "White city," is in the Basle and older Latin editions, but probably with less correctness, called *Achalech*, and in the Italian epitomes, still more corruptly, *Acinelech* and *Cinelech*; none of which bear any resemblance to Chinese words. It has been already noticed that *baligh* is a term used in Tartary for "city," and *ak*, in the dialects of Turkistan, is known to signify "white," which justifies our author's interpretation of the name; but why he should express it in the Tartar language, unless on the supposition of his having forgotten the Chinese appellation, does not appear. I confess also that with such imperfect lights I am unable to make any satisfactory conjecture with regard to its position, and this is the more to be regretted as it would have enabled us to ascertain the north-western limits of *Manji* or Southern China. On the bank of the great river *Kiang*, however, and within the province of *Se-chuen*, there is a city named in the Jesuits' map, *Pei-tcheu*, which

which may be presumed to mean (so far as the sounds of Chinese words, without the characters can be trusted) the "White city."

784. It may be doubted whether the root here called ginger, was not rather intended for that which we call China-root, and the Chinese, *fu-lin* (smilax), produced in its greatest perfection in this province, and for which, as it was at that period little if at all known in European pharmacy, it might be found necessary to substitute a familiar term. "La vraye racine de Sina" says P. Martini "se "trouve seulement dans cette province; pour la sauvage, on la trouve par tout." P. 79.

785. It has already been observed that the musk-animal is found in Chinese Tartary, in Tibet and in the Chinese provinces bordering on those countries. See Notes 439 and 440.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Of the province of Sin-din-fu, and of the great river named Kian.

HAVING travelled those twenty stages through a mountainous country, you reach a plain on the confines of *Manji*, where there is a district named *Sin-din-fu*; by which name also the large and noble city, its capital, formerly the seat of many rich and powerful kings, is called.[786] The circumference of the city is twenty miles; but at the present day it is divided, in consequence of the following circumstances. The late old king had three sons, and it being his wish that each of them should reign after his death, he made a partition of the city amongst them, separating one part from the other by walls, although the whole continued to be surrounded by one general enclosure. These three brothers accordingly became kings, and each had for his portion a considerable tract of country; the territory of their father having been extensive and rich. But upon its conquest by the Grand *khan*, he destroyed these three princes, and possessed himself of their inheritance.[787]

The city is watered by many considerable streams, which descending from the distant mountains, surround and pass through it in a variety of directions. Some of these rivers are half a mile in width, others are two hundred paces, and very deep; over which are built several large and handsome stone bridges, eight paces in breadth, their length being greater or less according to the size of the stream.[788] From one extremity to the other there is a row of marble pillars on each side, which support the roof; for here the bridges have very handsome roofs, constructed of wood, ornamented with paintings of a red colour, and covered with tiles. Throughout the whole length also there are neat apartments and shops, where all sorts of trade are carried on.[789] One of the buildings, larger than the rest, is occupied by the officers who collect the duties upon provisions and merchandise, and a toll from persons who pass the bridge. In this way, it is said, his majesty receives daily the sum of an hundred besants of gold.[790] These rivers uniting their streams below the city, contribute to form the mighty river called the *Kian*,[791] whose course, before it discharges itself into the ocean, is equal to an hundred days' journey;[792] but of its properties occasion will be taken to speak in a subsequent part of this Book.[793]

On these rivers and in the parts adjacent are many towns and fortified places, and the vessels are numerous in which large quantities of merchandise are transported to and from the city. The people of the province are idolaters. Departing from thence you travel five stages, partly along a plain, and partly through vallies, where you see many respectable mansions, castles, and small towns. The inhabitants subsist by agriculture. In the city there are manufactures, particularly of very fine cloths and of crapes or gauzes.[794] This country, like the districts already mentioned, is infested with lions (tigers), bears, and other wild animals. At the end of these five days' journey you reach the desolated country of Thebeth.

NOTES.

786. This city which in the Basle edition as well as in that of Ramusio is named *Sin-din-fu*, in the older Latin *Syn-dy-fu*, and in the early epitomes, *Sindirifa*, appears

pears from the circumstances mentioned, to be that now called *Ching-tu-fu*, situated on the western side of the province of *Se-chuen*, of which it is the capital. "*Ching-tu*," says P. Martini "mérite le rang qu'elle tient de capitale, car elle "surpasse de beaucoup les autres cités qui en dépendent, par la magnificence de "ses bastimens, et par l'affluence de son peuple : elle est extrêmement marchan- "de.... Les roys de *Cho* y ont tenu leur cour avant qu'elle fust sous l'empire "de la Chine : la famille de *Han* l'appella *Quanghan* et y tint le siége de l'empire : "les roys de *Cin* luy ont donné le nom qu'elle a à présent : la famille de *Tang* "la nomma *Kien-nan*." P. 81. The western boundary of *Manji*, as has been observed, is not well known, but it is evident from the military operations of 1236 and 1238, that the *Song*, who then ruled it, were masters of this city of *Ching-tu*. When taken by the Mungals it is said (with no little exaggeration) that one million four hundred thousand persons were put to the sword. Hist. gén. de la Chine, t. ix, p. 219.

787. The king here spoken of must have been a tributary either of the *Song* or of the Mungals and might be one of those who received the Chinese title of *Vang*, and were more or less independent, according to the energy of the general government. In the interval between the conquest of *Ching-tu* by *Oktaï*, and this occupation of it by *Kublaï*, many changes in its fortunes had taken place and the person who governed there in 1260 supported the attempt of *Artigbuga* to wrest the empire from his brother.

788. "Cette ville" adds Martini "est toute coupée d'eaux, et navigable "presque par tout, à cause des canaux qu'on y a conduits, revestus de pierre de "taille : il y a quantité de ponts de pierre.... Cette ville est située dans une isle "que les riviéres ont formée." p. 81.

789. This peculiarity of the bridges in *Se-chuen* is not noticed in the meagre accounts we have of that province, which all resolve themselves into the original information given by P. Martini, in his Atlas Sinensis (1655). The Latin edition of our author states, that the shops or booths were set up in the morning, and removed from the bridge at night.

790. In the other versions, instead of an hundred, it is stated at a thousand *besants* (or sequins).

791. The numerous streams by which the city of *Ching-tu* is surrounded, form their junction successively, and discharge their united waters into the great river *Kiang*, as is here described, but its distance from the latter is more considerable than the words of the text would lead us to suppose. In the Basle edition, indeed,

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the *Kiang* is said to pass through the city; "per medium hujus civitatis transit "fluvius qui dicitur Quianfu (*Kiang-su*);" but besides that the nature of the river disproves the fact, the mistake is explained by the Italian reading of the same passage, in the early epitomes, where the expression is, "*per mezo* questa terra "passa uno grande fiume," by which is to be understood, as *terra* is here distinguished from *città*, that it flowed through the *district*. The remainder of the chapter contains an apparent contradiction; for after describing the river as being *half* a mile in width, it proceeds to say: "In la città di Sindirifa sopra questo "fiume è un ponte di pietra, loquale è longo *un migliaro*." Yet this excess is not uncommon where the banks are low and the country a marsh.

792. In the Latin it is said to be ninety, and in the early Italian, seventy stages or days journey. The distance from the city of *Su-cheu-fu*, which stands at the junction of the river that runs from *Ching-tu*, with the *Kiang*, is equal to about four-fifths of the breadth of China.

793. See Chap. lxiii.

794. This sentence is a continuation of the account of *Sin-din-fu*, and ought to have had place in an earlier part of the chapter. It shews the inartificial manner in which the work was composed.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Of the province of Thebeth.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The province named *Thebeth* [795] was laid entirely waste at the time that *Mangu-kaan* carried his arms into that country.[796] To the distance of twenty days journey you see numberless towns and castles in a state of ruin; and in consequence of the want of inhabitants, wild beasts, and especially tigers, have multiplied to such a degree, that merchants and other travellers are exposed there to great danger during the night. They are not only under the necessity of carrying their provisions along with them, but are obliged, upon arriving at their halting places, to employ the utmost circumspection, and to take the following

following precautions, that their horses may not be devoured. In this region, and particularly in the neighbourhood of rivers, are found canes (bamboos) of the length of ten paces, three palms in circumference, and three palms also in the space between each knot or joint. Several of these, in their green state, the travellers tie together, and place them, when evening approaches, at a certain distance from their quarters, with a fire lighted around them; when, by the action of the heat, they burst with a tremendous explosion.[797] The noise is so loud as to be heard at the distance of two miles; which has the effect of terrifying the wild beasts and making them fly from the neighbourhood. The merchants also provide themselves with iron shackles, in order to fasten the legs of their horses, which would otherwise, when alarmed by the noise, break their halters and run away; and from the neglect of this precaution it has happened that many owners have lost their cattle. Thus you travel for twenty days through a desolated country, finding neither inns nor provisions, unless perhaps once in three or four days, when you take the opportunity of replenishing your stock of necessaries. At the end of that period you begin to discover a few castles and strong towns, built upon rocky heights or upon the summits of mountains, and gradually enter an inhabited and cultivated district where there is no longer any danger from beasts of prey.

A scandalous custom, which could only proceed from the blindness of idolatry, prevails amongst the people of these parts; who are disinclined to marry young women so long as they are in their virgin state, but require, on the contrary, that they should have had previous commerce with the other sex; and this, they assert is pleasing to their deities.[798] Accordingly, upon the arrival of a caravan[799] of merchants, and as soon as they have set up their tents for the night, those mothers who have marriageable daughters, conduct them to the place, and each, contending for a preference, entreats the strangers to accept of her daughter and enjoy her society so long as they remain in the neighbourhood.[800] Such as have most beauty to recommend them are of course chosen, and the others return home disappointed and chagrined; whilst the former continue with the travellers until the period of their departure. They then restore them to their mothers, and never attempt

to

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to carry them away. It is expected, however, that the merchants should make them presents of trinkets, rings, or other complimentary tokens of regard, which the young women take home with them.[801] When, afterwards, they are designed for marriage, they wear all these ornaments about the neck or other part of the body, and she who exhibits the greatest number of them is considered to have been the most attractive in her person,[802] and is on that account in the higher estimation with the young men who are looking out for wives; nor can she bring to her husband a more acceptable portion than a quantity of such gifts. At the solemnisation of her nuptials she accordingly makes a display of them to the assembly; and he regards them as a proof that their idols have rendered her lovely in the eyes of men. From thenceforward no person can dare to meddle with her who has become the wife of another; and this rule is never infringed.[803] These idolatrous people are treacherous and cruel, and holding it no crime or turpitude to rob, are the greatest thieves in the world.[804] They subsist by the chase and by fowling, as well as upon the fruits of the earth.

Here are found the animals that produce the musk, and such is the quantity, that the scent of it is diffused over the whole country. Once in every month the secretion takes place, and it forms itself as has already been said, into a sort of imposthume or boil full of blood, near the navel; and the blood thus issuing, in consequence of excessive repletion, becomes the musk.[805] Throughout every part of this region the animal abounds, and the odour generally prevails. They are called *gudderi* in the language of the natives,[806] and are taken with dogs. These people use no coined money, nor even the paper-money of the Grand *khan*, but for their currency employ coral.[807] Their dress is homely, being of leather, undressed skins, or of canvas. They have a language peculiar to the province of Thebeth, which borders on *Manji*. This was formerly a country of so much importance as to be divided into eight kingdoms,[808] containing many cities and castles. Its rivers, lakes, and mountains are numerous. In the rivers is found gold-dust in very large quantities.[809] Not only is the coral, beforementioned, used for money, but the women also wear it about their necks, and with it ornament their idols.[810] There are manufactures of camlet and of gold cloth, and many drugs are produced

produced in the country that have not been brought to ours. These people are necromancers, and by their infernal art, perform the most extraordinary and delusive enchantments that were ever seen or heard of. They cause tempests to arise, accompanied with flashes of lightning and thunderbolts, and produce many other miraculous effects.[811] They are altogether an ill-conditioned race. They have dogs of the size of asses,[812] strong enough to hunt all sorts of wild beasts, particularly the wild oxen, which are called *beyamini*,[813] and are extremely large and fierce. Some of the best laner falcons are bred here, and also sakers, very swift of flight, and the natives have good sport with them. This province of Thebeth is subject to the Grand *khan*, as well as all the other kingdoms and provinces that have been mentioned. Next to this is the province of *Kaindu*.

NOTES.

795. The name of Thebeth, Thibet, or Tibet is sometimes confined to that country, on the northern side of the *Himalaya* mountains, which is under the immediate government of the *Dalai lama* and *Panchin lama*, and sometimes is made to embrace the whole of what is otherwise called *Tangut*, including the nations bordering on the provinces of *Se-chuen* and *Shen-si*, whom the Chinese term the *Si-fan* or *Tu-fan*. It appears to be of this eastern part, commencing at about five days journey from the city of *Ching-tu*, that our author proceeds to speak. " Nations Tibetanes : Je comprens sous ce nom " says the historian of the Huns " tous les peuples qui sont situés à l'occident des provinces de Chen-si " et de Sse tchuen, et qui s'étendent vers l'occident jusqu'aux sources de l'Indus. " Ce pays porte en général le nom de Toufan, mais les différentes branches des " nations qui y sont répandues ont multiplié les noms, et chaque canton a le sien " particulier." " Royaume des *Tou-fan* : Ce royaume est ce que nous appellons " précisément le Tibet, ou le Boutan, que l'on distingue en grand et petit Tibet. " C'est un pays plein de montagnes, où peu de voyageurs ont pénétré." T. i, p. 158–163.

796. The war which ended in the destruction of the *Tu-fan*, is thus uncircumstantially mentioned in l'Hist. générale de la Chine : " *Ouleang-hotaï* (the general " of *Mangu*, or more immediately of *Kublaï*, his lieutenant) après l'entière " réduction du royaume de *Tali* (*Yun-nan*), eut affaire aux *Toufan* qui l'occu- " pèrent plus long-temps qu'il n'auroit cru. Le *Toufan*, pay gras, fertile en " grains

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" grains et peuplé de plus de trois cents mille familles, étoit défendu par une " milice excellente, bien exercée et redoutable à ses voisins. Lorsque *Ouleang-* " *hotaï* attaqua ces peuples, leurs chefs soutinrent long-temps les efforts de " Mongous, qu'ils battirent même en plusieurs rencontres et auxquels ils ne se " soumirent que lorsqu'ils se virent épuisés.... Ce général, partant du pays des " *Toufan*, soumit les *Pamans*, les *Oumans*, les *Koueman*, et d'autres hordes de " ces quartiers." T. ix, p. 259–262. " Il (*Mangou-khan*) nomma encore le " général *Holitaï* pour aller soumettre le Tibet. Tout ce pays fut désolé, ses " villes et ses châteaux rasés." De Guignes, Hist. gén. des Huns. liv. xv, p. 123.

797. The very loud explosion of burning bamboos is well known to those who have witnessed the conflagration of a village or a bazar, in countries where the buildings are of that material. What most resembles it is the irregular but incessant firing of arms of all descriptions, during a night of public rejoicing in England.

798. It may be remarked that the places mentioned by our author, as the resort of travelling merchants, are described as the scenes of mercenary prostitution, either of wives or daughters, which the natives affect to justify or excuse, upon some imaginary principle, attributing the practice to any but the real motive; that of extracting from the wealthy traders as large a contribution as possible. See Note 339. P. Martini, speaking of the province of *Yun-nan*, which adjoins to that of Tibet, says of its inhabitants: " Personne n'epousoit de fille parmi " eux, qu'un autre n'eust eu premiérement sa compagnie : ce sont les paroles de " nostre auteur Chinois." P. 196.

799. This is the first instance in the course of the work of the employment of the word " caravan," taken from the Persian كروان *karwân*, and adopted into most European languages. The Arabic term, which we might have thought more likely to have been introduced by the Crusaders, is قافله *kâfilah*.

800. Such is the depravity of human nature, that not only the moral but the instinctive principle may be subdued by the thirst of gain or the cravings of appetite. In his journey through *Cooch Bahar*, on the road to Tibet, Turner observes that " nothing is more common than to see a mother dress up her child, and bring " it to market, with no other hope, no other view than to enhance the price she " may procure for it." Embassy to Tibet, p. 11.

801. The object of this female complaisance, however disguised by religious pretences, is sufficiently apparent from this part of the ceremony.

802. It

802. It may perhaps be our author's meaning that the influence of superior charms had the effect of drawing several presents from the same lover; but the passage would lead us rather to conclude that their variety was the produce of successive connexions. In the Latin text the plurality is distinctly asserted.

803. " Very precise chastity before marriage " says Turner, " is not expected in " the fair sex, though when they have once formed a contract, they are by no " means permitted, with impunity, to break it." p. 353. " Quisquis alienum " thorum fœdaverit... eam pœnam subire cogitur quam maritus adulteræ sta- " tuerit. At mulier tanquam infamis domo expellitur." Alphab. Tibetanum, p. 459.

804. This thievish character may have belonged to the *Si-fan* who border on the Chinese provinces, (as it has belonged to most borderers), but travellers describe the manners of the people of Tibet-proper as particularly ingenuous and honest.

805. For an account of this animal see Notes 439 and 440. With respect to the supposed lunar influence on the secretion of musk, Strahlenberg informs us that it is not at all times of the same strength, but " is best in summer, in the rutting " time, and at the full of the moon." P. 340.

806. The word *gudderi*, or any other approaching to it, is not to be found in the vocabularies we have of the languages of Tartary. In the northern parts, according to Bell, the animal is named *kaberda*, or *kabardyn* according to Strahlenberg; and Kirkpatrick, in his account of Nepaul names it *kastoora*. It is not indeed improbable that *gudderi* or *gadderi* (as it is written in the Latin text) may be a corruption of the Persian word *kastûri*, which is the common term for the drug in every part of the east, and would be used by the Mahometan merchants even on the borders of China. A striking instance of the degree to which words may be disfigured in transcription presents itself in the name of the country that forms the subject of this Chapter, which, in the early Italian epitomes, is *Chelet* at the commencement, although towards the conclusion of the chapter it is correctly printed *Tebeth*.

807. It may not appear likely that the valuable red coral, produced in the Mediterranean, should have been carried to the borders of China in sufficient quantity to be there made use of as currency; nor is it a substance so readily divisible as to be convenient for the purpose; but of its general use in the way of ornament ample proof is furnished by Tavernier, who says, at the conclusion of his remarks on this article: " Pour revenir au corail et en finir le discours, il faut " ajouter que tout le menu peuple s'en pare et s'en sert d'ornement au col et au

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" bras dans toute l'Asie, et principalement vers le nord sur les terres du Grand " Mogol, et au dessus dans les montagnes en tirant au royaume d'Asen *(Assam)* " et de Boutan." Voyage des Indes, t. ii, p. 381, 12mo. It is remarkable that to the present day the people of Tibet have no coinage of their own, but are supplied with a currency by their neighbours of *Nepál*.

808. In the Alphabetum Tibetanum of Georgi we find an enumeration of these kingdoms, as they are termed, under the head of, " Regna omnia et provinciæ " ditionis Tibetanæ," p. 417; where their number, as far as can be ascertained from the confused nature of the work, appears to be ten instead of eight. " Le " gouvernement présent des *Si-fan* ou *Tou-fan* " say Du Halde " est bien diffé- " rent de ce qu'il étoit autrefois... Anciennement leur royaume étoit fort peuplé : " également bien fortifié et très-puissant." T. i, p. 42.

809. Several of the streams which take their rise in the eastern parts of Tibet, and by their junctions form the great rivers of China, yield much gold, which is collected from their beds in grains or small lumps. This is principally remarked of the *Kin-sha-kiang*. " De tant de rivières qu'on voit sur la carte " says Du Halde, " on ne peut dire quelles sont celles qui fournissent tout l'or qui se trans- " porte à la Chine... Il faut qu'on en trouve dans les sables de plusieurs de ces " rivières : il est certain que la grande rivière *Kin-cha-kiang* qui entre dans la " province d'*Yun-nan*, en charie beaucoup dans son sable, car son nom signifie, " fleuve à sable d'or." T. iv, p. 470. " Les *Tou-fan*, appellés *Nan-mo*, ont une " rivière qui porte le nom de *Ly-nieou*, dans laquelle il se trouve beaucoup d'or." Mém. conc. les Chinois, t. xiv, p. 183.

The term here translated " gold-dust," which both in Ramusio and in the epitomes is " oro di *paiola*, in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, *paglola*, in the older Latin edition, *payolo*, and omitted altogether in that of Basle, is in the Vocabolario della Crusca written *paglivola* (as it would seem, from the Latin *parvula*) and defined to be " minutissima parte d'oro."

810. In describing the manners of a certain people in the Ava or Birmah country, Dr. F. Buchanan observes that " some of the women wore rich strings of coral round their necks." Symes's Embassy, p. 465.

811. See Book I. Chap. lvi. where the character of sorcerers is particularly attributed to the natives of *Tebeth* and *Kasmir*. This consistency in the different parts of the work, with respect to the same fact, is deserving of notice. See also Note 472.

812. This

812. This may appear to be an exaggeration, but other travellers describe the dogs of Tibet as of an uncommon size. "On the left" says Turner "was a "row of wooden cages, containing a number of huge dogs, tremendously fierce, "strong, and noisy. They were natives of Tibet; and whether savage by "nature, or soured by confinement, they were so impetuously furious, that it was "unsafe, unless the keepers were near, even to approach their dens." And in another place: "The instant I entered the gate, to my astonishment, up started "a huge dog, big enough, if his courage had been equal to his size, to fight a "lion." Embassy to Tibet, p. 155-215. Under this sanction our author must stand excused of hyperbole; although some other accounts do not convey an idea of the same magnitude. "One of them" says Capt. Raper "was a remarkably "fine animal, as large as a good-sized Newfoundland dog, with very long hair "and a head resembling a mastiff's. His tail was of an amazing length, like the "brush of a fox, and curled half way over his back. He was however so fierce, "that he would allow no stranger to approach him." Asiat. Res. Vol. xi, p. 529. This description might serve as the portrait of a fine Newfoundland dog in my possession, who stands two feet three inches at the shoulder, is four feet in girt at the chest, and measures six feet from the nose to the extremity of the tail. His colour is white marked with brown, the hair long and curling. In disposition, however, he is the contrast of the Tibet breed, being as remarkable for the gentleness and sociability of his habits, as he is for his size and beauty.

813. For an account of this animal, the *bos grunniens*, see Book I. Chap. li. and Note 436. Of the word *beyamini* (which does not occur either in the Latin or the Italian epitomes) I can discover no trace. It may be a corruption of *brahmini*. The animal is said to be called *yak* in Tartary, *chowri* in Tibet, and *suragâi* in Hindustan.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Of the province of Kain-du.

Kain-du is a western province which was formerly subject to its own princes, but since it has been brought under the dominion of the Grand *khan*, it is ruled by the governors whom he appoints. We are not to understand, however, that it is situated in the western part (of Asia), but only that it lies westward with respect to our course from the north-

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eastern quarter.[†] Its inhabitants are idolaters. It contains many cities and castles, and the capital city, standing at the commencement of the province, is likewise named *Kain-du*.[814] Near to it there is a large lake of salt water, in which are found abundance of pearls, of a white colour, but not round.[815] So great indeed is the quantity, that if his majesty permitted every individual to search for them, their value would become trifling; but the fishery is prohibited to all who do not obtain his licence. A mountain in the neighbourhood yields the turquoise stone, the mines of which cannot be worked without the same permission.

The inhabitants of this district are in the shameful and odious habit of considering it no mark of disgrace, that those who travel through the country should have connexion with their wives, daughters, or sisters; but, on the contrary, when strangers arrive, each householder endeavours to conduct one of them home with him, and committing all the females of the family to his charge, leaves him in the situation of master of the house, and takes his departure. The women immediately place a signal over the door, which is not removed until the guest proceeds on his journey; when the husband is at liberty to return. This they do in honour of their idols, believing that by such acts of kindness and hospitality to travellers, a blessing is obtained, and that they shall be rewarded with a plentiful supply of the fruits of the earth.[816]

The money or currency they make use of is thus prepared. Their gold is formed into small rods, and (being cut into certain lengths) passes according to its weight, without any stamp.[817] This is their greater money; the smaller is of the following description. In this country there are salt-springs, from which they manufacture salt by boiling it in small pans.[818] When the water has boiled for an hour, it becomes a kind of paste, which is formed into cakes of the value of two pence each. These, which are flat on the lower, and convex on the upper side, are placed upon hot tiles, near a fire, in order to dry and harden. On this latter species of money the stamp of his majesty is impressed, and it cannot be prepared by any other than his own officers.[819] Eighty of the cakes are made to pass for a *saggio* of gold.[820] But when these

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are carried by the traders amongst the inhabitants of the mountains and other parts little frequented, they obtain a *saggio* of gold for sixty, fifty, or even forty of the salt-cakes, in proportion as they find the natives less civilized, further removed from the towns, and more accustomed to remain on the same spot; inasmuch as people so circumstanced cannot always have a vend for their gold, musk, and other commodities. And yet even at this rate, it answers well to them, who collect the gold-dust from the beds of the rivers, as has been mentioned.[821] The same merchants travel in like manner through the mountainous and other parts of the province of Tebeth, last spoken of, where the money of salt has equal currency. Their profits are considerable, because these country people consume the salt with their food, and regard it as an indispensable necessary; whereas the inhabitants of the cities use for the same purpose only the broken fragments of the cakes; putting the whole cakes into circulation as money. Here also the animals which yield the musk are taken in great numbers, and the article is proportionably abundant.[822] Many fish, of good kinds, are caught in the lake. In the country are found tigers, bears, deer, stags, and antelopes. There are numerous birds also, of various sorts. The wine is not made from grapes, but from wheat and rice, with a mixture of spices; which is an excellent beverage.[823]

This province likewise produces cloves. The tree is small, the branches and leaves resemble those of the laurel, but are somewhat longer and narrower. Its flowers are white and small, as are the cloves themselves, but as they ripen they become dark coloured. Ginger grows there and also cassia in abundance, besides many other drugs, of which no quantity is ever brought to Europe.[824] Upon leaving the city of *Kain-du* the journey is fifteen days to the opposite boundary of the province; in the course of which you meet with respectable habitations, many fortified posts, and also places adapted to hunting and fowling. The inhabitants follow the customs and manners that have already been described. At the end of these fifteen days you come to the great river *Brius* which bounds the province, and in which are found large quantities of gold-dust.[825] It discharges itself into the ocean

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ocean. We shall now leave this river, as nothing further that is worthy of observation presents itself, and shall proceed to speak of the province of *Karaian*.

NOTES.

814. The city that in point of situation and other circumstances appears to answer best to this description of *Kain-du*, is *Yung-ning-tu*, which stands on the western side of the *Ya-long-kiang*, in about latitude 28°; although from some resemblance of sound, we might rather suppose it to be *Li-kiang-tu*, a city at no great distance from the former, but standing on the western side of the *Kin-sha-kiang*, above its junction with the former river. "C'est à l'extrêmité (septentrionale) "de la province" says Du Halde, speaking of *Yun-nan* "qu'est bâtie cette ville "(de *Yung-ning-tu-fu*): elle touche presque aux terres des *lamas*. A son orient "elle a un beau lac." T. i, p. 252. It may be objected that these towns are situated to the eastward, not to the westward of Tibet; but our author only says that *Kain-du* lay next to Tibet, and *Yung-ning-tu* lying south of *Si-fan*, is in the general south-western line of all the places already mentioned, as well as of those which immediately follow. When our author speaks of Tibet, it is evident that he does not mean the western part of that extensive region of which *Lhasa* is the capital, but the country of the *Si-fan*, bordering on *Se-chuen* and *Yun-nan*. "Au nord-ouest" says P. Martini, speaking of the latter province "les roy-"aumes que les Chinois appellent généralement *Si-fan*, que je croy estre le "royaume de Tibet, confinent à cette province." P. 194.

815. I do not find it elsewhere asserted that the lake near *Yung-ning-tu* yields pearls, but they are enumerated by Martini amongst the valuable productions of that part of China: "On tire encore de cette province des rubis, des saphirs, des "agathes... avec plusieurs pierres précieuses, et des perles." P. 194. The fishery of pearls in a river of eastern Tartary is noticed by many writers.

816. On the subject of licentious hospitality, see Notes 339 and 798.

817. This substitute for coin resembles the *larin* of the Gulf of Persia, but with the difference, that the latter bears an imperfect stamp. In those districts of Sumatra where gold-dust is procured, commodities of all kinds, even so low as the value of a single grain, are purchased with it. The forming the metal into rods, and cutting off pieces as they are wanted for currency, may be considered

sidered as one step towards a coinage. The Chinese of Canton cut the Spanish dollar in the same manner, to make up their fractional payments.

818. P. Martini, in describing the town of *Yao-gan*, in the same province, says: "Près de la ville il y a un puits d'eau salée; on en puise pour faire du sel, qui "est très-blanc, dont on se sert dans tout le pays, et s'appelle *Pe-yen-cing*, c'est-"à-dire le puits du sel blanc." P. 204. The name of *Pe-yen-cing*, appears in Du Halde's map of *Yun-nan*.

819. It is by no means an uncommon practice to employ the staple commodity of a country, instead of specie, as the medium of valuation for all other articles. Cakes of gum-benzoin are used for this purpose in the part of Sumatra where the drug is produced; and in England, it is well known that subsidies and benevolences granted to the crown, were, directly or indirectly, paid in packs of wool.

820. The *saggio* of Venice was the sixth part of an ounce, and consequently the cake of salt was in value the four hundred and eightieth part of an ounce of gold, which at the price of four pounds sterling, is exactly two pence for the value of each cake: a coincidence that could hardly have been expected. Its precision, however, must depend on a comparison between the English pence and Venetian *denari* of that day.

821. This we must allow to be fair and natural reasoning, and to bear strong internal evidence of genuine observation.

822. The western parts of China and eastern of Tibet, or the country of the *Si-fan*, are those in which the best musk is found. Martini, in his Atlas Sinensis, speaks of it as the production of various places in *Yun-nan*. See Notes 439, 440, 805, and 806.

823. Respecting the manufacture of what is termed Chinese wine, see Note 709.

824. This appears to be the most unqualified error that has hitherto occurred in the course of the work, as cloves *(garofali)* and cassia or cinnamon *(canella)*, certainly do not grow in that part of the world, nor any where beyond the tropics. The only manner in which it is possible to account for an assertion so contrary to fact, is by supposing that a detached memorandum of what our author had observed in the spice islands (which there is great probability of his having visited whilst in the service of the emperor) has been introduced in a description where it is entirely irrelevant. An instance of the same kind of confused insertion (on the subject of cannibalism) has already been pointed out in

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in Note 474. Major Rennel informs me that he has traced the like kind of transposition in the *Anabasis*, although Xenophon himself is understood to have arranged it.

825. However unlike a Chinese or Tartar word, all the editions agree in the orthography of the name of *Brius* given to this river, which seems to be intended for the *Kin-sha-kiang* or "river with the golden sands." But if on the other hand, *Li-kiang-tu*, which is situated on its south-western side, should be considered as the *Kain-du* of the text, it will follow that the *Brius* is either the *Lan-tsan-kiang* or the *Nú-kiang*, presumed to be the *Irabatty* of the kingdom of Ava. "The "river *Nou-kian*," says Major Rennell, "little, if at all inferior to the Ganges, "runs to the South, through that angle of *Yunan* which approaches nearest to "Bengal." Memoir, ed. 3, p. 295.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Of the great province of Karaian, and of Yachi its principal city.

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HAVING passed the river abovementioned, you enter the province of *Karaian*, which is of such extent as to be divided into seven governments.[826] It is situated towards the west; the inhabitants are idolaters; and it is subject to the dominion of the Grand *khan*, who has constituted as its king, his son named *Cen-Temur*, a rich, magnificent, and powerful prince, endowed with consummate wisdom and virtue, and by whom the kingdom is ruled with great justice.[827] In travelling from this river five days journey, in a westerly direction, you pass through a country fully inhabited, and see many castles. The inhabitants live upon flesh meat and upon the fruits of the earth. Their language is peculiar to themselves, and is difficult to be acquired.[828] The best horses are bred in this province.[829] At the end of these five days you arrive at its capital city, which is named *Yachi*, and is large and noble.[830] In it are found merchants and artisans, with a mixed population, consisting of (the native) idolaters, Nestorian Christians, and Saracens or Mahometans;[831] but the first is the most numerous class.

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The land is fertile in rice and wheat. The people, however, do not use wheaten bread, which they esteem unwholesome, but eat rice; and of the other grain, with the addition of spices, they make wine, which is clear, light-coloured, and most pleasant to the taste.[832] For money they employ the white porcelain shell, found in the sea, and these they also wear as ornaments about their necks.[833] Eighty of the shells are equal in value to a *saggio* of silver or two Venetian groats, and eight *saggi* of good silver, to one of pure gold.[834] In this country also there are salt-springs, from which all the salt used by the inhabitants is procured.[835] The duty levied on this salt produces a large revenue to the king.[836]

The natives do not consider it as an injury done to them, when others have connexion with their wives, provided the act be voluntary on the woman's part.[837] Here there is a lake nearly an hundred miles in circuit, in which great quantities of various kinds of fish are caught; some of them being of a large size.[838] The people are accustomed to eat the undressed flesh of fowls, sheep, oxen, and buffaloes; but cured in the following manner.[839] They cut the meat into very small particles, and then put it into a pickle of salt, with the addition of several of their spices. It is thus prepared for persons of the higher class, but the poorer sort only steep it, after mincing, in a sauce of garlic, and then eat it as if it were dressed.

NOTES.

826. *Karaian* is generally understood to be the province of *Yun-nan*, or rather its north-western part, which is bounded, in great measure, by the *Kin-sha-kiang*. "Ce qu'il appelle *Corayan*" says P. Gaubil, speaking of our author "est le "*Yun-nan*." P. 201. "Ils soumirent d'abord" says De Guignes "un pays que "Marc Paul appelle *Caraïam*, et qui fait partie de *Yun-nan*." Livre xvi, p. 176. In the "Account of an embassy to Ava" we find mention made of a race of people, whose name corresponds with that of *Karaian* and who may have been prisoners of war brought from the neighbouring country of *Yun-nan*, with which the people of Ava were often in hostility, and distributed in the latter as colonists. "He told me" says Colonel Symes, speaking of a respectable Italian missionary "of a singular description of people called *Carayners* or *Carianers*, that

" inhabit different parts of the country... He represented them as a simple, " innocent race, speaking a language distinct from that of the Birmans, and " entertaining rude notions of religion. They lead quite a pastoral life, and are " the most industrious subjects of the state... Agriculture, the care of cattle, " and rearing poultry, is almost their only occupation. A great part of the " provisions used in the country is raised by the *Carianers* and they particularly " excel in gardening." P. 207-467. By Dr. F. Buchanan the name is written *Karayn*; and he speaks also of the *Ka-kiayn*, " a wild people on the frontiers of " China." Asiat. Res. Vol. vi, p. 228.

827. This prince is named in the B. M. and Berlin Manuscripts, *Gusen-temur*, in the Basle edition, *Esen-temur*, and in the Italian epitomes, *Hensen-temur*. In the Tables chronologiques of De Guignes he is simply called *Timour-khan*; but one of his successors (a nephew) appears in the same list by the name of *Yeson-timour*, which whether more or less correct in its orthography than any of the preceding, is evidently intended for the same appellation. He was, however, the grandson, not the son, of *Kublaï*, whom he succeeded in consequence of the premature death of his father *Chingis*. For the circumstances of this prince's accession, see Note 533. " La droiture, la clémence et la liberalité de ce prince, " mirent plus que ses armées, toutes ces provinces à couvert... Les soins " extraordinaires qu'il a pris pour soulager le peuple, l'ont fait regarder par " les Chinois comme un prince accompli." Liv. xvi, p. 195.

828. Their language might probably partake of that of Ava or Pegu, and would consequently be unintelligible both to the Chinese and to the people of Tibet. " *King-tung* est la seule " says P. Martini " entre toutes les villes qui " sont dans ces hautes et larges montagnes (de *Yun-nan*) qui soit libre. Ses habi- " tans ont esté les derniers à recevoir les sciences des Chinois: plusieurs mesme " retiennent encore la façon d'escrire du royaume de *Mien* (Ava), qui ne différe " pas beaucoup de celle dont les marchands de Bengala et des Indes ont accous- " tumé de se servir." P. 201.

829. " Ce pays " says the same writer " produit de très bons chevaux, de " basse taille pour la pluspart, mais forts et hardis." P. 196. This is probably the same breed as the *tangun* or *tanyan* horses of Lower Tibet, carried from thence for sale to Hindustan. The people of Bûtan informed Major Rennell that they brought their *tanyans* thirty-five days journey to the frontier.

830. The present capital of the province of *Yun-nan* is a city of the same name; but there appears reason to conclude that although the *Karaian* of our author be a part of that province, its city of *Jaci* or *Yachi* was not *Yun-nan-fu* but *Tali-fu*,

Tali-fu, now considered as the second in rank. This, as we are informed by P. Martini, was named *Ye-chu* by the prince who founded it, and *Yao-cheu* by a subsequent dynasty; whilst the name of *Tali* was given to it by one of the *Yuen* or family of *Kublaï*.

831. Ramusio's text says Saracens *and* Mahometans; but this is probably a typographical error, as no distinction of the kind is made in any preceding passage. The former term seems indeed to have been more especially applied, by the historians of the crusades, to the subjects of the sultans of Egypt; but Saracens are spoken of by Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century, or more than two centuries before the time of Mahomet. See Note 87. In the western provinces of China the Mahometans were numerous at this period.

832. Our author, who seems to have been of a sociable disposition, misses no opportunity of praising the good qualities of this liquor; but modern travellers, from prejudices perhaps, do not speak of it in such advantageous terms. It is a kind of beer rather than of wine.

833. These are the well-known cowries (*Kari*) of Bengal, called by our naturalists *Cyprææ Monetæ*, which in former times may have found their way, through the province of *Silhet*, to the countries bordering on China, and were probably current in *Yun-nan* before its mountaineers were brought under regular subjection and incorporated with the empire; which was a difficult and tedious measure of policy, chiefly effected by transplanting colonies of Chinese from the interior. "In 1764" says Major Rennell "I was told that *Silhet* (an inland "province to the north-east of Bengal) produced cowries, and that they were dug "up. This, of course I disbelieved; but when I was there in 1767 and 1768, I "found no other currency of any kind in the country, and upon an occasion when "an increase in the revenue of the province was enforced, several boat-loads "(not less than fifty tons each) were collected and sent down the *Burrampooter*, "to Dacca. Their accumulation was probably the consequence of *Silhet* being, "at that period, the most remote district in which they passed current, and from "whence they could not find a way out, but by returning to Bengal." Might not the accumulation have been the effect of a change of system in the countries reduced to Chinese subjection, which not only checked the further exportation of cowries, but caused those already in circulation to be thrown back to the Bengal province, where however depreciated, they retained some value as currency? "Certains petits coquillages" says Du Halde "appellés *poei* à la Chine et *coris* "dans le royaume de Bengale, ont servi pareillement de petite monnoye. Il en "falloit donner plusieurs pour égaler la valeur d'une denier. L'usage d'une "pareille monnoye n'a pas été de longue durée," T. ii. p. 165.

BOOK II. CHAP. XXXIX. Notes.

It is not uncommon to suppose that this genus of shells, called *porcellana*, derives its appellation from the variegated appearance of its polished coat, resembling the glazed earthenware or porcelain of China; but the early use of the word by our author renders it more likely that the shell having already obtained the name of porcellana (a diminutive of *porco*), on account of the gibbous form of its back, the foreign ware was subsequently called porcelain, in Europe, from its possessing some of the most beautiful qualities of the shell. This at least is more plausible than the French etymology of "pour cent années," founded on the belief that the materials were matured under ground one hundred years. See Johnson's dictionary, at the word Porcelain.

834. According to this estimation, if the numbers be correct, the value of the cowries must have been enormously increased by their carriage from Bengal to the frontiers of China. Their average price in the bazar of Calcutta is said to be about five thousand for a rupee, which may be considered as equal to three *saggi* of silver; and if sold at eighty for the *saggio*, the profit would consequently be at the rate of five thousand for two hundred and forty, or more than twenty for one. Perhaps therefore instead of eighty, we should read eight hundred cowries to the *saggio*, which would still leave a profit of cent per cent. It must be observed at the same time that the improvements of European navigation in the Indian seas may have reduced the value of cowries in the Bengal market to a tenth part of what it was in the thirteenth century.

835. "Je vis tirer du sel par nos domestiques proche de nos tentes," says P. Gerbillon, then on a journey in Chinese Tartary; "ils ne firent que creuser "environ un pied en terre, et ils trouvèrent une espèce de mine de sel." T. iv, p. 134.

836. "Elle paye" says P. Martini, speaking of the province of *Yun-nan* "56,965 pesées de sel, outre plusieurs autres imposts qui se lèvent sur les mar- "chandises et sur les terres." P. 195.

837. "Comme cette province" observes the same writer "est proche des "Indes, aussi tient-elle quelque chose des mœurs et de la façon de vivre des "gens de ces pays là; on n'y observe point ce qui se pratique presque dans toute "la Chine que les femmes demeurent renfermées dans la maison, sans voir les "hommes, et sans avoir aucune familiarité ny conversation avec eux." P. 195.

838. "*Tali* est bastie sur le bord occidental du lac *Siul*... Ceux de la Chine "luy donnent le nom de mer à cause de sa grandeur." "Le lac s'étendant fort "en

"en longueur, divertit les habitans par son bel aspect, comme aussi par la "diversité et abondance de ses poissons," P. 197-198.

839. It is said of the *Si-fan*, the neighbours of these people and resembling them in manners, "Ils mangent la viande presque entièrement crue, quand elle "est fraîche, ou qu'elle est séchée au soleil: ils ne connoissent aucun de nos "assaisonnemens." Mém. conc. les Chinois, t. xiv, p. 235. "During the winter" says Turner, "a practice is adopted in the neighbourhood of these mountains ... "that of preparing meat and fish for carriage, by the action of extreme cold ... "I was accustomed to eat heartily of the meat thus prepared, without any "further dressing .... My Tibet friends, however, gave an uniform and decided "preference to the undressed crude meat," P. 301-2.

CHAPTER XL.

Of the province named Karazan.

LEAVING the city of *Yachi*, and travelling ten days in a westerly direction, you reach the province of *Karazan*, which is also the name of its chief city.[840] The inhabitants are idolaters. The country belongs to the dominion of the Grand *khan*, and the royal functions are exercised by his son, named *Kogatin*.[841] Gold is found in the rivers, both in small particles and in lumps; and there are also veins of it in the mountains. In consequence of the large quantity obtained, they give a *saggio* of gold for six *saggi* of silver.[842] They likewise use the before-mentioned porcelain shells in currency; which, however, are not found in this part of the world, but are brought from India.[843]

Here are seen huge serpents, ten paces in length, and ten spans in the girt of the body. At the fore-part, near the head they have two short legs, having three claws like those of a tiger, with eyes larger than a four-penny loaf *(pane da quattro denari)* and very glaring. The jaws are wide enough to swallow a man, the teeth are large and sharp, and their whole appearance is so formidable, that neither man, nor any kind

kind of animal, can approach them without terror.[844] Others are met with of a smaller size, being eight, six, or five paces long, and the following method is used for taking them. In the day time, by reason of the great heat, they lurk in caverns, from whence, at night, they issue to seek their food, and whatever beast they meet with and can lay hold of, whether tiger, wolf, or any other, they devour; after which they drag themselves towards some lake, spring of water, or river in order to drink. By their motion in this way along the shore, and their vast weight, they make a deep impression, as if a heavy beam had been drawn along the sands. Those whose employment it is to hunt them, observe the track by which they are most frequently accustomed to go, and fix into the ground several pieces of wood, armed with sharp iron spikes, which they cover with the sand in such a manner as not to be perceptible. When therefore the animals make their way towards the places they usually haunt, they are wounded by these instruments, and speedily killed.[845] The crows, as soon as they perceive them to be dead, set up their scream; and this serves as a signal to the hunters, who advance to the spot, and proceed to separate the skin from the flesh, taking care immediately to secure the gall, which is most highly esteemed in medicine.[846] In cases of the bite of a mad dog, a penny-weight of it, dissolved in wine, is administered. It is also useful in accelerating parturition, when the labour pains of women have come on. A small quantity of it being applied to carbuncles, pustules, or other eruptions on the body, they are presently dispersed; and it is efficacious in many other complaints. The flesh also of the animal is sold at a dear rate, being thought to have a higher flavour than other kinds of meat, and by all persons it is esteemed a delicacy.[847] In this province the horses are of a large size, and whilst young, are carried for sale to India. It is the practice to deprive them of one joint of the tail, in order to prevent them from lashing it from side to side, and to occasion its remaining pendent; as the whisking it about, in riding, appears to them a vile habit.[848] These people ride with long stirrups, as the French do in our part of the world; whereas the Tartars, and almost all other people, wear them short, for the more conveniently using the bow; as they rise in their stirrups above the horse, when they shoot their arrows. They have complete armour of buffalo-leather,

and

and carry lances, shields and cross-bows.[849] All their arrows are poisoned. I was assured, as a certain fact, that many persons, and especially those who harbour bad designs, always carry poison about them, with the intention of swallowing it, in the event of their being apprehended for any delinquency, and exposed to the torture, that, rather than suffer it, they may effect their own destruction. But their rulers, who are aware of this practice, are always provided with the dung of dogs, which they oblige the accused to swallow immediately after, as it occasions their vomiting up the poison,[850] and thus an antidote is ready against the arts of these wretches. Before the time of their becoming subject to the dominion of the Grand *khan*, these people were addicted to the following brutal custom, When any stranger of superior quality, who united personal beauty with distinguished valour, happened to take up his abode at the house of one of them, he was murdered during the night; not for the sake of his money, but in order that the spirit of the deceased, endowed with his accomplishments and intelligence, might remain with the family, and that through the efficacy of such an acquisition, all their concerns might prosper. Accordingly the individual was accounted fortunate who possessed in this manner the soul of any noble personage; and many lost their lives in consequence. But from the time of his majesty's beginning to rule the country, he has taken measures for suppressing the horrid practice, and from the effect of severe punishments that have been inflicted, it has ceased to exist.[851]

NOTES.

840. This name of *Karazan*, which a Chinese might be supposed to pronounce *Ka-la-shan*, seems to be only another portion of the province of *Yun-nan*; as the places mentioned in the subsequent chapter unquestionably are; but so imperfect is our information respecting this part of the country, that the means are wanting by which its particular situation might be ascertained. It should be remarked at the same time, that the name of *Karazan*, as distinct from that of *Karaian*, does not occur either in the Latin or in the early epitomes; all the circumstances related in this chapter being there considered as applying to the last-mentioned province or district.

841. The

841. The name of *Kogatin* does not appear in the list of the legitimate sons of *Kublaï;* but he had many others. The orthography, however, is more than usually uncertain. In the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts the name is written *Cogaam*, in the old Latin edition it is *Cogatuy*, in the Basle, *Cògracam* (*Cogra-khan*), and in the early Italian epitomes, *Cocagio*.

842. This proportion between the two precious metals is extraordinary, but in places so much out of the way of foreign commerce we cannot expect the prices of these or any other articles to find the general level.

843. See Note 833. The shells are chiefly brought from the Maldive islands, but also from the eastern coast of Africa. The former are considered more valuable as merchandise, because, being smaller, a greater number lie in an equal compass, and they are supposed to wear better; but as currency they pass indiscriminately. Cowries are also imported into England and re-shipped from thence to the coast of Guinea.

844. This distorted account of the alligator or crocodile is less creditable to our author's fidelity than any other of his natural history descriptions, although generally more or less defective. His terming an animal that has feet, a serpent, however incorrect, is excusable, as we give the name of flying-serpent to the dragon (no matter how fabulous), and the alligator itself is by the Chinese termed the water-serpent: but he leaves the reader to infer (although he does not directly assert it) that the animal had legs only to the forepart of the body, and none to the hinder, and he is incorrect as to the number, as well as the nature of its toes or claws. With respect to the voracious and destructive qualities of the alligator, he cannot be charged with exaggeration, and to its size it would be hazardous to set limits. The books of zoology describe it as "growing to twenty-five feet "in length, and about the thickness of a man's body;" but this, which is fully equal to ten common paces, is known to be exceeded in particular instances. Hamilton mentions one of twenty-seven feet and a half. The following description of an *uncommon* species of dragon, water-serpent, or crocodile, is taken from the Chinese dictionary of De Guignes, No. 13,287. "Draco, bellua squa- "matorum rex, quæ habet cornua ut cervus, aures ut bos, caput ut camelus, "collum ut serpens, *pedes* ut *tigris*, *ungues* ut *accipiter*, squamas ut pisces; cujus "sunt duo genera, unum sic natum, alterum è serpente vel pisce in draconem "mutatum." Our author might have read this article in the original.

845. The natives of India are particularly ingenious in their contrivances for destroying beasts of prey, particularly the tiger, which is sometimes made to fall upon

upon sharp-pointed stakes, after walking up an inclined plane: but the alligator is most commonly taken in the water, with a large hook.

846. Were we to examine the *materia medica* of our forefathers, we should probably find the gall of the crocodile amongst the many substances to which sanative properties were attributed, for no other reason than their being nauseous and disgusting. "The Chinese physicians" says l'Abbé Grosier "use the flesh, "*gall*, skin, bones, and ivory of the elephant, in curing various distempers." Vol. ii, p. 486.

847. The flesh of the guana or inguana, an animal intermediate in size between the lizard and the alligator, I have known to be eaten both by Chinese and Europeans, and by the former at least, to be considered as a delicacy. I cannot assert the same of the alligator, but in a book of Natural history I read that "the Africans and Indians eat its flesh, which is white and of a kind of perfumed "(musky) flavour."

848. It appears from hence that the practice of docking the tails of horses, by separating one or more of the vertebræ, which has become so common in England, existed many hundred years ago amongst the people of *Yun-nan*, in the remotest part of China: and yet this may have been one of the incredible stories with which our author's writings have been charged. "The horses in Persia" Malcolm observes "have long tails; but it is the custom of the country to tie "them up, which not only improves the animal's appearance, but prevents their "tails trailing on the ground, or being whisked about, when wet or dirty, to the "annoyance of the rider." Hist. of Persia, Vol. i, p. 358, Note.

849. "Tous leurs arts se réduisent à savoir faire des flèches, des cuirasses, "des casques, des habits, et autres petites choses de l'usage ordinaire." Mœurs des *Si-fan*. Mém. conc. les Chinois, t. xiv, p. 235. "Ils savent très-bien" says Martini, describing the western part of *Yun-nan* "monter à cheval et tirer "de l'arc." P. 206.

850. Such might have been the vulgar belief respecting the substance employed as an emetic on these occasions, although perhaps with as little foundation as the idea entertained by the common people in England, that ipecacuanha is the powder of human bones.

851. The barbarous custom having ceased to exist, it is not to be expected that we should find an allusion to it in any modern account. It has been indeed the

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policy of the Chinese government, upon conquering the countries on this frontier, to people them with colonists from the interior; by which the traces of original manners have been in a great measure obliterated.

CHAPTER XLI.

Of the province of Kardandan and the city of Vochang.

CHAP. XLI.

PROCEEDING five days journey in a westerly direction from *Karazan*, you enter the province of *Kardandan*, belonging to the dominion of the Grand *khan*, and of which the principal city is named *Vochang*.[852] The currency of this country is gold by weight, and also the porcelain shells. An ounce of gold is exchanged for five ounces of silver, and a *saggio* of gold for five *saggi* of silver, there being no silver mines in this country, but much gold; and consequently the merchants who import silver obtain a large profit. Both the men and the women of this province have the custom of covering their teeth with thin plates of gold, which are fitted with great nicety to the shape of the teeth, and remain on them continually.[854] The men also form dark stripes or bands round their arms and legs, by puncturing them in the following manner. They have five needles joined together, which they press into the flesh until blood is drawn, and they then rub the punctures with a black colouring matter, which leaves an indelible mark. To bear these dark stripes is considered as an ornamental and honourable distinction.[855] They pay little attention to any thing but horsemanship, the sports of the chase, and whatever belongs to the use of arms and a military life; leaving the entire management of their domestic concerns to their wives, who are assisted in their duties by slaves, either purchased or made prisoners in war.

These people have the following singular usage. As soon as a woman has been delivered of a child, and rising from her bed, has washed and swathed

swathed the infant, her husband immediately takes the place she has left, has the child laid beside him, and nurses it for forty days. In the meantime the friends and relations of the family pay to him their visits of congratulation, whilst the woman attends to the business of the house, carries victuals and drink to the husband in his bed and suckles the infant at his side.[856] These people eat their meat raw or prepared in the manner that has been described, and along with it eat rice. Their wine is manufactured from rice, with a mixture of spices, and is a good beverage.

In this district they have neither temples nor idols, but pay their worship to the elder or ancestor of the family, from whom, they say, as they derive their existence, so to him they are indebted for all that they possess.[857] They have no knowledge of any kind of writing, nor is this to be wondered at, considering the rude nature of the country, which is a mountainous tract, covered with the thickest forests. During the summer season the atmosphere is so gloomy and unwholsome, that merchants and other strangers are obliged to leave the district, in order to escape from death.[858] When the natives have transactions of business with each other, which require them to execute any obligation for the amount of a debt or credit, their chief takes a square piece of wood and divides it in two. Notches are then cut on it, denoting the sum in question, and each party receives one of the corresponding pieces; as is practised in respect to our tallies. Upon the expiration of the term, and payment made by the debtor, the creditor delivers up his counterpart, and both remain satisfied.[859]

Neither in this province, nor in the cities of *Kaindu*, *Vochang*, or *Yachi* are to be found persons professing the art of physic. When a person of consequence is attacked with a disorder, his family send for those sorcerers who offer sacrifices to the idols, to whom the sick person gives an account of the nature of his complaint.[860] The sorcerers thereupon give directions for the attendance of persons who perform on a variety of loud instruments, in order that they may dance and sing hymns in honour and praise of their idols, and which they continue to do, until the evil spirit has taken possession of one of them, when their

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musical exertions cease. They then inquire of the person so possessed, the cause of the man's indisposition, and the means that should be used for effecting his cure. The evil spirit answers by the mouth of him into whose body he has entered, that the sickness has been occasioned by an offence given to a certain deity. Upon which the sorcerers address their prayers to that deity, beseeching him to pardon the sinner, on the condition that when cured he shall offer a sacrifice of his own blood. But if the demon perceives that there is no prospect of a recovery, he pronounces the deity to be so grievously offended that no sacrifice can appease him. If, on the contrary, he judges that a cure is likely to take place, he requires that an offering be made of so many sheep with black heads, that so many sorcerers, with their wives, be assembled, and that the sacrifice be performed by their hands; by which means, he says, the favour of the deity may be conciliated. The relations comply immediately with all that has been demanded, the sheep are slain, their blood is sprinkled towards the heavens, the sorcerers, male and female, light up and perfume with incense the whole house of the sick person, making a smoke with wood of aloes. They cast into the air the water in which the flesh has been seethed, together with some of the liquor brewed with spices, and then laugh, sing, and dance about, with the idea of doing honour to their idol or divinity. They next inquire of the demoniac whether, by the sacrifice that has been made, the idol is satisfied, or if it is his command that another be yet performed. When the answer is, that the propitiation has been satisfactory, the sorcerers of both sexes, who had not ceased their songs, thereupon seat themselves at the table, and proceed to feast on the meat that had been offered in sacrifice, and to drink the spiced liquor of which a libation had been made, with signs of great hilarity. Having finished their meal, and received their fees, they return to their homes; and if through God's providence the patient recovers, they attribute his cure to the idol for whom the sacrifice was performed; but if he happens to die, they then declare that the rites had been rendered ineffective, by those who dressed the victuals having presumed to taste them before the deity's portion had been presented to him. It must be understood that ceremonies of this kind are not practised upon the illness of every individual, but only perhaps once or twice in the course of a month, for noble

noble or wealthy personages. They are common however to all the idolatrous inhabitants of the whole provinces of *Kataia* and *Manji*, amongst whom a physician is a rare character. And thus do the demons sport with the blindness of these deluded and wretched people.[861]

NOTES.

852. What is here named the province of *Kardandan* is in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, and old Latin edition, written *Ardandam*, in the Basle, *Arcladam*, and in the epitomes, *Caridi*; none of which can be discovered in Du Halde's map; but from the name of the chief city, which immediately follows, it is evident that the places spoken of are still within the limits of the modern province of *Yun-nan*. The name, indeed, of *Vochang* (or *Vociam* in the old Italian orthography) would have been equally unascertainable with that of the province, but that we are assisted in this instance by the readings of some of the other versions. In the early Latin edition the word is *Uncian*, in the Basle, *Unchiam*, and in the early edition of Venice, *Nocian*; which point out the place to be the city of *Yung-chang*, in the western part of *Yun-nan*. " C'est une ville " says Du Halde " assez grande et peuplée: elle a été bâtie au milieu des montagnes: elle est " presque à une des extrêmitéz de la province, et dans le voisinage des peuples " sauvages et peu connus. Le génie et les mœurs de ses habitans se ressentent " de ce voisinage. Le pays fournit de l'or, &c." " La ville de *Jung-chang* " says P. Martini " estoit autrefois la capitale du grand royaume de *Kin-chi*; elle " est à présent sous l'obéissance des Chinois... Je croy fermement que cette " ville et le pays d'alentour est l'*Unchiang* de Marco Polo; ce qui me le fait dire, " est le rapport et la convenance qu'il y a entre les noms, les mœurs de ce " peuple, et la situation du pays; car il touche au royaume de *Mien*, dont nous " parlerons cy-après...et d'ailleurs si M. P. escrit *Un* pour *Jun*, il ne s'en " faut pas estonner, car il n'y a point de caractère Chinois qui se prononce *Un*; " c'est pourquoy ceux de la Chine ont employé *Jun* pour *Un*." P. 207.

853. See Note 842. The disproportion is here so circumstantially asserted and so well accounted for, that we cannot reasonably doubt the fact.

854. " L'auteur Chinois dit " observes the same writer " que ses habitans ont " des mœurs particulières: qu'il y en a qui couvrent leurs dents de plaques d'or, " qu'on appelle *Kin-chi*, c'est à dire aux dents d'or; d'autres qui se plaisent à " avoir les dents fort noires, qu'ils peignent avec du vernis, ou bien avec quelque " autre

BOOK II. CHAP. XLI. Notes.

" autre drogue." P. 207. These practices, both of casing the teeth and blackening them, exist amongst the natives of Sumatra and probably the Malays in general. " Some file off no more than the outer coat and extremities (of the " teeth) in order that they may the better receive and retain the jetty blackness " with which they, almost universally, adorn them. The black used on these " occasions is the empyreumatic oil of the cocoa-nut-shell. . . The great men " sometimes set theirs in gold, by casing, with a plate of that metal, the under " row; and this ornament, contrasted with the black dye, has by lamp or candle- " light, a very splendid effect. It is sometimes indented to the shape of the " teeth, but more usually quite plain. They do not remove it either to eat " or sleep." Hist. of Sumatra, ed. 3, p. 52.

855. " D'autres se marquent diverses figures sur leur visage " says Martini, speaking of the inhabitants of *Yung-chang* " le perçant avec une aiguille, et " appliquant du noir, comme plusieurs Indiens ont accoustumé de faire." Accounts of this practice of *tattoo-ing* have been rendered familiar to us by the voyages to the South-sea islands; but it prevails also amongst the *Birmah* people of the kingdom of Ava, immediately contiguous to *Yun-nan*. The custom is noticed by the old writers and confirmed by the testimony of Colonel Symes, who says: " They (the Birmans) tattoo their thighs and arms into various fantastic " shapes and figures, which they believe operate as a charm against the weapons " of their enemies." Embassy to Ava, p. 312. The operation is thus described by Mr. Crisp, in his account of the *Poggy* islands, published in the Asiatic Researches. " These marks are imprinted with a pointed instrument, consisting " of a brass wire fixed perpendicularly into a piece of stick about eight inches in " length: this piece is struck with another small, long stick, with repeated light " strokes. The pigment used for this purpose is made of the smoke collected " from a species of resin, which is mixed with water: the operator takes a stem " of dried grass, or a fine piece of stick, and dipping the end in the pigment, " traces on the skin the outline of the figure; then, dipping the brass point in " the same composition, he, with very quick and light strokes, drives it into the " skin, tracing the outline before drawn, which leaves an indelible mark." Vol. vi, p. 88.

856. Ramusio observes, in a marginal note, that Strabo, at the concluding part of his third Book, speaks of a similar usage amongst the people of Spain; and Purchas in his translation, adds, that Appollonius records the same of the Tibareni (of Cappadocia) and Lerius (whose work was not published till the year 1586), of the Brasilians. I find no authority for the story amongst any people of the East, to whose manners and physical circumstances it has no analogy, and judge that our

our author must have been imposed upon by the hostile neighbours of these uncivilised but warlike tribes, who might revenge themselves for injuries felt, by such ridiculous imputations.

857. This appears to have reference to the extraordinary respect known to be paid by the Chinese to their parents, or to the veneration, approaching to an idolatrous worship, in which they hold the *manes* of their ancestors: a superstition not only unconnected with the doctrines of the two prevailing sects, but religiously observed by those who hold the adoration of images in abhorrence. It seems probable that instead of "*il piu vecchio di casa*" or according to the epitome, "*lo mazor de la casa,*" "the eldest person of the family," our author meant "the common ancestor;" for although the several descendants might subsist upon the patriarchal bounty of the former, they cannot be understood to have derived their possessions from him during his life-time.

This species of worship constituted the grand subject of dispute and political cabal at the court of Rome, between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, the former of whom were disposed to indulge their converts in what they considered as a harmless superstition, whilst their opponents urged the impiety of the practice and denounced it as compromising the principles of Christianity. The latter obtained the spiritual victory in the councils of the Pope, but the emperor *Kang-hi* took a zealous part in favour of the Jesuits. His successor, *Yong-ching*, expelled the members of both orders without distinction from the provinces of his empire, retaining only a few men of science and professors of art at the capital, and prohibited the preaching of the Gospel under pain of death.

858. Districts lying near the base of great ranges of mountains, and especially within the tropical latitudes, are always found to be unhealthy. "At the foot of "the *Bootan* mountains" says Turner "a plain extends for about thirty miles "in breadth, choked, rather than clothed, with the most luxuriant vegetation. "The exhalations necessarily arising from the multitude of springs, which the "vicinity of the mountains produces, are collected and confined by these almost "impervious woods, and generate an atmosphere through which no traveller ever "passed with impunity." Embassy, p. 21. "Singulis annis, redeunte Aprili, "morbus *Ollà* nuncupatus incolam æque ac hospitem invadit. Sævit ubique per "has regiones, qua late patent ex Indostan ad fines usque Nekpal. Nec, nisi "desinente Novembri, penitus cessat." Alphab. Tibetanum, p. 432. This pestilential quality of the air extends westward, through what is called the *Morung* country, and by analogy may be supposed to prevail on the eastern side also, the *Yun-nan* mountains being of great height, whilst the great *Nu-kiang*, said to be navigable between that province and Ava, must flow chiefly through a plain and comparatively low country.

859. "Ces

859. " Ces peuples ne savent ni lire ni écrire ; et lorsqu'ils font quelque con-
" vention entre eux, ils coupent un morceau de bois, ils y attachent des cordelettes
" auxquelles ils font le nombre de nœuds dont ils conviennent ; et ce simple
" mémoire est aussi sûr et aussi inviolable que le contrat le plus solemnel." Mém. concern. les Chinois, t. xiv, p. 233. All my readers may not be aware that the method here described in the text is precisely that in which accounts of a certain description are kept and certified, at this day, in the British Exchequer.

860. " Ils n'ont point de médecins, et ils ne savent ce que c'est que de prendre
" des remèdes. Lorsque quelqu'un est malade, ils appellent auprès de lui une
" espêce d'enchanteur qui lui tient lieu de prêtre." Mém. t. xiv, p. 235.

861. The sorcerers or wizards here spoken of are evidently the *shamans* or juggling priests of *Fo*, who are met with chiefly in the less civilized regions of Tartary, but who probably find their way into all parts of the Chinese empire. " We were entertained " says Bell " with a famous Buratsky shaman, who was " also a lama or priest, and was brought from a great distance. As these sha-
" mans make a great noise in this part of the world, and are believed, by the
" ignorant vulgar, to be inspired, I shall give some account of the behaviour of
" this one, in particular, by which it will appear that the whole is an imposition." The full account being too long for a Note, only such circumstances shall be mentioned, as correspond with the ceremonies related in the text. " He began
" to sing a dismal tune . . . all his followers joined in the chorus. During this
" part of the performance he turned and distorted his body into many different
" postures . . . He now started on his legs and fell a dancing, like one distracted.
" These unnatural motions were, by the vulgar, attributed to the operations of
" a divinity ; and, in truth, one would almost have imagined him possessed by
" some demon. After being quite spent with dancing, he . . . gave three dreadful
" shrieks, by which his companions said, he called the demon to direct him in
" answering such questions as should be proposed . . . all which he answered
" readily, but in such ambiguous terms that nothing could be made of them.
" He now performed several legerdemain tricks . . . In short nothing is more evi-
" dent than that these shamans are a parcel of jugglers, who impose on the
" ignorant and credulous vulgar." Vol. i, p. 253-5. In another place (p. 206) he says, " Many of the female sex also assume this character."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLII.

Of the manner in which the Grand khan effected the conquest of the kingdom of Mien and Bangala.

BEFORE we proceed further (in describing the country,) we shall speak of a memorable battle that was fought in this kingdom of *Vochang* (*Unchang* or *Yun-chang*). It happened that in the year 1272, the Grand *khan* sent an army into the countries of *Vochang* and *Karazan* for their protection and defence against any attack that foreigners might attempt to make;[862] for at this period his majesty had not as yet appointed his own sons to the governments, which it was afterwards his policy to do; as in the instance of *Cen-temur*, for whom those places were erected into a principality.[863] When the king of *Mien*[864] and *Bangala*,[865] in India, who was powerful in the number of his subjects, in extent of territory, and in wealth, heard that an army of Tartars had arrived at *Vochang*, he took the resolution of advancing immediately to attack it, in order that by its destruction the Grand *khan* should be deterred from again attempting to station a force upon the borders of his dominions. For this purpose he assembled a very large army, including a multitude of elephants (an animal with which his country abounds,) upon whose backs were placed battlements or castles, of wood, capable of containing to the number of twelve or sixteen in each.[866] With these, and a numerous army of horse and foot, he took the road to *Vochang*, where the Grand *khan's* army lay, and encamping at no great distance from it, intended to give his troops a few days of rest. As soon as the approach of the king of *Mien* with so great a force, was known to *Nestardin*,[867] who commanded the troops of the Grand *khan*, although a brave and able officer, he felt much alarmed, not having under his orders more than twelve thousand men (veterans, indeed, and valiant soldiers); whereas the enemy had sixty thousand, besides the elephants armed as has been described. He did not however betray any signs of apprehension, but descending into the plain of *Vochang*,[868] took a position in which his flank was covered by a thick

wood of large trees, whither, in case of a furious charge by the elephants, which his troops might not be able to sustain, they could retire, and from thence, in security, annoy them with their arrows. Calling together the principal officers of his army, he exhorted them not to display less valour on the present occasion, than they had done in all their preceding engagements, reminding them that victory did not depend upon the number of men, but upon courage and discipline. He represented to them that the troops of the king of *Mien* and *Bangala* were raw and unpractised in the art of war, not having had the opportunities of acquiring experience that had fallen to their lot; that instead of being discouraged by the superior number of their foes, they ought to feel confidence in their own valour, so often put to the test; that their very name was a subject of terror, not merely to the enemy before them, but to the whole world; and he concluded by promising to lead them to certain victory. Upon the king of *Mien's* learning that the Tartars had descended into the plain, he immediately put his army in motion, took up his ground at the distance of about a mile from the enemy, and made a disposition of his force, placing the elephants in the front, and the cavalry and infantry, in two extended wings, in their rear, but leaving between them a considerable interval. Here he took his own station, and proceeded to animate his men and encourage them to fight valiantly, assuring them of victory, as well from the superiority of their numbers, being four to one,[869] as from their formidable body of armed elephants, whose shock the enemy, who had never before been engaged with such combatants, could by no means resist. Then giving orders for sounding a prodigious number of warlike instruments, he advanced boldly with his whole army towards that of the Tartars; which remained firm, making no movement, but suffering them to approach their entrenchments. They then rushed out with great spirit and the utmost eagerness to engage; but it was soon found that the Tartar horses, unused to the sight of such huge animals, with their castles, were terrified, and wheeling about endeavoured to fly, nor could their riders by any exertions restrain them, whilst the king, with the whole of his forces, was every moment gaining ground. As soon as the prudent commander perceived this unexpected disorder, without losing his presence of mind, he instantly adopted the measure

of

of ordering his men to dismount and their horses to be taken into the wood, where they were fastened to the trees. Being dismounted, the men, without loss of time, advanced on foot towards the line of elephants, and commenced a brisk discharge of arrows; whilst, on the other side, those who were stationed in the castles, and the rest of the king's army, shot vollies in return, with great activity; but their arrows did not make the same impression as those of the Tartars, whose bows were drawn with a stronger arm. So incessant were the discharges of the latter, and all their weapons (according to the instructions of their commander) being directed against the elephants, these were soon covered with arrows, and suddenly giving way, fell back upon their own people in the rear, who were thereby thrown into confusion. It soon became impossible for their drivers to manage them, either by force or address. Smarting under the pain of their wounds, and terrified by the shouting of the assailants, they were no longer governable, but without guidance or controul, ran about in all directions, until at length, impelled by rage and fear, they rushed into a part of the wood not occupied by the Tartars. The consequence of this was, that from the closeness of the branches of large trees, they broke, with loud crashes, the battlements or castles that were upon their backs, and involved in the destruction those who sat upon them. Upon seeing the rout of the elephants the Tartars acquired fresh courage, and filing off by detachments, with perfect order and regularity, they remounted their horses, and joined their several divisions, when a sanguinary and dreadful combat was renewed. On the part of the king's troops there was no want of valour, and he himself went amongst the ranks entreating them to stand firm, and not to be alarmed by the accident that had befallen the elephants. But the Tartars by their consummate skill in archery, were too powerful for them, and galled them the more exceedingly, from their not being provided with such armour as was worn by the former. The arrows having been expended on both sides, the men grasped their swords and iron maces, and violently encountered each other. Then in an instant were to be seen many horrible wounds, limbs dismembered, and multitudes falling to the ground, maimed and dying; with such effusion of blood as was dreadful to behold. So great also was the clangour of arms, and such the shoutings and the shrieks, that

the noise seemed to ascend to the skies. The king of *Mien*, acting as became a valiant chief, was present wherever the greatest danger appeared, animating his soldiers and beseeching them to maintain their ground with resolution. He ordered fresh squadrons from the reserve to advance to the support of those that were exhausted: but perceiving at length that it was impossible any longer to sustain the conflict or to withstand the impetuosity of the Tartars; the greater part of his troops being either killed or wounded, and all the field covered with the carcases of men and horses, whilst those who survived were beginning to give way; he also found himself compelled to take to flight with the wreck of his army; but of whom numbers were afterwards slain in the pursuit.

The losses in this battle, which lasted from the morning till noon, were severely felt on both sides; but the Tartars were finally victorious: a result that was materially to be attributed to the troops of the king of *Mien* and *Bangala* not wearing armour as the Tartars did, and to their elephants, especially those of the foremost line, being equally without that kind of defence, which, by enabling them to sustain the first discharges of the enemy's arrows, would have allowed them to break his ranks and throw him into disorder. A point perhaps of still greater importance is, that the king ought not to have made his attack on the Tartars in a position where their flank was supported by a wood, but should have endeavoured to draw them into the open country, where they could not have resisted the first impetuous onset of the armed elephants, and where by extending the cavalry of his two wings, he might have surrounded them. The Tartars having collected their force after the slaughter of the enemy, returned towards the wood into which the elephants had fled for shelter, in order to take possession of them, where they found that the men who had escaped from the overthrow were employed in cutting down trees and barricading the passages, with the intent of defending themselves. But their ramparts were soon demolished by the Tartars, who slew many of them, and with the assistance of the persons accustomed to the management of the elephants, they possessed themselves of these to the number of two hundred or more. From the period of this battle the Grand *khan* has always chosen

sen to employ elephants in his armies, which before that time he had not done. The consequences of the victory were, that his majesty acquired possession of the whole of the territories of the king of *Bangala* and *Mien*, and annexed them to his dominions.[870]

NOTES.

862. This date of 1272 appears not only in Ramusio's text, but in that of the Berlin manuscript and of the older Latin edition; whilst in the Basle copy (followed by Müller) it is 1282. Some countenance is given to the latter date by a passage in L'Histoire gén. de la Chine, t. ix, p. 411.

863. See Chap. xxxix, and Note 827.

864. By P. Gaubil (or his commentator, P. Souciet), De Guignes, Grosier, and D'Anville, *Mien* has been considered as the name of the country of *Pegu*, but it is plainly meant for the *Birmah* country, or as we usually term it, the kingdom of *Ava*, which nearly borders on the province of *Yun-nan*, whilst the other lies far to the southward, and is unconnected with any part of the Chinese territory. The mistake arises from the circumstance of the Peguans having made a conquest of the Birmah country, from which, however, they were afterwards driven; and since the year 1757, *Pegu* has been a province dependent on the kingdom of *Ava*. The name by which the Birmahs call their own country is *Myam-ma*; by the Chinese writers it is named *Mien-tien*.

865. In the Basle edition the words are; "rex *Mien* et rex *Bangala*," implying two confederated sovereigns, but the whole context shews that only one personage is intended, who might at that period have styled himself king of *Bangala* as well as of *Mien*, from the circumstance of his having conquered some eastern district belonging to Bengal, from which the country of Ava is separated only by forests.

866. So our author might have been informed by those who, after the battle, visited the court, and there boasted of their exploits; but according to our experience, half the number of fighting men could not be accommodated on the back of an elephant of the largest class. The weapons, however, are different now from what were formerly used, and may require more room. Elephants are no where more numerous than on the eastern confines of Bengal.

867. This

867. This name, which in Rumusio's version is *Nestardin*, is elsewhere written *Neschardyn*, *Noscardyn*, and *Nastardyn*; which are all corruptions of the common Mahometan name of *Nasr-eddin* نصرالدين; transformed by the historians of the Crusades to *Nosceradinus*. It may be observed that the *s* (*sad*) of the first syllable is so much harder in pronunciation than the common *s* (*sin*) as to be not unfrequently expressed by *ts*; in which mode of orthography this word might be written *Natsar* or *Natsreddin*; differing but little from our text.

868. This we may presume to be the plain through which the *Irabatty* (otherwise written *Irawaddy*), or great river of *Ava* runs, in the upper part of its course. The generally received opinion of its being a continuation of the stream of the *Nu* or *Lu-kiang* is controverted by Dr. Buchanan; but as he equally doubts of the *San-pu* becoming the *Burramputra*, the establishment of the latter point will influence the probability of the former.

869. The proportion of *five* to one would have been more correct; but the exact number of the enemy might not have been so well known to the king, before the battle, as it was subsequently to the historian; or his speech may not have been *correctly reported*.

870. The author of "l'Histoire gén. des Huns" speaks of this war in the following terms: "Depuis que la Chine avoit été entièrement soumise, ce "prince ne s'occupa plus que de la conquête des pays voisins. *Siantar* avec les "généraux Mahométans, *Kulie* et *Nasir-eddin*, furent envoyés dans le *Yun-nan* "et dans le *Pegou*, (les Chinois le nomment *Mien*). Ils soumirent d'abord un "pays que M. Paul appelle *Caraïam*, et qui fait partie de *Yun-nan*. Le bruit de "cette conquête se répandit dans l'Inde. Les rois de Pegou et de Bengale, "dans la crainte que les Mogols ne pénétrassent plus avant, rassemblèrent "toutes leurs troupes, qui étoient environ au nombre de soixante mille hommes, "et deux mille éléphans." Liv. xvi, p. 176. He then proceeds to describe the circumstances of the battle in the words of our author. In l'Histoire gén. de la Chine we find the following passage (alluded to in Note 862): "L'an 1282, à "la deuxième lune (an affected precision of the Chinese annalists) *Nalasouting* (i. e. *Naras-utin* for *Nasreddin*) de *retour* du royaume de *Mien-tien*, où il avoit "été envoyé par *Houpilai-han*, lui en parla comme d'une conquête aisée à faire, "et sur son rapport, l'empereur nomma le prince *Siantaour* et les lieutenans-"généraux *Taï-pou*, et *Yehantikin*, pour commander l'armée qu'il destina à cette "expédition." T. ix, p. 411. It may have been that this return of the Mahometan general to court was subsequent to the battle that has been described, and that the subjugation of *Mien*, although the consequence of that battle, did not immediately follow, but was the business of another campaign.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLIII.

Of an uninhabited region, and of the kingdom of Mien.

LEAVING the province of *Kardandan*, you enter upon a vast descent, which you travel without variation for two days and an half, in the course of which no habitations are to be found. You then reach a spacious plain,[871] whereon, three days in every week, a number of trading people assemble, many of whom come down from the neighbouring mountains, bringing their gold to be exchanged for silver, which the merchants who repair thither from distant countries carry with them for this purpose;[872] and one *saggio* of gold is given for five of silver. The inhabitants are not allowed to be the exporters of their own gold, but must dispose of it to the merchants who furnish them with such articles as they require; and as none but the natives themselves can gain access to the places of their residence, so high and strong are the situations, and so difficult of approach, it is on this account that the transactions of business are conducted in the plain. Beyond this, in a southerly direction, towards the confines of India, lies the city of *Mien*,[873] The journey occupies fifteen days, through a country much depopulated, and forests abounding with elephants, rhinoceroses, and other wild beasts, where there is not the appearance of any habitation.

NOTES.

871. This must be understood of the plain at the foot of the *Yun-nan* mountains, already spoken of in Note 858; from whence the river is said to be navigable to Ava.

872. In consequence of the strict regulations of the Chinese with respect to the admission of strangers within the bounds of the empire, it becomes necessary for the purposes of trade or exchange of commodities, that fairs or markets should be held on the frontiers, where the merchants arrive at stated times with their goods. "The principal article of export from Ava" says Symes "is cotton. "This commodity is transported up the *Irrawaddy* in large boats, as far as "*Bamoo*,

BOOK II. CHAP. XLIII. Notes.

" *Bamoo*, where it is bartered at the common *jee* or mart, with Chinese " merchants, and conveyed by the latter, partly by land and partly by water, " into the Chinese dominions." P. 325. Thus also at the village of *Topa*, near *Sining*, on the borders of *Shen-si*; " On y trouve " says Du Halde " presque tout " ce qu'on peu souhaiter de marchandises étrangères et de la Chine, diverses " drogues, du saffran, des dattes, du caffé, &c." T. i, p. 40.

873. In this place there is a remarkable variation in the early Italian epitome from all the other versions, and being of some importance in a geographical point of view, I shall give the passage in its own words: " Quando l'huomo se parti " de la provincia de *Caraian* ello trova una grande desmontada par laquale ello " va doe zornade pur descendendo, in laqual non è habitatione alchuna ma sige " (gliè) uno logo in loqual se fa festa tre di a la setemena. Ivi se da uno sazo " doro per v. dargento. E quando l'homo è andado quelle v. zornade ello trova " la provincia de *Michai* laquale confina con l'India et è verso lo mezo di. " L'homo va ben xv zornade per salvazi paesi. Ivi se trova molti elephanti e " unicorni e molte bestie salvaze e non ge (gliè) niuna habitation. Quando " l'homo e andado xv zornade ello trova una cita la qual ha nome *Mien*." Capitoli xc et xci. From hence it is to be understood that upon descending from the heights of *Karaian* or *Yun-nan*, you do not immediately enter the country of *Mien* or Ava proper, but after a journey of five days reach the province of *Michai*, which we may reasonably suppose to be the *Mekley* of our maps; and from thence, after travelling fifteen days, through forests, arrive at the capital. " The space " between Bengal and China " says Major Rennel " is occupied by the province " of *Meckley*, and other districts, subject to the king of *Burmah* or Ava: " (and again): " The king of *Burmah*, whose reputed capital is *Ava*, and from " whence the whole kingdom, though erroneously, is often denominated, is said " to possess not only the country of *Meckley*, in addition to those of *Pegu* and " *Burmah*, but also the whole tract which lies on the north of it, between China, " Thibet, and Assam." Mem. ed. 3, p. 295-297. The mention of this intermediate province adds much to the consistency of the narrative.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Of the city of Mien, and of a grand sepulchre of its king.

CHAP. XLIV. After the journey of fifteen days that has been mentioned, you reach the city of *Mien*, which is large, magnificent, and the capital of the kingdom.

kingdom.[874] The inhabitants are idolaters, and have a language peculiar to themselves. It is related that there formerly reigned in this country a rich and powerful monarch, who, when his death was drawing near, gave orders for erecting on the place of his interment, at the head and foot of the sepulchre, two pyramidal towers, entirely of marble, ten paces in height, of a proportionate bulk, and each terminating with a ball.[875] One of these pyramids was covered with a plate of gold, an inch in thickness, so that nothing besides the gold was visible; and the other with a plate of silver, of the same thickness. Around the balls were suspended small bells of gold and of silver, which sounded when put in motion by the wind.[876] The whole formed a splendid object. The tomb was in like manner covered with a plate, partly of gold and partly of silver. This the king commanded to be prepared for the honour of his soul, and in order that his memory might not perish. The Grand *khan* having resolved upon taking possession of this city, sent thither a valiant officer to effect it, and the army, at its own desire, was accompanied by some of the jugglers or sorcerers, of whom there were always a great number about the court.[877] When these entered the city, they observed the two pyramids so richly ornamented, but would not meddle with them until his majesty's pleasure respecting them should be known. The Grand *khan*, upon being informed that they had been erected in pious memory of a former king, would not suffer them to be violated nor injured in the smallest degree; the Tartars being accustomed to consider as a heinous sin the removal of any article appertaining to the dead.[878] In this country were found many elephants, large and handsome wild oxen,[879] with stags, fallow deer, and other animals in great abundance.

NOTES.

874. The present capital, called *Ummerapoora* or *Amrapura*, is a city of modern date. This of *Mien* must therefore either have been the old city of *Ava*, now in ruins, or some one of earlier times, the seat of government having been often changed. "*Pagahm*" says Symes "is said to have been the residence of "forty-five successive monarchs, and was abandoned 500 years ago, in consequence

BOOK II. CHAP. XLIV. Notes.

" of a divine admonition: whatever may be its true history, it certainly was once " a place of no ordinary splendour." P. 269. The coincidence of dates is here remarkable, as the elapsed period of five centuries would place the ruin of *Pagahm* in 1295, or just about the time of the Mungal conquest.

875. Temples of a pyramidal form, both with square and circular bases, are found wherever the religion of *Buddha* prevails. Many of these, on a magnificent scale, are described by Colonel Symes, in the course of his journey to Ava. " The object in Pegue that most attracts and most merits notice (he observes) " is the noble edifice of *Shoemadoo* or the Golden Supreme... It is a pyramidical " building, composed of brick and mortar, without excavation or aperture of any " sort; octagonal at the base, and spiral at the top... The whole is crowned by " a *tee* or umbrella, of open iron work... The circumference of the *tee* is fifty-six " feet... It is gilt, and it is said to be the intention of the king to gild the whole " of the spire." P. 186, and Plate. This circular *tee* is probably what our author, or his translators, have termed a ball. In speaking of another religious building, Symes adds: " The boundless expenditure of gilding on parts exposed to the " weather, as well as in the inside, cannot fail to impress a stranger with asto- " nishment at the richness of the decoration." P. 391. Gilding, however, and not plating with gold or silver, is here mentioned; but the buildings described by the Colonel are of prodigious magnitude; whereas the pyramids of which our author speaks were no more than ten paces in height. In the Asiat. Res. vol. ii, p. 310-14, will be found an account of small pyramidal temples, with ornaments richly gilt, in the kingdom of *Nepal*.

876. " Round the lower limb of the *tee* " says Symes " are appended a number " of bells, which, agitated by the wind, make a continual jingling." P. 189. " Duo sunt inter cetera magnifica idolorum templa, (at *Bhatgān*, a city of Nepal.) " Habent in projecturis tecti seriem *campanularum*, quæ diu noctuque vento " agitatæ sonorum concentum edunt." Alphab. Tibet. p. 434. This circumstance of small bells suspended to the lofty parts of buildings, to be put in motion by the wind, unknown as it is amongst the ornaments of European architecture, is another of the numerous minute criteria by which the genuineness of our author's relation is placed beyond all candid doubt. The bells were of course, not of gold, but of gilt metal.

877. In Ramusio's text these persons who accompanied the army are styled *giocolari* overo *buffoni*, but in that of the early epitome, *zugolari e incantadori*, which gives an intelligible sense; as we know, both from preceding passages of the work and from general information of the manners of these countries, that diviners or religious jugglers have always formed a part of the staff of a military chief,

chief, who is either influenced by their prognostications, or makes them subservient to his designs. Purchas in his version calls them "jesters," but in Harris's collection of voyages, edited by Campbell, and in some modern publications, the word "cavalry" is discreetly substituted, as being more appropriate. There appears, however, to be something defective in the story, and that a sentence has been omitted, which should follow that in which the appointment of a valiant officer is mentioned.

878. This laudable respect shewn by the Tartar tribes to the sanctity of the grave, has been the occasion of the Russians discovering in the burial places of these people a great number and variety of undisturbed articles, as well as large deposits of the precious metals, which former conquerors had not presumed to violate. "In these tombs" says Strahlenberg "are found all sorts of vessels, urns, "wearing-apparel, ornaments and trinkets, cimetars, daggers, horse-trappings, "knives, all sorts of little idols, medals of gold and silver, chess-boards, and "chess-men of gold; as also large golden plates on which the dead bodies have "been laid." P. 364. "The surprising quantity" says Coxe "of golden orna-"ments found in the tombs of Siberia, were they not evident to sight, would "exceed all belief."

879. This is not the chowry-tailed ox, *yak*, or bos grunniens, described by Turner, and mentioned by our author in Book I. Chap. li, and in Note 436, which is the native of a colder region; but the *gayal* or bos gavæus, an animal found wild in the provinces on the eastern side of Bengal, and fully described in Vol. viii of the Asiat. Researches.

CHAPTER XLV.

Of the province of Bangala.

THE province of *Bangala* is situated on the southern confines of India,[880] and was (not yet) brought under the dominion of the Grand *khan* at the time of MARCO POLO's residence at his court; (although) the operations against it occupied his army for a considerable period, the country being strong and its king powerful, as has been related.[881]

It has its peculiar language. The people are worshippers of idols, and amongst them there are teachers, at the head of schools for instruction in the principles of their idolatrous religion and of necromancy, whose doctrine prevails amongst all ranks, including the nobles and chiefs of the country.[882] Oxen are found here almost as tall as elephants, but not equal to them in bulk.[883] The inhabitants live upon flesh, milk, and rice, of which they have abundance.[884] Much cotton is grown in the country, and trade flourishes. Spikenard, galangal, ginger, sugar, and many sorts of drugs are amongst the productions of the soil;[885] to purchase which the merchants from various parts of India resort thither. They likewise make purchases of eunuchs, of whom there are numbers in the country, as slaves; for all the prisoners taken in war are presently emasculated; and as every prince and person of rank is desirous of having them for the custody of their women, the merchants obtain a large profit by carrying them to other kingdoms and there disposing of them.[886] This province is thirty days journey in extent, and at the eastern extremity of it lies a country named *Kangigu*.

NOTES.

880. The name of *Bangala*, as applied in this place to the kingdom of Bengal, approaches nearer to the genuine pronunciation and orthography (*Bangâlah*) than that in which we are accustomed to write the word.

881. It is obvious that in Ramusio's text the sense of this passage is perverted by the omission of the negative, which I have ventured to restore in the translation. The words are: " La provincia di Bangala è posta ne' confini dell' India " verso mezo dì, laqual al tempo che M. Marco Polo stava alla corte, il gran " Can la sottomesse al suo imperio, e stette l'hoste suo gran tempo all' assedio di " quella." But the Latin version, on the contrary, says: " Bangala provincia " à meridie confinis est Indiæ, quam magnus Cham *nondum* subegerat, cum ego " in curia illius versarer, sed ad expugnandum exercitum miserat: " and this is corroborated by the Italian epitome where it is thus expressed: " Dire ve voglio " de la provincia de Bangala, laquale e neli confini de India. La si e una pro- " vincia laquale *non* l'haveva acquistada tutta lo gran Chan, quando io Marco " venne in la chorte soa: ma la gente sua era bene acampo per conquistarla." If this mistake on the part of Ramusio was not merely accidental, it must have arisen

arisen from a wrong impression given by the foregoing account of the defeat of the king of *Mien* or *Ava*, who appears to have styled himself king of *Bangala* also.

An extraordinary dislocation of the matter of the work is observable in this part of the early Italian version; as the chapter which immediately precedes the passage just quoted (xciii) contains the account of the mode of organising the grand Tartar armies, in decimal progression; which forms the subject of Chap. xlviii, Book I. of this translation. In the latter it is consistently introduced; but here is entirely out of place. In the Basle edition it is not to be found in either part of the work.

882. This passage has an obvious reference to the Hindu schools of philosophy, where the doctrine of the *vedas* and *sastras* is explained by learned *panditas* and *gurus*, in all the principal cities of Bengal and Hindustan. The *ch'handas*, *tantra sastra*, or art of necromancy is considered by these people as one of the six great "*angas* or bodies of learning."

883. If it were fair to justify one exaggeration by another, the authority of a "British officer," quoted by Kerr and Turton in their translation of the Systema Naturæ of Linnæus, might be adduced in support of aur author's account of the oxen of Bengal. The former of whom was led to describe and figure, under the name of *bos arnee*, an animal fourteen feet in height (but reduced by the latter to eight feet) said to have been met in the country above Bengal; but which proves to be only the wild buffalo, there called *arna*. The buffalo, however, or *bos bubalus*, "a very large and formidable animal," is afterwards distinctly mentioned by our author, and what is here said can apply to no other than the *gayal* or *bos gavæus*, which abounds in some of the eastern districts, and can only in a figurative sense be compared to the elephant. See Note 879, and Mr. Colebrooke's paper on the subject of this species of ox, in the Asiatic Researches, where it is described as being "nearly of the size and shape of the English bull." I am assured, at the same time, by a friend, that in the course of a survey he has met and been under the necessity of encountering some of a much larger size.

884. Rice and milk are chief articles of sustenance with the natives of Bengal, but although many of their *castes* are free from scruples about eating any kind of meat excepting beef, the assertion is too strong, that flesh is their ordinary food. It is evident indeed that our author's ideas of the country are formed upon what he had seen, or learned, of the people inhabiting the mountainous districts by which Bengal is bounded on the eastern side, where the manners are widely different from those which prevail on the banks of the Ganges and where the *gayal*-ox, as well as deer, wild hogs, and wild animals in general, are commonly eaten as food. The nature and extent of the scruples of those amongst the mountaineers

BOOK II. CHAP. XLV. Notes.

mountaineers who profess Hinduism, may be judged of from the following passages in Mr. Colebrooke's paper just quoted: "The *Hindus* in this province "(*Chatgoan* or *Chittagong*) will not kill the *gabay*, which they hold in equal "veneration with the cow; but the *Asl-gayál* or *Seloï* they hunt and kill as they "do the wild buffalo. The animal here alluded to is another species of *gayál* "found wild in the hills." "With regard to the *Hindus* scrupling to kill a "*gayál* (says Mr. Dick, speaking of the people of *Silhet* and *Cách'har* or *Kachar*) "I could not obtain a direct answer; as the word "*go*" is affixed to one of the "names, from which they infer that it partakes of the cow, and are afraid "positively to declare, that it is not improper to kill the animal." "The "*Cúcís* (*Kúkîs*) and *Nágás* are fond of the meat; and therefore constantly keep "such cattle, and eat their flesh; and often make presents of them to the *raja* "of *Cách'har*." Vol. viii, p. 495-8.

885. These are well known productions of Bengal and the adjoining provinces: particularly the article of sugar, which is extensively cultivated, and exported to many parts of Asia, as well as to Europe. "Si fa zucchero bianco e "buono," says Odoardo Barbosa "ma non lo sanno fare in pani, ma in polvere "...e ne caricano molte navi per diverse parti." Ramusio, vol. i, fol. 315-2.

886. That the courts and *harams* of India abounded with eunuchs who often attained to the highest offices of the state, appears from all the histories of that country, but it is not generally understood that any number of them were supplied from Bengal. It must be observed indeed that with the exception of a few meagre notices in Ferishta's history, we are ignorant of the affairs and more especially of the manners of the people of that country in the thirteenth century, and even the dates of inscriptions on some of the principal buildings in *Gaur* or *Luknauti*, considered as its ancient capital, are no earlier than the fifteenth. From the writings of Barbosa, however, which were finished in 1516, and of the genuineness of which no well informed reader can doubt, we learn that in his time the practice of emasculation prevailed there, although not amongst the Hindu natives, to whose ideas it would be abhorrent. "Le Mori mercatanti "di questa città," he says, speaking of the capital of Bengal, "vanno fra terra "a comprar garzoni piccolini dalli lor padri e madri gentili, e da altri che gli "rubbano e li castrano, levando gli via il tutto, di sorte que restano rasi come "la palma della mano: et alcuni di questi moiono, ma quelli che scampano, gli "allevano *molto bene*, e poi li vendono per cento e ducento ducati l'uno alli "Mori di Persia, che gli apprezzano molto, per tenerli in guardia delle lor donne "e della lor robba." P. 316.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLVI.

Of the province of Kangigu.

Kangigu is a province situated towards the east,[887] and is governed by a king. The people are idolaters, have a peculiar language, and made a voluntary submission to the Grand *khan*, to whom they pay an annual tribute. The king is devoted to sensual pleasures. He has about three hundred wives, and when he hears of any handsome woman, he sends for her, and adds her to the number.[888] Gold is found here in large quantities, and also many kinds of drugs, but being an inland country, distant from the sea, there is little opportunity of vending them. There are elephants in abundance, and other beasts. The inhabitants live upon flesh, rice, and milk. They have no wine made from grapes, but prepare it from rice and a mixture of drugs. Both men and women have their bodies punctured all over, in figures of beasts and birds,[889] and there are among them practitioners whose sole employment it is to trace out these ornaments with the point of a needle, upon the hands, the legs, and the breast.[890] When a black colouring stuff has been rubbed over these punctures, it is impossible, either by water or otherwise, to efface the marks. The man or woman who exhibits the greatest profusion of these figures, is esteemed the most handsome.

NOTES.

887. The country here named *Kangigu*, in the older Latin version *Kanziga*, and in the early Italian epitome, *Cargingu*, appearing to lie in the route from the eastern part of Bengal towards the northern part of the Birmah country, may be either the *Cach'har* mentioned in Note 884, situated between *Silhet* and *Mekley*, or else *Kassay*, between the latter and *Ava*. The terminating syllable *gu* may probably be the Chinese word *koŭe* or *kue* "kingdom," which will be seen in the Jesuit's map to prevail in that quarter.

888. In Mr. Colebrooke's paper (referred to in Note 884) the *raja* of *Cach'har* is spoken of as a *Cshatriya* of the *Suryabansi* race. In former times his territory may

BOOK II. CHAP. XLVI. Notes.

may have been more extensive, and his revenue more adequate to the maintenance of a *haram* of such magnitude, than they are at the present day. The epitome reduces the number to one hundred: "Lo re ha ben cento moiere."

889. See Note 855 on the subject of the practice of tattowing. As it is known to prevail in the *Birmah* or *Ava* country, the presumption is strengthened by this similarity of habits, that *Kangigu* is in its vicinity. In the Mém. concern. les Chinois we find mention of the people of *Lao-tchoua*, understood to be those of *Laos*, of whom it is said: "Ils sont d'un naturel féroce; ils se font avec une "aiguille des marques par tout le corps: ces marques sont des fleurs, que rien "ne sauroit effacer." T. xiv, p. 291. But the country of *Laos* is on the eastern side of *Ava*, and this of *Kangigu* would seem to lie on the north-western.

890. The manner in which Purchas has thought fit to parody and give an air of ridicule to this passage, presents a curious specimen of his style and of the liberty he takes with his original: "And there be professors" he writes "of this foolish "art of flesh-embroiderie, which use no other trade but this needle-worke, and "dying of fooles-skinnes." In Harris's Collect. of voyages these burlesque terms are repeated as if they were a translation of the text: but our author's account of the practice is as serious as it is consistent with known facts.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Of the province of Amu.

CHAP. XLVII.

Amu also is situated towards the east,[891] and its inhabitants are subjects of the Grand *khan*. They are idolaters, and live upon the flesh of their cattle and the fruits of the earth. They have a peculiar language. The country produces many horses and oxen, which are sold to the itinerant merchants, and conveyed to India. Buffaloes also, as well as oxen, are numerous,[892] in consequence of the extent and excellence of the pastures. Both men and women wear rings, of gold and silver, upon their wrists, arms, and legs; but those of the females are the more costly. The distance between this province and that of *Kangigu* is twenty-five days journey. We shall now speak of a province named *Tholoman* situated eightd ays journey from the former.

NOTES.

891. *Amu* appears to correspond in situation with *Bamu*, which is described by Symes as a frontier province between the kingdom of the *Birmahs* and *Yun-nan* in China. "Their real character" he says, speaking of certain Chinese envoys, "did not rise higher than that of a provincial deputation from *Manchegee* or "*Hunan*, the south-west province of China, which borders on the kingdom of "*Ava*:.. They had accompanied the governor of *Bamoo*, which is the frontier "province, to the capital." P. 285. "Six days journey from *Bamoo*, near the "frontiers of China, there are mines of gold and silver." P. 324. See also p. 325. It is to be regretted that more information respecting a district so situated was not obtained.

892. These are the *bos bubalus* and *bos gavæus*. See Note 883.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Of Tholoman.

THE province of *Tholoman* lies towards the east,[893] and its inhabitants are idolaters. They have a peculiar language, and are subjects of the Grand *khan*. The people are tall and good-looking; their complexions inclining rather to brown than fair. They are just in their dealings, and brave in war. Many of their towns and castles are situated upon lofty mountains. They burn the bodies of their dead; and the bones that are not reduced to ashes, they put into wooden boxes, and carry them to the mountains, where they conceal them in caverns of the rocks, in order that no wild animal may disturb them.[894] Abundance of gold is found here. For the ordinary small currency they use the porcelain shells that come from India; and this sort of money prevails also in the two before-mentioned provinces of *Kangigu* and *Amu*. Their food and drink are the same that has been already mentioned.

NOTES.

893. No name resembling *Tholoman*, *Toloman*, or *Coloman*, as the word appears in different versions, is to be found in any map or description of these parts; but

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but as the circumstances stated render it probable that the country spoken of is that of the people variously called *Birmahs*, *Burmahs*, *Bovans*, and *Burmans*, we may conjecture that the word was intended for *Po-lo-man*, which is known to be the mode in which the Chinese pronounce *Burman* and *Brahman*, and by which they often designate the people of India in general. "Le royaume de *Fo*" says P. Gaubil "est anciennement appellé le royaume de *Po-lo-men*." Hist. abrég. de l'Astr. Chin. p. 123. "About A. D. 950" says Morrison's Chinese Dict. "a "*Po-lo-mun* (Brahmun) priest was at Peking; and by the order of the emperor "*Keen-tih*, three hundred *Sha-mun* (priests) went to India to procure books, "&c." P. v.

894. The ceremonies practised by certain mountaineers of Ava or the *Burmah* country, named *Kayn*, bear a strong resemblance to what is here described: "They burn their dead" says Symes "and afterwards collect their ashes in an "urn, which they convey to a house, where, if the urn contains the relics of a "man, they keep it six days, if of a woman, five; after which it is carried to "the place of interment, and deposited in a grave, and on the sod that covers it, "is laid a wooden image of the deceased, to pray to the *mounzing* (deity) and "protect the bones and ashes." He added "that the *mounzing* resided on the "great mountain *Gnowa*, where the images of the dead are deposited." Embassy to Ava, p. 447.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Of the cities of Chintigui, Sidinfu, Gingui, and Pazanfu.

CHAP. XLIX.

LEAVING the province of *Tholoman*, and pursuing a course towards the east,[895] you travel for twelve days by a river, on each side of which lie many towns and castles, when at length you reach the large and handsome city of *Chintigui*,[896] the inhabitants of which are idolaters, and are the subjects of the Grand *khan*. They are traders and artisans. They make cloth of the bark of certain trees, which looks well and is the ordinary summer clothing of both sexes.[897] The men are brave warriors. They have no other kind of money than the stamped paper of his majesty.[898]

In

In this province the tigers are so numerous, that the inhabitants, from apprehension of their ravages, cannot venture to sleep at night out of their towns, and those who navigate the river dare not go to rest with their boats moored near the banks; for these animals have been known to plunge into the water, swim to the vessel, and drag the men from thence; but find it necessary to anchor in the middle of the stream, where, in consequence of its great width, they are in safety.[899] In this country are likewise found the largest and fiercest dogs that can be met with: so courageous and powerful are they, that a man, with a couple of them, may be an over-match for a tiger. Armed with a bow and arrows, and thus attended, should he meet a tiger, he sets on his intrepid dogs, who instantly advance to the attack. The animal instinctively seeks a tree, against which to place himself, in order that the dogs may not be able to get behind him, and that he may have his enemies in front. With this intent, as soon as he perceives the dogs, he makes towards the tree, but with a slow pace, and by no means running, that he may not shew any signs of fear, which his pride would not allow. During this deliberate movement the dogs fasten upon him, and the man plies him with his arrows. He, in his turn, endeavours to seize the dogs, but they are too nimble for him, and draw back, when he resumes his slow march; but before he can gain his position, he has been wounded by so many arrows, and so often bitten by the dogs, that he falls through weakness and from loss of blood. By these means it is that he is at length taken.[900]

There is here an extensive manufacture of silks, which are exported in large quantities to other parts,[901] by the navigation of the river, which continues to pass amongst towns and castles; and the people subsist entirely by trade. At the end of twelve days, you arrive at the city of *Sidin-fu*, of which an account has been already given.[902] From thence, in twenty days, you reach *Gin-gui*, and in four days more, the city of *Pazan-fu*,[903] which belongs to Kataia, and lies towards the south, in returning by the other side of the province.[904] The inhabitants worship idols, and burn the bodies of their dead.[905] There are here also certain Christians, who have a church.[906] They are subjects of the Grand *khan*, and his paper-money is current amongst them. They

gain their living by trade and manufacture, having silk in abundance, of which they weave tissues mixed with gold, and also very fine scarfs. This city has many towns and castles under its jurisdiction.[907] A great river flows beside it, by means of which large quantities of merchandise are conveyed to the city of *Kanbalu*; for by the digging of many canals it is made to communicate with the capital.[908] But we shall take our leave of this, and proceeding three days journey, speak of another city named *Chan-glu*.

NOTES.

895. The countries last spoken of appear indubitably to have belonged to that region which geographers term "India extra Gangem." These our author's route now leaves behind, and what follows in the remaining chapters of this book, applies only to China or its immediate dependencies. The transition, however, is remarkably obscure, and there seems to be much room to doubt, notwithstanding the enumeration of stages, whether the sequel should be regarded as a continuation of the same journey, or, as the notices collected by him, upon other occasional visits to the different provinces.

896. We cannot discover in the southern part of *Yun-nan* (towards which he might be supposed to have returned) any city resembling *Chinti-gui* or *Chinti-giu* in name; but a material difference between the text of Ramusio and those of the other versions, occurs here, which might be hoped to afford a clue for tracing the progress of the route. According to the former our author prosecutes his journey from *Tholoman*, by the course of a river, (whether wholly or in part only, is not clearly expressed) to the city abovementioned. In the Basle edition, on the contrary, it is said; "A provincia *Tholoman* ducit iter versus orientem ad *provinciam* "*Gingui*, iturque duodecim diebus juxta fluvium quendam, donec perveniatur "ad civitatem grandem *Sinuglu*:" and in the early Italian epitome, "*Cuigui* "sie una provincia verso oriente laqual ello trovo l'homo quando se parti da "*Toloman* tu vai su per uno fiume per xii zornade trovando cita e castelli: e "trovi la cita de *Similgu* grande e nobile;" to which city of *Sinulgu* or *Similgu* are attributed all the circumstances above related of *Cintigui*. If the reading of *Cui-gui* or *Kui-giu* be more correct than the others, we might conjecture it to be intended for the Chinese province of *Koei-cheu* or *Quei-cheu*, which, adjoining to that of *Yun-nan* on the eastern side, would be in point of direction, no unlikely road to the capital.

897. In

897. In the South-sea islands, Sumatra, and probably in most parts of the eastern archipelago, a kind of cloth is prepared from the inner bark of certain trees, by beating it with a wooden instrument until it acquires sufficient pliability and fineness. Such may be the cloth here described; but the Chinese also weave stuffs from the fibrous bark of different plants.

898. The circumstance of the emperor's paper money being current, shews that the country here spoken of was an integral part of the empire, and not one of its remote dependencies, where the sovereignty was more nominal than real.

899. Numerous instances are recorded of boats being attacked, at night, by tigers, amongst the alluvial islands at the mouth of the Ganges, called the *Sunderbunds*, and sometimes it happens that whole crews are destroyed whilst sleeping on board. "It is upon account of these tigers" (says Tavernier, in the relation of his journey to *Kachemire*, where he speaks incidentally of Bengal; but which is not found in the French edition of 1679, 12mo.) "that for people "travelling between these little isles in small boats, as they usually do, it is "dangerous in many places to land; besides great care is to be had that the boat, "which in the night is fastened to trees, be not too near the bank, for there are "now and then some men surprised; and I have heard it said, that tigers have "been so bold as to come into the boats, and to carry away men that were "asleep." See Travels, &c. second part, p. 141, ed. 1684, fo.

900. If the beast here spoken of be actually the tiger and not the lion (of which latter none are found in China) it must be confessed that the manners ascribed to him in this story are very different from those which usually mark his feline character. In the old English version of 1579 (from the Spanish) it is not the lion or tiger, but the elephant that is said to be the subject of this mode of baiting with "mastie-dogges." I am assured, however, that dogs do attack both tigers and leopards.

901. The trade in wrought silks denotes this to be a place in China, and to the south of the Yellow river, beyond which the silk-worm is not reared for the purposes of manufacture.

902. From the context we might be led to infer that the *Si-din-fu* here spoken of should be the same place as the *Chinti-gui* mentioned at the commencement of this chapter, inasmuch as the journey of twelve days from *Tho-lo-man* is here again referred to; but on the other hand we are much more clearly given to understand that it is the city before described (in chap. xxxvi) by the name of *Sin-din-fu*, and which was shewn (in Note 786) to be intended for *Ching-tu-fu*, the capital

BOOK II. CHAP. XLIX.

capital of the province of *Se-chuen*. This would lie in the route from Ava and the province of *Yun-nan* towards the city of Peking.

Notes.

903. In this part of the work, indeed, we perceive a more than usual degree of perplexity in the geographical matter, which is increased by a want of agreement in the several versions, not merely in orthography, but in the entire names of places, as well as in circumstances. The journey of twenty days stated in Ramusio's text, is not mentioned either in the Latin version or early Italian epitome, and it appears in the first instance uncertain whether by *Gin-gui* is here meant that southern province which in the latter is named *Cui-gui*, and has been conjectured to be *Koci-cheu*, or whether it may have been intended for *Kin-cheu* on the *Kiang*, or (admitting a large *hiatus* in the journal) for another *Kin-cheu*, in the province of *Pe-che-li*. For the city, likewise, which Ramusio names *Pazan-fu*, the other versions speak of *Caucasu* and *Cancasu*. But in addition to the confusion of names, we have, at this point, a new difficulty to contend with; for as the general course of the journey has latterly been to the east, as expressed in the text, or to the north-east, as inferred from positions, so, at this place, and from henceforward, we find it described as tending to the south; although from the preceding chapters it might seem that the southern provinces of China had been but just entered, from the side of *Mien* or Ava. Our author's want of accuracy in bearings, as they respect the intermediate points of the compass, has often required the exercise of indulgence; but this cannot be extended to the mistaking north for south; nor would even a correction of this nature in one or two instances, avail us; for we shall presently find him approaching the Yellow river from the northern side, crossing that river, and, in the continuance of his southerly course, describing well known places between it and the *Kiang*, which he likewise crosses, in his way to the province of *Fo-kien*.

It is consequently in one or other of the most *northern* provinces that we should make our search for *Pazan-fu*, and we shall be fully justified in drawing the conclusion, that a fresh itinerary, hitherto unnoticed, as it would seem, by any editor or commentator, has commenced from some place in the vicinity of the capital; and that the fruitless attempt to connect this with the former route, as constituting one journey, has chiefly given rise to the confusion of which every reader who has endeavoured to follow the course of the travels, must have found reason to complain.

904. It will be seen on reference to Chap. xxviii of this Book and Note 750, that about a mile from the town of *Tso-cheu*, in the province of *Pe-che-li*, the roads are said to divide; the one leading to the south-western, and the other to the south-eastern provinces. The first was that which our author pursued in his former route, and has described to a certain point, where either his original memoran-

memorandums left it incomplete, or, his early transcribers, to avoid the monotonous repetition of unknown and to them uninteresting names, were induced to terminate it abruptly. The latter road, to the south-east is that upon which, he is now about to enter, although without any explicit notice of the change; for it must be observed, that even the obscure hint of "returning by the other side of "the province," is peculiar to Ramusio's version. Under the conviction, therefore, of a new itinerary having commenced about this part of the narrative, from some place near *Tso-cheu*, where the roads divide, we are naturally led to consider the city now called *Ho-kien-fu* (the first in the southern route) as the *Pa-zan-fu* of Ramusio's text or *Ca-cau-su* (for *fu*) of the Basle edition; the probability of which, however discordant the sound of the names, we shall find to be strengthened as we proceed to the account of places subsequently visited. *Ho-kien-fu* (the first syllable of which a Tartar would pronounce *Ko*) is the third city of the province in rank, and derives its name from its position "between the "rivers."

905. To burn the bodies of their dead is certainly not now the practice of the inhabitants of China, and what is said to that effect of this and some of the neighbouring places, may be thought to apply rather to the manners prevailing amongst the people on the south-western frontier, just described, and that circumstances belonging to the first journal have been blended with those of the second, for the purpose perhaps, of concealing the abrupt transition and assimilating the two parts. What gives a colour to this supposition is, that in none of the other versions, either Latin or Italian, is any mention made of such a custom in this quarter.

906. The expression of "*certi Christiani*" may either mean a sect of Christians distinct from the Nestorians, already so often mentioned, or may refer to the Nestorians themselves, as a sort of Christians, not Catholic.

907. "Elle a" says Du Halde "dans sa dépendance deux villes du second "ordre, et quinze du troisième." T. i, p. 123.

908. In the very imperfect accounts we have of this city, either by the Jesuits or by its more recent visitors, we are not told whether it has any actual connexion with Peking, by means of the *Hu-to* and *Pe-ho*; for although Martini, speaking of the rivers in its vicinity, says: "aussi y en a-t-il plusieurs qui environnent "son territoire comme si c'estoit une isle," it does not appear from the map, to stand on the banks of any one of them; but the country being so flat, it is reasonable to suppose that there is a canal by which it communicates with those rivers and with the capital.

CHAPTER L.

Of the city of Chan-glu.

BOOK II. CHAP. L.

Chan-glu is a large city, situated towards the south,[909] and is in the province of Kataia. It is under the dominion of the Grand *khan*. The inhabitants worship idols, and burn the bodies of their dead. The stamped paper of the emperor is current amongst them. In this city and the district surrounding it they make great quantities of salt, by the following process. In the country is found a salsuginous earth. Upon this, when laid in large heaps, they pour water, which in its passage through the mass, imbibes the particles of salt, and is then collected in channels, from whence it is conveyed to very wide pans, not more than four inches in depth. In these it is well boiled, and then left to crystallize. The salt thus made is white and good, and is exported to various parts.[910] Great profits are made by those who manufacture it, and his majesty derives from it a considerable revenue. This district produces abundance of well-flavoured peaches, of such a size that one of them will weigh two pounds troy-weight.[911] We shall now speak of another city named *Chan-gli*.

NOTES.

909. To the eastward of *Ho-kien*, but inclining to the south, we find a city of the second order, dependent on the jurisdiction of the former, which in Du Halde's map is properly named *Tsan-tcheu*, but in Martini's Atlas, *Cang-cheu* incorrectly for *Çang-cheu*. This is evidently *Cianglu* or *Changlu*, here mentioned, the latter syllable being, it may be presumed from analogy, an error of transcription for the Italian *giu*, answering to *tcheou* of the French and *cheu* of the English orthography.

910. From this detail of the process it may be thought that nitre or saltpetre, rather than common salt, is the article so procured; and especially as the latter is manufactured in immense quantities along the extensive sea-coast of this province, in the usual mode, and conveyed to all parts of it by means of its numerous

rous rivers. The following passage, from the translation of Abbé Grosier's Description générale de la Chine, will leave no doubt on this point: "The earth "which forms the soil of *Petcheli* abounds with nitre; whole fields may be seen "in the neighbourhood of Pe-king which are covered with it. Every morning at "sun-rise, the country in certain cantons, appears as white as if sprinkled by a "gentle fall of snow. If a quantity of this substance be swept together, a great "deal of *kien*, nitre, and salt may be extracted from it. The Chinese pretend "that this salt may be substituted for common salt; however this may be, it is "certain that in the (mountainous) extremity of the province, poor people and the "greater part of the peasants, make use of no other. With regard to the *kien* "procured from the earth, they use it for washing linen, as we do soap." Vol. i, p. 27.

911. "Peso alla sottile" is explained in the dictionaries by "poids de mar-"chandises fines, plus léger que l'autre;" which corresponds to the difference of 14 and 17½ between our Troy and Avoirdupois weights.

CHAPTER LI.

Of the city of Chan-gli.

CHAN-GLI also is a city of Kataia,[912] situated towards the south, and belonging to the Grand *khan*, the inhabitants of which are idolaters, and in like manner make use of the emperor's paper-currency. Its distance from *Chan-glu* is five days' journey, in the course of which you pass many cities and castles, likewise in the dominions of his majesty. They are places of great commerce, and the customs levied at them amount to a large sum.[913] Through this city passes a wide and deep river, which affords conveyance to vast quantities of merchandise, consisting of silk, drugs, and other valuable articles.[914] We shall now take leave of this place, and give an account of another city named *Tudin-fu*.

NOTES.

BOOK II. CHAP. LI. Notes.

912. The city of *Ciangli* or *Changli* appears to be that of *Te-cheu*, situated at the entrance of the province of *Shan-tung*, on the river called *Oei-ho* in Du Halde's map, and *Eu-ho*, in the account of Lord Macartney's Embassy. It was twice visited by the Dutch embassy in 1795. In the early Italian epitome this place is named *Geth*: a proof of the little assistance to be derived from resemblance of names, independently of circumstances.

913. A transit duty (Staunton observes) is laid on goods passing from one province of China to another; each province being noted, chiefly, for the production of some particular article, the conveyance of which, to supply the demand for it in the others, raises this duty to a considerable sum, and forms the great internal commerce and revenue of the empire.

914. The terms "wide and deep" being relative, will not be applied to the same stream by different travellers. "Au sortir de *Té-tcheou*" says Van Braam "nous avons passé une *grande* rivière dont les bords étaient garnis de trois cens "bâtimens au moins, quoiqu'elle n'eût que *peu-d'eau*. Ces bâtimens étaient "presque tous chargés de riz, et destinés pour Pe-king. Ils sont là comme dans "un réfuge contre la débacle." T. i, p. 162. "A une petite distance avant "l'entrée de la ville" he says on his return "nous avons passé la rivière sur "un pont de bateaux." T. ii, p. 21.

CHAPTER LII.

Of the city of Tudin-fu.

CHAP. LII.

WHEN you depart from *Chan-gli* and travel southwards, six days' journey, you pass many towns and castles of great importance and grandeur, whose inhabitants worship idols, and burn the bodies of their dead. They are the subjects of the Grand *khan*, and receive his paper-money as currency. They subsist by trade and manufactures, and have provisions in abundance. At the end of these six days you arrive at a city named *Tudin-fu*,[915] which was formerly a magnificent capital,[916] but the Grand *khan* reduced it to his subjection by force of arms. It is rendered a delightful residence by the gardens which surround it, stored

stored as they are with handsome shrubs and excellent fruits.[917] Silk is produced here in large quantities. It has under its jurisdiction eleven cities and considerable towns of the empire,[918] all places of great trade and having abundance of silk. Before the period of its reduction by his majesty, it was the seat of government of its own king. In 1272[919] his majesty appointed one of his officers of the highest rank, named *Lucansor*, to the government of this city, with a command of eighty thousand horse, for the protection of that part of the country. This man upon finding himself master of a rich and highly productive district, and at the head of so powerful a force, became intoxicated with pride, and formed schemes of rebellion against his sovereign. With this view he tampered with the principal persons of the city, persuaded them to become partakers in his evil designs, and by their means succeeded in producing a revolt throughout all the towns and fortified places of the province. As soon as his majesty became acquainted with these traitorous proceedings, he dispatched to that quarter an army of an hundred thousand men, under the orders of two other of his nobles, one of whom was named *Angul* and the other *Mongatai*. When the approach of this force was known to *Lucansor*, he lost no time in assembling an army no less numerous than that of his opponents, and brought them as speedily as possible to action. There was much slaughter on both sides, when at length, *Lucansor* being killed, his troops betook themselves to flight. Many were slain in the pursuit, and many were made prisoners. These were conducted to the presence of his majesty, who caused the principals to be put to death, and pardoning the others, took them into his own service, to which they ever afterwards continued faithful.[920]

NOTES.

915. With respect to this city our means of ascertaining its identity are unexceptionable; for independently of local peculiarities, we have historical evidence (which will be found in Note 920) that the *Tudin-fu* of Ramusio's text, the *Tadinfu* of the manuscripts and of the Basle edition, the *Candifu* of the older Latin, and the *Candrafa* of the epitomes, is *Tsi-nan-fu* (by Martini written *Cinan-fu*) the capital of the province of *Shan-tung*. A strong instance is here presented of the extent to which the proper names of the work have been corrupted.

 916. " La

BOOK II. CHAP. LII. Notes.

916. "La ville de *Cinan*" says Martini, meaning *Tsi-nan*, "est fort grande, "bien peuplée, et célèbre pour la magnificence et grandeur de ses bastimens." P. 69.

917. The routes of our modern travellers have not led them to visit this city, but that of the Dutch embassy of 1795, in its return, passed through several of the towns under its jurisdiction. Upon the approach to one of these, named *Ping-yuen-shen*, Van Braam describes the scenery in terms similar to, but more luxuriant than those employed by our author; and the orchards of fruit are particularly noticed.

918. "Sa jurisdiction" says Du Halde "est très-étendue; on y compte qua- "tre villes du second ordre, et vingt-six du troisième." P. 199. The extent of its jurisdiction appears to have been enlarged, or the number of towns within the same limits to have increased, between the reigns of *Kublaï* and *Kang-hi*.

919. The circumstance of which our author proceeds to speak, is, by L'Histoire générale de la Chine, assigned to a period ten years earlier. The Roman numerals, in which dates are expressed in the old manuscripts, are more liable to errors, than the Arabic, or rather Indian figures, now in use.

920. These events are related in the above-mentioned work, which professes to be a translation of Chinese annals, in the following manner: "L'an 1262, a la "première lune, *Houpilaï-han* (*Kublaï-kaan*), après son retour dans cette ville "(*Ye-king* ou *Pe-king*), appris que *Li-tan* (Chinois), grand général de ses troupes "dans le pays de *Kiang-hoaï*, s'étoit emparé des villes de *Tsi-nan* et de *Y-tou* "(*Tsing-tcheou-fou*) du *Chantong*, et qu'après avoir passé au fil de l'épée les "Mongous répandus dans différentes garnisons de ces quartiers, il s'étoit déclaré "pour les *Song*. *Houpilaï-han* donna des ordres au prince *Hapitchi* (ou *Apitché*) "et au général *Ssé-tien-tché* de marcher contre ce rebelle, et de l'assiéger dans "*Tsi-nan*. *Litan*, qui avoit la réputation d'un excellent capitaine, ayant appris "par ses coureurs que *Ssé-chou* et *Atchou* venoient droit à *Tsi-nan*, alla au-devant "d'eux et leur enleva tous leurs équipages; mais comme il étoit près de rentrer "dans la ville, *Ssé-tien-tché*, qu'il rencontra, le battit et lui reprit tout son butin; "il fut contraint de se mettre à couvert dans ses murs, où il fut aussi-tôt investi; "et afin qu'il ne pût échapper, on fit élever autour de la place un mur fortifié "d'un fossé large et profond . . . Cependant *Li-tan* employoit tous les moyens pour "défendre *Tsi-nan* ou pour trouver jour pour s'échapper: il faisoit des sorties "continuelles sur les différens quartiers des *Mongous*, mais il étoit toujours "repoussé. *Ssé-tien-tché* qui ne craignoit aucun secours, voulant ménager ses "troupes, avoit converti en blocus le siége qui dura près de quatre mois; il y "péri

" périt beaucoup de monde par l'opiniâtreté de *Li-tan*, qui ordonna, après que " tous les vivres furent consumés, qu'on se nourrît de chair humaine. Lorsqu'il " se vit sans espérance et la ville sur le point d'être forcé, il se précipita dans le " lac de *Ta-ming*, où il avoit si peu d'eau qu'il ne put se noyer; les *Mongous* le " firent prisonnier, et lui coupèrent la tête par l'ordre de *Ssé-tien-tché*." T. ix, p. 298.

Notwithstanding some variations between the two accounts, and particularly in the catastrophe, where that of our text has less of romance, it will not be doubted that they relate to the same rebellion and the same scene of action, nor, consequently, that by *Tudin-fu* is meant the city of *Tsi-nan-fu*. It is at the same time remarkable that the occurrence is mentioned only in Ramusio's copy, and is not alluded to either in the Basle edition or early Italian epitome; but, as it will not be urged, that previously to the year 1553 (the date of his preface) there were extant in Europe any translations of Chinese history, from whence this laborious and judicious compiler might have borrowed the recital, he could only derive his information from manuscripts then in existence of our author's work, and which the other transcribers and editors must have garbled and abridged. The dissimilarity of the proper names (as of *Lu-can-sor* to *Li-tan*) may not be entirely the effect of corruption, but may partly arise from the Chinese practice of applying several to the same individual, answering to the *prænomen*, *nomen*, and *agnomen* of the Romans.

CHAPTER LIII.

Of the city of Singui-matu.

TRAVELLING from *Tudin-fu* seven days, in a southerly direction, you pass many considerable towns and strong places, where commerce and manufactures flourish. The inhabitants are idolaters and are subjects of the Grand *khan*. The country abounds with game, both beasts and birds, and produces an ample supply of the necessaries of life.[921] At the end of seven days you arrive at the city of *Singui-matu*,[922] within which, but on the southern side, passes a large and deep river, which the inhabitants divided into two branches, one of which taking its course to the east, runs through *Kataia*, whilst the other, taking a westerly

westerly course, passes towards the province of *Manji*.[923] This river is navigated by so many vessels that the number might seem incredible, and serves to convey from both provinces, that is, from the one province to the other, every requisite article of consumption. It is indeed surprising to observe the multitude and the size of the vessels that are continually passing and repassing, laden with merchandise of the greatest value.[924] On leaving *Singui-matu* and travelling towards the south, for sixteen days, you unceasingly meet with commercial towns and with castles.[925] The people throughout the country are idolaters, and the subjects of his majesty.

NOTES.

921. " La grande quantité de rivières, de lacs, et de ruisseaux " says P. Martini " rend le terroir de cette province *(Shan-tung)* fertile et fort abondante en " tout ce qui est nécessaire." " Il n'y a point de lieu où on donne les faisans, " les perdrix, et les cailles à meilleur marché, comme aussi les lièvres, car il n'y " a point de Chinois qui soient plus grands chasseurs que ceux de cette pro- " vince." P. 66.

922. The circumstances here mentioned of *Sin-gui-matu* seem to point to the large commercial town of *Lin-tsin-cheu*, situated at the northern extremity, or commencement, of the *Yun-ho* or Grand Canal. The term *matu* or *mateou*, subjoined to names, signifies, as we are told by Du Halde (t. i, p. 137), " lieux " de commerce établis sur les rivières, pour la commodité des négocians et la " levée des droits de l'empereur;" and by P. Magalhanes, *mà-teú* is defined to be, " lieu fréquenté pour le commerce; parceque les barques s'y assemblent et y " jettent l'ancre pour y passer la nuit." Nouv. Relat. de la Chine, p. 9. Its distance from the last mentioned city, the capital of the province, is stated in the other versions to be only three days journey. The interval appears by the maps to be about sixty geographical miles.

923. These expressions might be considered as intended to describe the formation of the canal itself, which must, of course, have been supplied with water, by diverting so much of the stream of the river as was necessary for that purpose; and the operation might consequently be said to divide it into two branches; but they may be thought rather to refer to the following curious circumstance noticed in the Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy: " On the 25th of October (the " third

" third day after its departure from *Lin-tsing*) the yachts arrived at the highest " part of the canal, being about two-fifths of its entire length. Here the river " *Luen*, the largest by which the canal is fed, falls into it with a rapid stream, in " a line which is perpendicular to the course of the canal. A strong bulwark of " stone supports the opposite western bank; and the waters of the *Luen* striking " with force against it, part of them follow the northern, and part the southern " course of the canal. A circumstance which not being generally explained or " understood, gave the appearance of wonder to an assertion, that if a bundle of " sticks be thrown into that part of the river, they would soon separate and take " opposite directions." Vol. ii, p. 387. The name of this place is *Tci-ngin-tcheou* in Du Halde's map, and *Tsin-jin-tchoo* in that of the Embassy; which bears an evident resemblance to the *Sin-gui* of our text.

924. " Entre ces cités " says P. Martini, speaking of towns of the second order, dependent on *Tun-chang-fu* " *Lincing* surpasse toutes les autres, soit dans " le nombre d'habitans, &c. et pour estre une ville marchande et fort renommée; " de sorte qu'elle céde à peu de villes de cet empire; car elle est située dans un " lieu où la rivière de *Ouei* et le canal de *Yun* s'assemblent; de là vient que les " navires y abordent presque de toute la Chine, et qu'elle est comme le magazin " de toutes sortes de marchandises." P. 71. " At *Lin-sin-choo* " says Staunton " the yachts quitted the *Eu-ho*, which, from its source on the westward, ran " north-easterly to this place, and is here joined by the imperial or grand canal, " which is carried in a line directly south." Embassy to China, Vol. ii, p. 381. " Le grand canal impérial " says Du Halde " traverse une partie de la province, et " c'est par ce canal que passent toutes les barques, qui, des parties du midi, vont " à *Peking*. Elles portent tant de sortes de marchandises, et en si grande quan- " tité, que les seuls droits qui se payent sur ces marchandises, montent à plus de " dix millions." T. i, p. 197.

925. " On ne compte pas " says Du Halde in his description of this province " dans ce nombre de villes, plus de quinze forts qui sont bâtis dans tous les " détours que fait la mer, à l'entrée des ports, et à l'embouchure des rivières." T. i, p. 197.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER LIV.

Of the great river called the Kara-moran, and of the cities of Koi-gan-zu and Kuan-zu.

BOOK II. CHAP. LIV.

THE journey of sixteen days being accomplished you reach, once more, the great river *Kara-moran*,[926] which has its source in the territories that belonged to king *Un-khan*, styled, as has been said, Prester John of the North.[92] It is of vast depth, and upon its waters great ships freely sail, with their full loading. Large fish, in considerable quantities, are caught there. At a place in this river, about a mile distant from the sea, there is a station for fifteen thousand vessels, each of them capable of carrying fifteen horses, and twenty men, besides the crews to navigate them, and the necessary stores and provisions.[928] These his majesty causes to be kept in a constant state of readiness for the conveyance of an army to any of the islands in the (neighbouring) ocean that may happen to be in rebellion, or for expeditions to any more distant region.[929] These vessels are moored close to the bank of the river, not far from a city named *Koi-gan-zu*,[930] on the opposite side to which is another named *Kuan-zu*; but the former is a large place, and the latter a small one.[931] Upon crossing this river, you enter the noble province of *Manji*: but it must not be understood that a complete account has been given of the province of *Kataia*. Not the twentieth part have I described. MARCO POLO[932] in travelling through the province has only noted such cities as lay in his route, omitting those situated on the one side and the other, as well as many intermediate places, because a relation of them all would be a work of too great length, and prove fatiguing to the reader.[933] Leaving these parts we shall therefore proceed to speak, in the first instance, of the manner in which the province of *Manji* was acquired, and then of its cities, the magnificence and riches of which shall be set forth in the subsequent part of our discourse.

NOTES

NOTES.

926. This, as has already been observed, in Note 766, is the Tartar name for the great river by the Chinese called the *Hoang-ho*, and by us the Yellow river, which has its source in the country between the western borders of China and the great desert.

927. Respecting this prince, see Notes 364, 365, 455 and 456.

928. The number of fifteen thousand must be a prodigious exaggeration; if we should not rather suppose it to be an error in transcribing. The early Italian epitome says fifteen vessels; but this is an absurdity in the opposite extreme, and it is probable that fifteen hundred was the number intended. When *Kublaï*, in 1287 sent an expedition against a country called *Koua-oua*, (which some have supposed to be Borneo, and others Java), it is said "On rassembla à la hâte "mille vaisseaux de guerre et de transport, sur lesquels on embarqua trente "mille hommes, sans compter les matelots." Hist. gén. des Huns, liv. xvi, p. 186. The station of these transports, instead of being one mile, is said in other versions to be one day's journey, from the sea.

929. The more immediate objects of such expeditions were probably the islands on the coast of Corea, those of *Chusan* near the *Kiang*, or those of *Liu-kiu*, near Formosa; but it is certain that *Kublaï* had much intercourse, both of a friendly and a hostile nature, with different islands of what we term the Eastern Archipelago. His enterprise against Japan, so memorable for its unfortunate issue, will be subsequently noticed.

930. Both from its situation and the resemblance of name, we cannot hesitate to consider this as the city of *Hoai-gnan-fu*, which stands near the south-eastern bank of the *Hoang-ho*, at the part where it is crossed by the line of the Grand canal, and is itself connected by means of a small cut, with that river. Their identity is noticed by P. Magalhanes, who speaking of our author says, "Il parle de la ville de *Coi-gan-zu*, qui s'appelle *Hoâi-gan-fu*, et qui est très-"riche et marchande." P. 10. The small difference perceptible in the orthography will appear of less moment, when it is observed that all Chinese words commencing with the aspirate, are pronounced by the Western Tartars, with a hard guttural sound; as, on the other hand, the guttural articulation of these people is softened by the Chinese to the aspirate: thus for *Khan* they pronounce *Han*; for *Ko-ko-nor* (a certain great lake), *Ho-ho-nor*; and for *Ku-tukh-tu* (the second rank of *lamas*), *Hu-tu-tu*.

931. The

BOOK II. CHAP. LIV. Notes.

931. The place here named *Kuan-zu* or *Quan-zu*, in the Basle edition, *Cai-gui*, and in the early epitomes, *Cai-cui*, does not appear in the maps, but seems to be the place which De Guignes mentions by the name of *Yang-kia-yn*. "Au delà du *Hoang-ho*" says Du Halde "on trouve sur le canal quelques "villes que les Mahométans ont tâché de rendre marchandes, en y attirant le "commerce; mais ils n'y ont pas réussi." T. i, p. 133.

932. The transition from the First to the Third person, is here remarkable, and serves to justify the supposition that the work was chiefly compiled from the author's own notes and oral information, by another hand.

933. This explanatory passage does not appear in the other versions.

CHAPTER LV.

Of the most noble province of Manji, and of the manner in which it was subdued by the Grand khan.

CHAP. LV. THE province of *Manji* is the most magnificent and the richest that is known in the eastern world.[934] About the year 1269 it was subject to a prince who was styled *Fanfur*,[935] and who surpassed in power and wealth any other that for a century had reigned in that country. His disposition was pacific and his actions benevolent. So much was he beloved by his people, and such the strength of his kingdom, enclosed by rivers of the largest size, that his being molested by any power upon earth, was regarded as an impossible event. The effect of this opinion was, that he neither paid any attention himself to military affairs, nor encouraged his people to become acquainted with military exercises. The cities of his dominions were remarkably well fortified, being surrounded by deep ditches, a bow-shot in width, and full of water. He did not keep up any force in cavalry, because he was not apprehensive of attack. The means of increasing his enjoyments and multiplying his pleasures were the chief employment of his thoughts. He maintained at his court and kept near his person about a thousand beautiful women

in

in whose society he took delight. He was a friend to peace, and to justice, which he administered strictly. The smallest act of oppression, or injury of any kind committed by one man against another, was punished in an exemplary manner, without respect of persons. Such indeed was the impression of his justice, that when shops, filled with goods, happened, through the negligence of the owners, to be left open, no person dared to enter them, or to rob them of the smallest article. Travellers of all descriptions might pass through every part of the kingdom, by night as well as by day, freely and without apprehension of danger. He was religious, and charitable to the poor and needy.[936] Children, whom their wretched mothers exposed in consequence of their inability to rear them, he caused to be saved and taken care of, to the number of twenty thousand annually.[937] When the boys attained a sufficient age, he had them instructed in some handicraft, and afterwards married them to young women who were brought up in the same manner.[938]

Very different from the temper and habits of *Fanfur*, were those of *Kublaï-kaan*, emperor of the Tartars, whose whole delight consisted in thoughts of a warlike nature, of the conquest of countries, and of extending his renown. After having annexed to his dominions, a number of provinces and kingdoms, he now directed his views to the subduing that of *Manji*, and for this purpose assembled a numerous army of horse and foot, the command of which he gave to a general named *Chin-san Ba-yan*, which signifies in our langurge, the "Hundred-eyed."[939] A number of vessels were likewise put under his orders, with which he proceeded to the invasion of *Manji*. Upon landing there, he immediately summoned the inhabitants of the city of *Koi-gan-zu* to surrender to the authority of his sovereign.[940] Upon their refusal to comply, instead of given orders for an assault, he advanced to the next city, and when he there received a similar answer, proceeded to a third and a fourth, with the same result. Deeming it no longer prudent to leave so many cities in his rear, whilst not only his army was strong, but he expected to be soon joined by another of equal force, which his majesty was to send to him from the interior,[941] he resolved upon the attack of one of these cities; and having by great exertions and con-

BOOK II. CHAP. LV.

summate skill, succeeded in carrying the place, he put every individual found in it to the sword. As soon as the intelligence of this event reached the other cities, it struck their inhabitants with such consternation and terror, that of their own accord they hastened to declare their submission. This being effected he advanced, with the united force of his two armies, against the royal city of *Kin-sai*, the residence of king *Fanfur*,[942] who felt all the agitation and dread of a person who had never seen a battle, nor been engaged in any sort of warfare. Alarmed for the safety of his person, he made his escape to a fleet of vessels that lay in readiness for the purpose, and embarking all his treasure and valuable effects, left the charge of the city to his queen, with directions for its being defended to the utmost; feeling assured that her sex would be a protection to her, in the event of her falling into the hands of the enemy. He from thence proceeded to sea, and reaching certain islands, where were some strongly-fortified posts, he continued there till his death.[943] After the queen had been left in the manner related, it is said to have come to her knowledge, that the king had been told by his astrologers, that he could never be deprived of his sovereignty by any other than a chief who should have an hundred eyes. On the strength of this declaration she felt confident, notwithstanding that the city became daily more and more straitened, that it could not be lost, because it seemed a thing impossible that any mortal could have that number of eyes. Inquiring, however, the name of the general who commanded the enemy's troops, and being told it was *Chin-san Ba-yan*, which means an hundred eyes, she was seized with horrour at hearing it pronounced, as she felt a conviction that this must be the person who, according to the saying of the astrologers, might drive her husband from his throne. Overcome by womanish fear, she no longer attempted to make resistance, but immediately surrendered.[944] Being thus in possession of the capital, the Tartars soon brought the remainder of the province under their subjection.[945] The queen was sent to the presence of *Kublai-kaan*, where she was honourably received by him, and an allowance was by his orders assigned, that enabled her to support the dignity of her rank.[946] Having stated the manner in which the conquest of *Manji* was effected, we shall now speak of the different cities of that province, and first of *Koi-gan-zu*.

NOTES.

NOTES.

934. We have not materials for assigning precise boundaries either to *Manji* or to *Khatai*; but it is evident that our author considered, generally, that part of China which lies southward of the *Hoang-ho* or Yellow river, as belonging to what he terms the province of *Manji*, or, with some few limitations, to the empire of the *Sang*; and the part that lies northward of that river, which was conquered by the *Mungals*, not from the Chinese, but from the dynasty of the *Kin* or *Niuche* Tartars, by whom it had been previously subdued, as *Khatai* or *Kataia*. The modern and more common division of China, into the nine southern and six northern provinces, is quite arbitrary, and can have no respect to a natural separation by one or other of the two great rivers, as those of *Kiang-nan*, *Hu-kuang*, and *Se-chuen* are intersected by the *Kiang*, and that of *Ho-nan* by the Yellow river. The western limits are still less clearly ascertained, and it may be doubted whether any more than the eastern part of *Yun-nan* was included in *Manji*, or of *Shen-si*, in *Khatai*; the western parts of these two provinces being subject to independent governments, that were, at most, but occasionally and imperfectly subdued by the emperors who preceded the *Yuen* or Mungal dynasty.

And here I shall observe, that after much reading on the subject, there appears to me no ground whatever for supposing, with some few oriental and many European geographers, that the name of *Khatai*, *Khitai*, or *Kataia*, (the vague appellation of *Kara-khatai* being out of the question) was ever applied by the natives or by actual travellers, to any part of Tartary, or to any other country than the northern provinces of China, within the Wall. It seems probable, at the same time, that the confused idea of its being, or of its containing, a portion of the former, may have arisen from the circumstance of its having been governed, distinctly from the rest of China, by *Tartar khans*, from a period anterior to any of the oriental geographers whose works have reached us.

935. This word *Fanfur*, which in the Basle edition is *Facfur*, and in the early epitomes, *Fuchfur*, was not the name of the individual prince, but the title of *Faghfûr* فغفور, applied by the Arabs and other eastern people, to the emperors of China as distinguished from the Tartar sovereigns. It also denotes (according to the dictionaries) the porcelain or China-ware, and probably, in general, what the French term "magots de la Chine." The name of the emperor who reigned at that period was *Tu-tsong*.

936. His character is painted in more favourable colours by our author than by the Chinese historians, who do not relieve its dark shades with the light of any virtue. L'Histoire gén. de la Chine describes him as a prince "fort adonné au

"vin

" vin et aux femmes. . .indifférent pour le bonheur de ses sujets, il déposa toute " son autorité entre les mains de *Kia-ssé-tao* et de ses autres ministres." T. ix, p. 336. " Les débauches auxquelles cet empereur s'abandonna " says Du Halde " lui furent funestes, et à son empire : il y étoit entretenu par un perfide *colao*, " livré comme lui aux plus honteuses passions." " Ce fut environ ce tems-là " que Marc-Paul gentilhomme Vénitien entra à la Chine, et parcourut les plus " belles provinces de cet extrêmité de l'Asie, dont il donna ensuite des relations, " qu'on eut bien de la peine à croire en Europe." T. i, p. 492. National vanity may have led the Chinese annalists to vilify the unfortunate monarch, in order to account for the subjugation of the country.

937. The practice in China of exposing infants and especially females, has become matter of notoriety since this first and unequivocal notice of it by our author. " On n'ignore pas," say the missionaries " qu'à Peking on expose un " grand nombre de petits enfans, qui meurent la plupart faute des secours " nécessaires. Il est vrai qu'il y a des charrettes établies par autorité publique " pour ramasser ces enfans, et les transporter dans des espèces d'hôpitaux, où " l'on enterre ceux qui sont morts, et où l'on doit prendre soin des vivans, mais " presque tous meurent de pure misère." Lett. édif. t. xxii, p. 246. But as the number of these victims mentioned in the text may be thought excessive, it will be doing justice to our author to state the result of information as to this point obtained on the spot by an intelligent, and by no means credulous modern traveller. " The number of children " says Barrow " thus unnaturally and inhumanly " slaughtered, or interred alive, in the course of a year, is differently stated by " different authors, some making it about ten, and others thirty thousand in the " whole empire. The truth, as generally happens, may probably lie about the " middle. The missionaries, who alone possess the means of ascertaining nearly " the number that is thus sacrificed in the capital, differ very materially in their " statements: taking the mean, as given by those with whom we conversed on " the subject, I should conclude that about twenty-four infants were on an " average, in Pekin, daily carried to the pit of death. . . . This calculation gives " about nine thousand yearly for the capital alone, where it is supposed about an " equal number are exposed to that of all the other parts of the empire." Travels in China, p. 169.

938. The Latin edition describes the manner in which the emperor provided for a part of these children, in the following terms: " Rex tamen infantes, quos sic " colligi jubet, tradit divitibus quibusque, quos in regno suo habet; presertim " illis qui liberis carent, et ut in adoptionis suscipiant filios mandat. Eos verò " quos ipse nutrit, matrimonio tradit puellis ejusdem conditionis." It appears that in the reign of *Kang-hi* also (who died in 1722) there was a public establishment

ment at Peking for the recovery of infants so exposed. "Il y a ici" says a missionary "deux sortes d'enfans abandonnés: les uns se portent à un hôpital "que les Chinois appellent "Maison de la miséricorde." Ils y sont entretenus "aux frais de l'Empereur. L'édifice est vaste et magnifique; l'on y trouve tout "ce qui est nécessaire pour l'entretien de ces pauvres enfans . . . Les autres enfans "exposés sont portés dans notre église." Lett. édif. t. xix, p. 248.

939. *Ba-yan,* or as the Chinese pronounce the name, *Pe-yen,* literally signifies, in that language, "an hundred eyes," and may be considered as the *agnomen* or epithet of this distinguished warrior, derived from his vigilance, circumspection, and quickness in improving an advantage. Upon this subject the learned historian of the Huns has fallen into an unaccountable mistake, where he says, (Liv. xvi, p. 150, Note) "Les Chinois le nomment *Peyen*: M. Paul lui donne le titre "de *Chinsan,* c'est-à-dire, cent yeux," implying that this signification belongs to the latter, not to *Pe-yen*; which every dictionary will disprove.

940. The earliest operation of the war against the *Song,* or dynasty who reigned in *Manji,* took place (according to L'Hist. gén.) to the westward, at *Siang-yang,* which was invested in 1269 (before our author's arrival in China) although not captured till 1273. The passage of the *Hoang-ho,* in the eastern part, is not there spoken of; yet it is extremely probable that one of the great armies placed under the command of *Pe-yen,* advanced towards the Chinese capital, from the north, through the province of *Kiang-nan.*

941. This was perhaps the army that had been employed in the reduction of *Siang-yang.*

942. Of this city, the *Hang-cheu-fu* of modern times, and which had become the capital of the *Song,* from the period of their being driven from northern China, by the Tartars of the *Kin,* a detailed account will be found in Chap. lxviii of this book.

943. Our author appears in this place to have crowded under one reign, events that belong to two or more, which followed each other in rapid succession. The emperor *Tu-tsong,* whose unwarlike and depraved character was said to have been the occasion of the misfortunes that befell his country, died in 1274; when the minister by whose evil counsels he had been implicitly governed, placed his second son, an infant, on the throne, and caused the empress, his mother, to be declared regent during the minority. This prince, who was named *Kong-tsong,* afterwards fell into the hands of the Tartars; but the Chinese who still adhered to the fortunes of the expiring dynasty, conferred the imperial title upon his elder brother,

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brother, named *Tuan-tsong*; and to *his* fate it is that the passage in the text applies. " La marche victorieuse du Tartare, qui ne trouvoit aucune résistance " says Du Halde, " obligea l'empereur de s'embarquer sur ses vaisseaux, avec les " seigneurs de sa cour, et cent trente mille soldats qui lui restoient, et de se " retirer dans la province de *Fo-kien*: mais ayant toujours à sa suite les Tartares " qui le poursuivoient par mer et par terre, il fut contraint de fuir jusques sur les " côtes de *Quan-tong*, qui est la dernière province de la Chine, où il mourut de " maladie, âgé de onze ans. *Ti-ping*, son frère cadet, qui étoit le seul resté de " la famille des *Song*, fut son successeur." P. 494.

944. Such we may suppose to have been the popular story, which our author repeats as he heard it, but which, probably, had no better foundation than a Chinese *équivoque* upon the name of this great captain, to whose talents his master was indebted for the conquest of southern China, and of whom it is said by the Chinese historians, that " he conducted a large army as if it had been a " single man." The circumstances attending the surrender of the capital are thus stated in L'Histoire gén. de la Chine: " Cependant *Péyen* s'avançoit à " grands pas vers *Lin-ngan* ou *Hang-tcheou*...La cour, dans les plus vives alar- " mes, ne savoit à quoi s'arrêter; ses propositions humiliantes avoient été " refusées...Les grands, le premier ministre *Tchin-y-tchong* à leur tête, prièrent " avec tant d'instance la régente de transférer la cour ailleurs, que cette prin- " cesse qui avoit d'abord rejetté cet avis, donna enfin des ordres de préparer les " équipages nécessaires pour partir dès le soir même; mais ayant attendu jusqu'à " la nuit *Tchin-y-tchong* sans qu'il parût, elle en fut si piquée, qu'elle jetta par " terre son aiguille de tête et ses boucles d'oreilles, rentra dans l'intérieur de son " palais, dont elle fit fermer les portes, et dès-lors il ne fut plus question de " transférer la cour: le ministre n'osa reparoître devant elle. Cependant les " *Mongous* arrivèrent devant *Hang-tcheou*...L'impératrice régente envoya à " *Péyen* le sceau de l'empire comme un signe qu'elle se soumettoit." P. 369. Our author's reflexion on her want of resolution might have been spared.

945. The surrender of the capital took place in 1276, but it was not until the end of the year 1279 that the conquest of China was completed by the issue of a great naval engagement. " La flotte Chinoise " says Du Halde " ayant été " jointe par la flotte Tartare, ne peut éviter le combat; il fut sanglant et décisif " pour les Tartares, qui défirent entièrement les Chinois. Le *colao Lo-sieou-se*, " à qui l'empereur avoit été confié, voyant le navire qui le portoit entouré de " tous côtés des vaisseaux Tartares, prit entre ses bras le jeune prince qui " n'avoit que huit ans, et se précipita avec lui dans la mer... Cette funeste " catastrophe arriva près d'une isle dépendante de *Quang-tcheou-fou* (Canton) " capitale de la province de *Quang-tong*. On assure que dans cette journée,

" plus

"plus de cent mille Chinois périrent, soit par le fer, soit dans les eaux, où la plûpart se jettèrent de désespoir. Ainsi finit la dynastie *Song*, et avec elle la domination Chinoise." P. 494.

946. An instance is mentioned of the kind attention paid to her by the reigning empress. "L'an 1281 mourut l'impératrice *Honkilachi*, épouse de *Houpilai-han* (*Koublaï-kaan*), douée des plus belles qualités de l'esprit et du cœur. Lorsque l'impératrice régente des *Song* fut arrivée dans le Nord, elle se sentit incommodée par le changement de climat sans pouvoir se procurer aucun soulagement. *Honkilachi*, persuadée que l'air seul en étoit la cause, pressa *Houpilai-han* de la renvoyer dans les provinces du sud, mais ne pouvant obtenir cette grace, elle apporta tous ses soins pour rétablir sa santé et lui rendre sa captivité moins dure." Hist. gén. de la Chine, p. 408.

CHAPTER LVI.

Of the city of Koi-gan-zu.

[1]*Koi-gan-zu* is a very handsome and wealthy city, lying in a direction between south-east and east, at the commencement of the province of *Manji*, where a prodigious number of vessels are continually passing; its situation (as we have already observed) being near the bank of the river *Kara-moran*.[947] Large consignments of merchandise are forwarded to this city, in order that the goods may be transported, by means of this river, to various other places. Salt is manufactured here in great quantities, not only for the consumption of the city itself, but for exportation to other parts; and from this salt his majesty derives an ample revenue.[948]

NOTES.

947. On the subject of this city see Note 930. Its situation is about five miles distant from the Yellow river, with which it communicates by means of the grand canal. "A deux lieues elle a un bourg de sa dépendance!" says Du Halde

"nommé

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" nommé *Tsing-kiang-pou*, qui est comme le port du fleuve *Hoang-ho*." T. i, p. 133. " Nous quittâmes le quai (de *Tsin-kiang-pou*) à cinq heures" says De Guignes " et nous suivîmes le canal impérial. . . Nous mouillâmes à la nuit à *Ouay-ngan-fou* (*Hoai-ngan-fu*)." T. ii, p. 33.

948. " Proche de là" says P. Martini " il y a des marais salans, où il se fait du " sel en abondance." Thevenot, iiime partie, p. 131.

CHAPTER LVII.

Of the town of Pau-ghin.

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Upon leaving *Koi-gan-zu* you travel one day's journey towards the south-east, by a handsome stone-causeway, leading into the province of *Manji*. On both sides of the causeway there are very extensive marshy lakes, the waters of which are deep, and may be navigated;[949] nor is there besides this, any other road by which the province can be entered. It is, however, accessible by means of shipping; and in this manner it was that the officer who commanded his majesty's armies invaded it, by effecting a landing with his whole force.[950] At the end of the day's journey you reach a considerable town named *Pau-ghin*.[951] The inhabitants worship idols, burn their dead, use paper money, and are the subjects of the Grand *khan*. They gain their living by trade and manufacture. They have much silk, and weave gold tissues. The necessaries of life are there in abundance.

NOTES.

949. These causeways form the embankments of the canal, and separate it, on a higher level, from the waters of the lake. " Le canal" says De Guignes " con- " tinue d'être bordé des deux côtés par une chaussée d'environ vingt à vingt-cinq " pieds de largeur, sur dix à douze de hauteur, coupée quelque fois par des écluses. " Nous eûmes le matin des risières à notre gauche, et le lac *Kao-yeou-hou* à notre " droite. Ce lac occupe un très-grand terrain, et forme presque le demi-cercle;

" son

" son diamètre est si considérable qu'on distingue avec peine les terres de la partie " occidentale." T. ii, p. 35. It would seem that in our author's time there was only a single embankment at this part; by means of which the waters of the lake, on that side which was fed by the rivulets, were kept up to an artificial level. Much of the country, Staunton observes, that was formerly under water, has been drained and brought into cultivation.

950. From this it must be understood that the fleet of transports entered the canal, or the portion of the lake that served the purpose of a canal, and conveyed the troops to the neighbourhood of the city of *Hoai-gnan*, which stands on its bank in the midst of a swamp. " On craint " says Du Halde " d'y être sub- " mergé par quelque crue d'eau extraordinaire, car le terrain de la ville est plus " bas que celui du canal." P. *133*.

951. This is the *Pau-in-chen* of Van Braam's journal, the *Pao-yn-hien* of Du Halde's map, and the *Pao-yng-shien* of Staunton's. " In the midst of the low " grounds in this part of the route " says the latter " a town of the third order was " situated, the tops of its walls being little more than level with the surface of " the canal, which formed an aqueduct raised twenty feet, was two hundred feet " in width, and ran at the rate of three miles an hour."

CHAPTER LVIII.

Of the city of Kain.

AT the distance of a day's journey from *Pau-ghin*, towards the south-east, stands the large and well-built city of *Kain*.[952] Its inhabitants are idolaters, use the paper-money as their currency, and are the subjects of the Grand-*khan*. Trade and manufactures flourish amongst them. They have fish in abundance, and game also, both beasts and birds. Pheasants in particular are in such plenty, that for a bit of silver equal in value to a Venetian groat, you may purchase three of these birds, of the size of pea-fowls.

NOTE.

NOTE.

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952. However different the names may appear, this is evidently the town of *Kao-yu*, on the banks of the lake and canal; and it is not improbable that *Ka-in* is a typographical mistake for *Ka-iu* or *Ka-yu*, as in almost every name we have observed the final *u* to be changed for some other letter resembling it in form. By Van Braam, who passed the place in the night, it is called *Kau-you*. Staunton notices it in the following words: "Soon afterwards the yachts arrived before "a handsome town, of which such of the houses as fronted a terrace on the banks "of the canal, were all two stories high, and neatly white-washed." P. 419. P. Martini, in speaking of this place, mentions the circumstance of the causeway or embankment of the canal, being made to pass along the border of the lake: "Afin que les navires ne soient contraints de passer par ce lac, on y a fait à "côté et à un des bords, un canal de pierre de taille quarrée, long de soixante "stades." P. 129.

CHAPTER LIX.

Of the cities of Tin-gui and Chin-gui.

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At the end of a day's journey from the last mentioned place, in the course of which many villages and much tilled land are met with, you reach a city named *Tin-gui*, not of any great size, but plentifully furnished with all the necessaries of life. The people are idolaters, the subjects of the Grand *khan*, and use his paper-money. They are merchants and have many trading vessels. Both beasts and birds are here found in plenty. The situation of this city is towards the south-east, and on the left-hand, that is, on the eastern side of it, at the distance of three days' journey, you find the sea. In the intermediate space there are many salt-works, where large quantities of salt are manufactured.[953] You next come to the large and well-built town of *Chingui*, from whence salt is exported sufficient for the supply of all the neighbouring provinces.[954] On this article his majesty raises a revenue, the

the amount of which would scarcely be credited. Here also the inhabitants worship idols, use paper-money, and are the subjects of his majesty.

NOTES.

953. *Tingui* or *Tingiu* appears to be the *Tai-cheu* of the maps, a city of the second order, dependent upon *Yang-cheu-fu*; but of which, as it lies out of the route of travellers, we have little information. The situation, however, with respect to the sea, and in the midst of salt-works, serves to establish their identity. "Il y a beaucoup de salines" observes Martini "vers l'orient de la ville "(de *Yang-cheu*) où le sel se fait de l'eau de la mer." P. 129.

954. This place, as a mart for exporting the salt to different provinces, we may presume to lie near the great river, and *Tsing-kiang-hien* presents itself as favorably circumstanced for that traffic. It must, however, be observed that *Chin-gui* or *Cin-gui*, as distinct from *Tin-gui*, is not to be found in the Basle edition or Venice epitome.

CHAPTER LX.

Of the city of Yan-gui, of which Marco Polo held the government.

Proceeding in a south-easterly direction from *Chin-gui*, you come to the important city of *Yan-gui*, which, having twenty-seven towns under its jurisdiction, must be considered as a place of great consequence.[955] It belongs to the dominion of the Grand *khan*.[956] The people are idolaters, and subsist by trade and manual arts. They manufacture arms and all sorts of warlike accoutrements; in consequence of which many troops are stationed in this part of the country.[957] The city is the place of residence of one of the twelve nobles, before spoken of, who are appointed by his majesty to the government of the provinces;[958] and in the room of one of these, Marco Polo, by special order of his majesty, acted as governor of this city during the space of three years.[959]

NOTES.

NOTES.

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955. The points of the compass must here be greatly perverted; but whatever may be the situations assigned to the inconsiderable places just mentioned, no doubts can be entertained of *Yan-gui* or *Yan-giu* being the city of *Yang-cheu-fu*; although the jurisdiction of the latter comprehended, in the seventeenth century, according to Martini, only ten, instead of twenty-seven towns. "C'est une "ville fort marchande" says Du Halde "et il s'y fait un grand commerce de "toutes sortes d'ouvrages Chinois... Le reste du canal jusqu'à *Pe-king*, n'a "aucune ville qui lui soit comparable... *Yang-tcheou* a deux lieues de circuit, et "l'on y compte, tant dans la ville, que dans les fauxbourgs, deux millions "d'ames." T. i, p. 134. "A une heure" says Van Braam "nous sommes re-"partis, allant durant quarante-cinq minutes le long du rempart de la ville de "*Yang-tcheou-fou*, située à l'ouest de la rivière. Elle paraît très-vaste; des "navires, des yachts, et des bateaux en garnissent les bords par centaines, et "la foule du peuple que présentent les deux rives, est innombrable." P. 66. Staunton speaks of it as a city of the first order, bearing the marks of great antiquity. "It still" he says "had the appearance of carrying on a considerable "trade; and there were not fewer than a thousand vessels of different sizes lying "at anchor close to it." P. 420. These modern accounts justify the idea our author endeavours to give of its importance.

956. It may appear superfluous in our author to communicate the information that this and other cities belonged to the dominion of his master; but it must be recollected that the conquest of Southern China was effected subsequently to the arrival of the Polo family, and that at the time of making his memorandums, many considerable places might still have held out or been very recently annexed to the empire.

957. The manufacture of arms at a particular city does not appear to be a sufficient reason for stationing an army in that quarter; yet such is the import of the words in the text. It is more likely that the works should have been established at this central place in consequence of the number of troops kept up in its vicinity. Staunton remarks that "a garrison of at least two thousand men "turned out, appointed as if going to be reviewed."

958. From the account of the civil tribunal of Twelve, given in chap. xix of this Book, and Note 683, it did not appear, as this passage implies, that the governors of the provinces or viceroys, as they are termed *(tsong-tu)*, were cho-

sen

sen from their own body. Such a selection may have taken place occasionally, without being the established practice.

Notes.

959. The modest, incidental manner in which the fact of our author's having held so distinguished an appointment, is made known to the reader, furnishes strong internal evidence of its truth. At a different period the strict Chinese rules of examination would be an impediment to a foreigner's obtaining official rank in the state; but *Kublai*, although he shewed respect for the institutions of those whom he had conquered, did not hesitate to appoint to offices those whom he deemed best qualified to serve him. His first minister of finance, for many years, was an Arab.

Yang-cheu-fu is not at this day the seat of a *tson-tu* or viceroy. He resides at *Kiang-ning* or *Nan-king*, the capital of the province: but it appears from Du Halde that, under this great officer, the province is divided into two governments, the eastern and the western; the seats of which are the cities of *Su-cheu-fu* and *Ngan-king-fu*. T. i, p. 127 and 129.

CHAPTER LXI.

Of the province of Nan-ghin.

Nan-ghin is the name of a large and distinguished province of *Manji*, situated towards the west.[960] The people are idolaters, use paper-money in currency, and are largely engaged in commerce. They have raw-silk, and weave tissues of silk and gold in great quantities, and of various patterns. The country produces abundance of corn, and is stored as well with domestic cattle, as with beasts and birds that are the objects of the chase. It supplies the sovereign with an ample revenue, and chiefly from the imposts levied upon the rich articles in which the merchants trade.[961] We shall now speak of the noble city of *Sa-yan-fu*.

NOTES.

960. By *Nan-ghin* (in the Basle edition *Nauigui*, and in the manuscripts as well as the epitomes *Naingui*) must unquestionably be meant *Nan-king*, formerly the

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the name of the province to which the reigning dynasty has given that of *Kiang-nan*. " Ils (the eastern Tartars, says Martini) ont changé le nom de la ville et de " la province; car au lieu de *Nan-king* ils l'ont nommé *Kiang-nan*, et la ville, " *Kiang-ning*, qui auparavant s'appelloit *Ing-tien*." Under the preceding dynasty of the *Ming*, however, this capital was commonly named *Nan-king*, signifying the " southern court," to distinguish it from *Pe-king* or the northern court, to which latter the seat of government was transferred by *Yong-lo*, the third of that race, about the year 1411; and by that appellation it is still best known to Europeans. It should be observed that at an earlier period the name of *Nan-king* was in like manner given to the city of *Kai-fong*, capital of the province of *Ho-nan*, which was occasionally the residence of the emperors of China.

961. " Cette province " says Du Halde, speaking of *Kiang-nan* or *Nan-king* " est une des plus fertiles, des plus marchandes, et par conséquent des plus " riches provinces de l'empire...Les étoffes de soye, &c. et généralement tout ce " qui vient, tant de *Nan-king*, que des autres villes de la province, où il se fait " un commerce étonnant, est beaucoup plus estimé et plus cher que ce que se " retire des autres provinces...Enfin elle est si abondante et si riche, qu'elle met " chaque année dans les coffres de l'empereur environ trente-deux millions de " *taëls* (about eleven millions sterling)." P. 127.

CHAPTER LXII.

Of the city of Sa-yan-fu, that was taken by the means of M.M. Nicolo and Maffio Polo.

CHAP. LXII.

SA-YAN-FU is a considerable city of the province of *Manji*, having under its jurisdiction twelve wealthy and large towns.[962] It is a place of great commerce and extensive manufactures. The inhabitants burn the bodies of their dead, and are idolaters.[963] They are the subjects of his majesty and use his paper-currency. Raw-silk is there produced in great quantity, and the finest silks, intermixed with gold, are woven. Game of all kinds abounds. The place is amply furnished with every thing that belongs to a great city, and by its uncommon strength it was enabled

enabled to stand a siege of three years; refusing to surrender to the Grand *khan*, even after he had obtained possession of the province of *Manji*.[964] The difficulties experienced in the reduction of it were chiefly occasioned by the army's not being able to approach it, excepting on the northern side; the others being surrounded with water,[965] by means of which the place continually received supplies, which it was not in the power of the besiegers to prevent.[966] When the operations were reported to his majesty, he felt extremely hurt that this place alone should obstinately hold out, after all the rest of the country had been reduced to obedience. The circumstance having come to the knowledge of the brothers NICOLO and MAFFIO, who were then resident at the imperial court,[967] they immediately presented themselves to the Grand *khan*, and proposed to him that they should be allowed to construct machines, such as were made use of in the West, capable of throwing stones of three hundred pounds weight, by which the buildings of the city might be destroyed and the inhabitants killed. Their memorial was attended to by his majesty, and, warmly approving of their scheme, he gave orders that the ablest smiths and carpenters should be placed under their direction; amongst whom were some Nestorian Christians, who proved to be most able mechanics.[968] In a few days they completed three engines, according to the instructions furnished by the two brothers, and a trial being made of them in the presence of the Grand *khan* and of his whole court, an opportunity was afforded of seeing them cast stones, each of which weighed three hundred pounds. They were then put on board of vessels, and conveyed to the army. When set up, in front of the city of *Sa-yan-fu*, the first stone projected by one of them fell with such weight and violence upon a building, that a great part of it was crushed and fell to the ground. So terrified were the inhabitants by this mischief, which to them seemed to be the effect of a thunder-bolt from heaven,[969] that they immediately deliberated upon the expediency of surrendering. Persons authorised to treat were accordingly sent from the place, and their submission was accepted on the same terms and conditions as had been granted to the rest of the province. This prompt result of their ingenuity increased the reputation and credit of these two Venetian brothers, in the opinion of his majesty and of all his courtiers.[970]

NOTES.

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962. In proceeding to the description of this remarkable city, our author departs from the forms of an itinerary, and makes no mention of its distance or its bearings from any of the places already noticed. *Siang-yang* is situated in the northern part of the province of *Hu-kuang*, adjoining to that of *Kiang-nan*, upon the river *Han*, which discharges itself into the *Kiang*. The number of towns under its jurisdiction, at the time Martini wrote, was seven, exclusive of some fortresses.

963. We are naturally surprised at these repeated assertions, that, even in the central parts of the empire, the inhabitants were accustomed to burn the bodies of their dead. It appears, however, from the observations made by the gentlemen of the Dutch embassy, in passing through the province of *Kiang-nan*, that regular inhumation is not, even now, so general as had been supposed, and it may be fair to conjecture that, as many of the Chinese superstitions, and along with them, the doctrine of the metempsychosis, were borrowed from their Indian neighbours, the rites of the funeral pile may formerly have been still more prevalent. " J'ai remarqué ici " says Van Braam " un singulier usage relativement " aux morts, puisqu'on place indifféremment leurs cercueils dans un champ quel- " conque, et sur la superficie de la terre...Nous avons passé devant beaucoup de " sépultures de cette espèce, depuis deux jours. Les Chinois montrant une " extrême vénération pour leurs morts, cette manière, qu'on pourrait appeler " indécente, par rapport à eux, m'étonnait beaucoup. J'en cherchais donc la " raison, et l'on me dit que les terres étaient si basses, qu'on ne pouvait pas " inhumer les corps, parce qu'ils seraient dans l'eau; idée que les Chinois ne " peuvent adopter, puisqu'ils sont persuadés que les morts aiment un séjour sec. " Après un certain temps, les cercueils, qui ont été ainsi laissés en champ ouvert " *sont brûlés avec le cadavre* qu'ils renferment ; on en recueille les cendres, qu'on " met dans des urnes recouvertes, et qu'on enfouit ensuite, à demi, dans la terre. " J'ai vu, le long de ma route, des urnes ainsi disposées. C'est pour la première " fois que j'ai appris aujourd'hui que l'usage du brûlement des morts, et celui " de recueillir leurs cendres, avaient lieu à la Chine." Voy. en Chine, t. ii, p. 120. The same facts are noticed also by De Guignes, who says, " Lorsque les " corps sont détruits, et qu'il n'en reste plus que les os, ils les brûlent, et renfer- " ment les cendres dans des vases ou jarres qu'ils mettent dans la terre." T. ii, p. 59. The Jesuit missionaries also remark that the practice of burning the bones of the deceased takes place in the province of *Kiang-si*. " Vers la fin de l'année, " en hiver," says P. d'Entrecolles, " les bonzes viennent retirer les ossemens pour " faire place à d'autres et ils les brûlent durant une espèce de service qu'ils font

" pour

" pour ces malheureux défunts." Lett. édif. t. xviii, p. 295. In Japan it is customary to burn the bodies of the dead.

964. According to those who have written on the authority of the Chinese annals, *Siang-yang* was invested in 1269, and taken in 1273; whereas *Hang-cheu*, the capital of the *Song*, was not summoned until 1276. Our author, therefore, instead of saying that the whole of *Manji* had been conquered during the continuance of the siege, should have confined his assertion to a considerable part. It would be presumptuous to question the accuracy of the annals, but it may be remarked that whilst in l'Hist. gén. de la Chine (t. ix, p. 329) this remarkable siege is said to have lasted four years, we are told by P. Gaubil (Obs. Chron. p. 198) that its duration was upwards of five. For the dates of historical events, however, it is probable that our author may have trusted too much to his memory.

965. The operations were directed, in the first instance, against *Fan-ching*, on the northern side of the *Han*, opposite to, and a kind of suburb of *Siang-yang*, which appears from the plan in Du Halde, to be in part encompassed by a bend of that river.

966. " Les troupes qui étoient devant *Siang-yang* et *Fan-tching*" says the elder De Guignes " se contentoient de conserver leurs retranchemens, et vou-
" loient prendre ces deux villes par famine. Quelque tems auparavant les
" Chinois avoient trouvé le moyen d'y faire entrer des provisions à la faveur de
" l'inondation de la rivière de *Han*, mais ils avoient été battus en se retirant...
" Les Chinois tentèrent d'y envoyer de nouvelles provisions, et firent équiper
" une flotte sur laquelle ils mirent cent mille hommes, mais *Atchou* qui comman-
" doit pour les Mogols à *Lou-men*, la dissipa, et s'empara d'une grande partie
" des munitions." Hist. gén. des Huns, liv. xvi, p. 154. Yet he might not have been equally successful in defeating other less open attempts.

967. In the Basle edition the author attributes to himself a share of the merit; the words being: " Illo enim tempore ego et pater meus atque patruus fuimus in
" imperatoris aula;" and in the Italian epitome: " Certamente la fo presa per
" industria de miser Nicolo e Mafio e Marco."

968. These people we might understand from the text of Ramusio to be Asiatic Christians, and possibly *Ighurs* or *Rumîs*, who were then accounted the most ingenious and best instructed people employed at the courts or in the armies of the Tartar and other eastern princes. In the Basle edition, on the contrary,

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they are spoken of as " fabros lignarios Christianos quos nobiscum habuimus; " and in the epitome, as " maestri Venetiani che era (erano) in quelle parte."

969. Frequent notice is taken in the Chinese annals, of the fall of meteoric stones. See Voy. à Peking par De Guignes, t. i, p. 195–250.

970. The circumstances of the employment of these catapultæ, which are curious both as they respect the history of the arts, and the authenticity of our author's relation, are thus detailed by the author of L'Hist. gén. des Huns: " *Ali-yaya*, officier Igour dans l'armée Mogole, voyant que le siége de *Siang-yang* traînoit trop en longueur, fit proposer à *Kublaï* de faire venir d'occident des machinistes qui par le moyen d'un ressort pouvoient lancer des pierres de cent cinquante livres, et il prétendoit qu'avec ce secours il se rendroit maître en peu de tems de *Siang-yang* et de *Fan-tching*. *Kublaï* suivit ce conseil, Marc Paul avec son père et son oncle, qui étoient alors à la cour de ce prince, firent faire par des charpentiers chrétiens trois de ces machines, si grand, à leur rapport, qu'elles pouvoient jetter des pierres du poids de trois cens livres. On en fit l'épreuve à Peking, et deux Mahométans, *Alaeddin* (les Chinois le nomme *Alaouating*) et *Othman* (je rends ainsi le nom Chinois *Isemain*) furent chargés de les conduire au siége. Ils les dressèrent devant *Fan-tching*, où elles ne tardèrent pas à faire breche... Après la prise de *Fan-tching*, les Mogols transportèrent toutes leurs machines devant *Siang-yang*; un retranchement de bois qui avoit été élevé sur les remparts, fut aussitôt renversé avec un fracas épouvantable, qui découragea les assiégés. *Ali-yaya* s'approcha des murailles, et proposa à *Lu-ven-hoang* des conditions honorables que celui accepta; alors la ville fut remise aux Mogols qui en prirent possession. Les généraux reçurent beaucoup d'éloges de *Kublai*." Liv. xvi, p. 156.

In the foregoing extract, although the details are derived from the Chinese annals, the mention of the Polo family is introduced, avowedly, on our traveller's own authority; which therefore proves no more than the estimation in which it was held by the learned and judicious writer, who frequently quotes it in that part of his work which relates to " Les Mogols de la Chine." By the editor of L'Hist. gén. de la Chine the transaction is spoken of, in the following terms: " L'histoire Chinoise rapporte en effet qu'un seigneur *Igour*, appellé *Alihaïya*, un des officiers-généraux qui commandoit au siége de *Siang-yang* et avoit une grande connoissance des pays d'Occident, proposa à *Houpilaï-han* dont il étoit personnellement connu, de faire venir plusieurs machinistes occidentaux qui avoient l'art de lancer des pierres de cent cinquante livres. On en fit venir deux, *Alaouting*, natif de *Moufali*, et son élève *Yésemain*, natif de *Houli* ou *Hiulié*. Ils firent l'épreuve de leurs machines à *Tatou*, et furent envoyés

" devant

" devant *Siang-yang* à la fin de 1272. Les noms de ces machinistes paroissent " Arabes: il faut supposer que Marco Polo, dont il n'est point parlé dans tout " ceci, connoissoit ces machinistes, et qu'il parla d'eux au général *Alihaïya*." T. ix, p. 329.

Whatever the difference may be between these statements of the transaction and that in the text, it must be admitted, even on the supposition of the case being as represented by the Chinese, that our author's account, with all its presumed inaccuracies, could not have been given by one who was not actually on the spot; and the question will then resolve itself into the comparative degree of credit to be allowed to two evidences who vary from each other in relating the circumstances of an acknowledged fact. On this ground an advocate for the veracity of MARCO POLO will ask, whether the composers of the annals, however conversant with public events, were likely to be so well acquainted with the interior of the court, as to enable them to state with certainty by what individual a political or a military idea was suggested to the monarch, that monarch being a foreign conqueror; and whether, in default of such accurate information, it was not natural for them to attribute the scheme to the ostensible officer, although he was not the original adviser? He may further ask, why, if *Aliyaya*, in consequence of his knowledge of the art of war, as practised in the western countries, was aware of the nature and uses of such machines, it did not occur to him to propose their employment against the town he was investing, until the third or fourth year of the siege; and why he should not rather have endeavoured to construct them on the spot where he could have inspected the progress of the work, and assured himself of the due execution, than to require them from Peking, where, we are to presume from the Chinese relation, they were till that time unknown? Whereas, to neither of these objections is our author's story liable. His family were then but just arrived in China, and they suggested the measure as soon as they had information of the difficulties attending the siege; and upon receiving the royal sanction, immediately set about realising their ideas. Upon the whole, considering the extreme ignorance of the Chinese with regard to foreign nations, and the contempt affected by them for the individuals, it is not surprising that the historians of those days should, either from want of knowledge or from design, omit to attribute the merit of a brilliant military operation, to a family of Christian merchants, whose native country they could not have described, because it was entirely unknown to them, and whose favourable reception at the Tartar court must have been a subject of jealousy and indignation.

It must not here be passed unnoticed, that the consistency of our author is put to a severe test by the date commonly assigned to the reduction of *Siang-yang*, which, if it actually took place at the close of the year 1273, allows no more than two years for the journey of the POLO family from Acre, in Palestine, which they certainly left about the end of 1271 (as shewn in Note 37), until their arri-

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val at Peking; whilst in Ramusio's text, although not in the Basle edition, it is said to have occupied three years and an half. It becomes necessary therefore to adopt the opinion, either that the time they were on the road did not in fact exceed the first-mentioned period, or that the siege was not terminated so early as P. Gaubil and P. Mailla have stated; to which latter supposition some degree of probability is given by the repeated assertion of our author that this was amongst the last places of *Manji* that held out against the Tartars.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Of the city of Sin-gui, and of the very great river Kiang,

CHAP. LXIII. LEAVING the city of *Sa-yan-fu*, and proceeding fifteen days journey towards the south-east, you reach the city of *Sin-gui*, which although not large, is a place of great commerce.[971] The number of vessels that belong to it is prodigious, in consequence of its being situated near the *Kiang*, which is the largest river in the world,[972] its width being in some places ten, in others eight, and in others, six miles.[973] Its length, to the place where it discharges itself into the sea, is upwards of one hundred days journey.[974] It is indebted for its great size to the vast number of other navigable rivers that empty their waters into it, which have their sources in distant countries. A great many cities and large towns are situated upon its banks, and more than two hundred, with sixteen provinces,[975] partake of the advantages of its navigation, by which the transport of merchandise is to an extent that might appear incredible to those who have not had an opportunity of witnessing it. When we consider, indeed, the length of its course, and multitude of rivers that communicate with it (as has been observed), it is not surprising that the quantity and value of articles for the supply of so many places, lying in all directions, should be incalculable. The principal commodity, however, is salt, which is not only conveyed by means of the *Kiang* and the rivers connected with it, to the towns upon their banks, but afterwards, from thence, to all places in the interior of the country.[976] On one occasion, when MARCO POLO was at the city of *Singui*,

Singui, he saw there not fewer than five thousand vessels; and yet there are other towns along the river where the number is still more considerable.[977] All these vessels are covered with a kind of deck, and have a mast with one sail.[978] Their burthen is in general about four thousand *cantari*, or quintals, of Venice, and from that upwards, to twelve thousand *cantari*, which some of them are capable of loading.[979] They do not employ hempen cordage excepting for the masts and sails (standing and running rigging). They have canes of the length of fifteen paces, such as have been already described, which they split, in their whole length, into very thin pieces, and these, by twisting them together, they form into ropes, three hundred paces long.[980] So skilfully are they manufactured that they are equal in strength to cordage made of hemp. With these ropes the vessels are tracked along the rivers, by means of ten or twelve horses to each; [981] as well upwards, against the current, as in the opposite direction. At many places near the banks of this river there are hills and small rocky eminences, upon which are erected idol temples and other edifices; and you find a continual succession of villages and inhabited places.[982]

NOTES.

971. The Latin edition places the city of *Sin-gui* at the distance of only fifteen miles from that of *Siang-yang*, and this reading has been followed by Purchas, Harris, and other English editors; but the early Italian epitome corresponds with the text of Ramusio in making the distance fifteen days journey. It is obvious indeed, that a place could not be situated so small a number of miles from that well-ascertained city, and be at the same time, on the banks of the *Kiang*. The fact is, that our author had stepped out of what might be regarded as the line of his route, to speak of a place so remarkable as *Siang-yang*, and here again, by a large stride, returns to the eastern provinces. There is no town that appears to answer so well to the description he has given of *Sin-gui*, as that of *Kiu-kiang*, at the northern extremity of the province of *Kiang-si*, and which, as we are informed by Martini, was named *Tin-kiang* under the dynasty of the *Song*. Between the names, it is true, no resemblance can be discovered; but this objection will have the less weight when we shall observe, in a subsequent chapter, another city likewise named *Sin-gui*, which is unquestionably meant for the great city of *Su-cheu*.

972. For many curious physiological remarks on the circumstances of the two great Chinese rivers, *Hoang-ho* and *Yang-tse-kiang*, see the Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy (vol. ii, p. 408 and 422); and also the Appendix to Major Rennell's Memoir of a map of Hindoostan (p. 337), where the comparative size of most of the great rivers of the Old and New world are stated; from whence it appears, that the Thames being taken as unity, the Rhine will be $5\frac{1}{4}$, the Danube 7, the Wolga $9\frac{1}{2}$, the Euphrates $8\frac{1}{2}$, the Ganges $9\frac{1}{2}$, the Amûr 11, the Nile $12\frac{1}{2}$, the Hoang-ho $13\frac{1}{2}$, the Kiang $15\frac{1}{2}$, and the river of Amazons $15\frac{3}{4}$.

973. At the place where the *Kiang* is crossed by the line of the canal, the width is stated by Sir G. Staunton at about two English miles, and by M. De Guignes at a French league; but nearer to the sea it is, of course, much greater. As our author should, however, be supposed to speak of its width near the city he is describing, we ought perhaps to understand, not Italian but Chinese miles, or *li*, which are to the former in the proportion of three to eight, and consequently his estimation would agree with that of the modern travellers. It is to the city of *Kiu-kiang* that the tides of the sea, at the full and change, are perceived to extend, and here, on this account, it is said to change its appellation of *Ta-kiang* or the Great river, for that of *Yâng-tsè-kiang*, or the son of the sea.

974. The length of its course is computed by Barrow at two thousand two hundred miles, which would give an average of twenty-two miles for each day's passage, or perhaps thirty, when the unavoidable stoppages in so long a tract are considered. By a day's journey must not in general be understood what a person could travel in a given number of hours, but the interval between two accustomed resting places.

975. The division of the provinces was not the same at that period as it exists at present; the whole number being now fifteen, exclusively of the island of *Hai-nan*.

976. Salt appears to be principally manufactured in that part of *Kiang-nan* which lies between the sea, on the east, the *Kao-yeu* lake on the west, and the *Kiang*, on the south. Being shipped on the latter it is conveyed to the most distant parts of China; but a considerable portion goes to the metropolis. " Il y a " plusieurs marchands " says Martini, " qui revendent ce sel dans les provinces " qui sont au cœur et au milieu de l'empire." P. 129.

977. The city of *Kiu-kiang* which answers best to the circumstances related of *Sin-gui*, is thus spoken of by P. Martini: " *Kiu-kiang* est une grande ville et fort " marchande sur le bord méridional de la rivière de *Kiang*, où elle se joint avec " le

" le grand lac de *Poyang*: on auroit de la peine à croire le grand nombre de " vaisseaux qu'il y a, à moins que de l'avoir vue; car ils viennent de tous les en- " droits les plus éloignés de la Chine dans cette rivière, qui est comme leur ren- " dez-vous, où ils s'assemblent pour se mettre en mer." P. 111.

978. Representations of these vessels may be seen in the plates accompanying the accounts of all the Embassies to China. The arched covering partakes as much of the nature of an awning as of a deck. " Ces bateaux " says De Guignes " sont pontés, et vont à la voile et à la rame." T. i, p. 308: " Un toit en bois les " met à l'abri du soleil et de la pluie." T. ii, p. 95.

979. The *cantaro* is commonly translated by quintal or hundred weight, which would make the burthen of these vessels two hundred, and up to six hundred tons: but the *cantaro* of some parts of Italy is smaller than that of others. " Nous avons vu de ces barques " says P. Bouvet " qui pouvoient être de deux " cens tonneaux...Nous vîmes plus de quatre cens de ces barques sur le canal " où nous nous embarquâmes." Du Halde, t. i, p. 63. " Une moyenne barque " que je mesurai " says De Guignes " avoit 92 pieds de longueur, sur dix-huit " de largeur." T. ii, p. 41.

980. Persons who have seen the cables belonging to *praws* of the Eastern Islands might suppose that this account of twisting the *bamboo* into cordage, was a mistake for the manufacture of cables by twisting or platting the *rattan*, so commonly applied to that purpose; but our author's correctness as to the material, is fully proved by the testimony of modern travellers. " Leurs cordes de *rottin*, ou " (pour parler plus exactement) de bamboux, sont d'un grand avantage, parce " qu'elles réunissent la légèreté et la solidité." Van Braam, t. ii, p. 60. " Dans " certains endroits " says De Guignes " on voit des Chinois occupés à faire des " cordes de bambou. L'homme qui les travaille est monté sur un échafaud de " douze à quinze pieds de haut, et la corde descend à mesure qu'elle est tressée." T. ii, p. 113. In the Dictionnaire Chinois we find the following article: " *Nă* (7552) Funis ex arundinibus contextus. Corde de bambou." In Bluteau's Portuguese Dictionary, also, under the word " *Bambu*," the following remark occurs: " Enfiano e amarrano cordas de bambu." " They sew or interweave and bind " cords of bambu." In addition to these authorities I am allowed to add the verbal assurance of Mr. John Reeves, who has resided several years in China, and is known to have paid particular attention to the manufactures of the country, that the bamboo is employed as a material for making ropes.

981. At the present day it would seem that vessels of every description are tracked by men only, and not by horses, which, as well as other cattle, are to a certain

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degree, scarce in China; but there is reason to believe that under the Mungal princes, great numbers were brought from Tartary, and much encouragement given to breeding them. It may be observed at the same time that very little is known of the inland navigation of the country, excepting what is immediately connected with the Grand canal.

982. The journals of the Embassies abound with picturesque descriptions of this nature, and the views we have in the interior of China, particularly those of the banks of lakes and great rivers, exhibit numerous temples or monasteries (*miao*), and those octagon towers of many stages, to which we give the name of pagodas.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Of the city of Kayn-gui.

Kayn-gui is a small town on the southern bank of the beforementioned river,[983] where annually is collected a very large quantity of corn and rice, the greatest part of which is conveyed from thence to the city of *Kanbalu*, for the supply of the establishment of the Grand *khan*: [984] for through this place is the line of communication with the province of *Kataia*, by means of rivers, lakes, and a wide and deep canal which his majesty has caused to be dug, in order that vessels may pass from the one great river to the other, and from the province of *Manji*, by water, as far as *Kanbalu*, without making any part of the voyage by sea.[985] This magnificent work is deserving of admiration, and not so much from the manner in which it is conducted through the country or its vast extent, as from its utility and the benefit it produces to those cities which lie in its course. On its banks, likewise, are constructed strong and wide terraces or *chaussées*, upon which the travelling by land also is rendered perfectly convenient. In the midst of the river, opposite to the city of *Kayn-gui*, there is an island entirely of rock, upon which are built a grand temple and monastery, where two hundred monks, as they may be termed, reside, and perform service to the idols;

idols; and this is the supreme head of many other temples and monasteries.[986] We shall now speak of the city of *Chan-ghian-fu*.

NOTES.

983. There is reason to conclude that by *Kayn-gui* must be meant a town situated at the entrance of the canal, on the southern side of the *Kiang*, named by P. Magalhanes *Chin-kiang-keù*, signifying the mouth or port of *Chin-kiang* (the *Tsin-kiang* of De Guignes) a city standing on the same canal, and which is the subject of the succeeding chapter. " *Caingui* " says the missionary " dont parle " Marc Polo, n'est, à parler proprement, ny une ville ny une cité... Des deux " côtés de cette bouche il y a un lieu de ceux que les Chinois appellent *ma-teú*, " c'est à dire lieu fréquenté pour le commerce; parceque les barques s'y assemblent et y jettent l'ancre pour y passer la nuit (attendre la marée). Or ce lieu " dont parle Marc Polo, pouvoit bien estre appellé ville, à cause du nombre " extraordinaire de bâtimens qui s'y assemblent, quoyqu'il n'y ait point de " murailles." Nouv. Relat. de la Chine, p. 9. By Van Braam this place is considered only as the fauxbourg of the city, with which, in fact it may be identified.

984. The journals of Van Braam and of De Guignes make frequent mention of the interruption their yachts experienced from the vast number of vessels laden with rice for Peking, that were collected at this part of the canal. " Au " retour de notre promenade " says the latter " nous vîmes passer plusieurs " barques impériales... Le riz que ces barques transportent à Peking est destiné " pour la maison de l'empereur, et pour la paie des mandarins et des soldats de " la province de Petchely. Ces barques vont lentement et ne font qu'un seul " voyage dans l'année... Les barques impériales occupant une partie du canal, " nous obligèrent de séjourner ici." T. ii, p. 41–2.

985. In every account of China the description of this Grand canal forms a prominent feature: " an inland navigation of such extent and magnitude " says Barrow " as to stand unrivalled in the history of the world." " La capitale de " l'empire " observes De Guignes " avoit changé plusieurs fois avant que les " *Yuen* ou Tartares Mongoux se fussent emparé du trône. *Chy-tsou* (*Kublaï*) " premier empereur de cette dynastie, jeta les fondemens de Peking, et y fixa sa " résidence en 1267; mais s'apercevant bientôt que l'approvisionnement de cette " ville ne pouvoit se faire que par mer, et étoit par conséquent sujet à mille

BOOK II. CHAP. LXIV. Notes.

" inconvéniens, il fit commencer, l'an de J. C. 1289, le grand canal, ou le " *Yun-ho.*" T. ii, p. 197. Its completion, as it now exists, is said to have been effected in the reign of *Yong-lo*, third emperor of the *Ming*, about the year 1409.

986. Our author's notice of this island, so peculiarly circumstanced, at the same time that it presents an unquestionable proof of the genuineness of his observations, serves to mark with certainty the place at which he crossed the *Kiang*. The following accounts of this beautiful object by successive travellers, will be found to accord in every particular with the description in the text. " Dans le lieu du fleuve où nous fîmes ce trajet " says P. Bouvet " il a plus " d'une lieue de large, et cependant il passe pour être étroit en cet endroit là, " en comparaison de la largeur qu'il a plus haut et plus bas. Environ à 700 pas " dans le fleuve, on passe près d'une isle qui paroît un lieu enchanté. Aussi les " Chinois la nomment-ils *Kin-chan*, c'est à dire montagne d'or. Elle a environ " six cens pieds de circuit, et est revetue de belles pierres. Au sommet est une " tour à plusieurs étages environnée de pagodes et de maisons de bonzes." Du Halde, t. i, p. 68. " In crossing the river " says Staunton " the attention " was particularly attracted by an island situated in the middle, called *Chin-shan* " or the golden mountain, which rose almost perpendicularly out of the river... " It belonged to the emperor, who had built upon it a large and handsome " palace, and on the highest eminence several temples and pagodas. The island " also contained a large monastery of priests, by whom it is chiefly inhabited." T. ii, p. 424. " Presque au milieu du fleuve " says De Guignes " on passe " près de l'île de *Kin-chan-sse* (montagne d'or), dont la beauté répond bien à son " nom emphatique. Cette île, en partie boisée, est remplie d'édifices et de " pavillons... L'île est formée d'un gros rocher dont la circonférence peut être " d'un bon quart de lieue." T. ii, p. 43.

CHAPTER LXV.

Of the city of Chan-ghian-fu.

CHAP. LXV. ***Chan-ghian-fu*** is a city of the province of *Manji*,[987] the inhabitants of which are idolaters, are subjects of his majesty, and use his paper-money. They gain their living by trade and manufacture, and are wealthy. They weave tissues of silk and gold. The field sports are there

there most excellent in every species of game; and provisions are abundant. There are in this city two churches of Nestorian christians, which were built in 1274, when his majesty appointed a Nestorian, named *Mar Sachis* to the government of it for three years. By him, these churches were established, where there had not been any before; and they still subsist.[988] Leaving this place we shall now speak of *Tin-gui-gui.*

NOTES.

987. "Ceux qui liront les escrits de Marco Polo de Venise" says P. Martini "verront clairement par la situation de cette ville et le nom qu'elle a (*Chin-kiang-fu*) que c'est celle qu'il nomme *Cingiam* (*Chin-gian*). Elle est bastie sur "le bord de la rivière de *Kiang*, et à l'orient d'un canal fait par artifice, qu'on a "conduit jusques dans la rivière de *Kiang*; de l'autre costé du canal, sur le "bord qui regarde l'occident, est son fauxbourg, qui n'est pas moins peuplé, et "où l'abord est aussi grand que celuy de la ville mesme." It is evident that this fauxbourg is the town that has been described under the corrupted name of *Kayn-gui*, and what has been said of the resort of shipping might have been reserved for this place. "A peine scauroit-on dire" continues Martini "la "quantité de vaisseaux qu'il y a toute l'année; car tous ceux qui viennent de la "province de *Che-kiang* et des autres villes orientales, doivent s'y arrester... "pour y mettre et dresser leurs masts et hausser leurs voiles; car aussi ne s'en "peuvent-t-ils servir avant qu'ils soient devant cette ville, à cause du grand "nombre de ponts qu'ils rencontrent... Ils nomment cette ville *King-keu*, c'est "à dire la bouche de la cour, parce qu'il y a tousjours des navires qui sont prests "pour aller à la cour." P. 128.

988. The existence of these churches, of which no reasonable doubt can be entertained, is a curious fact in the history of the progress made by the Christian religion in the eastern or remoter parts of China. With respect to the date of their foundation there is some disagreement in the different copies, being 1288 in that of Basle, and 1279 in the early Venice epitome. If indeed the appointment of the Nestorian governor took place in 1274, according to Ramusio's text, it must have been immediately upon the reduction of that part of the province; and on the other hand, the date of 1288 was too near the period of our author's departure, to have needed the remark that the churches then subsisted, and consequently less likely to be correct than that of 1279. The nomination of strangers of this description to situations so important (including that of our Venetian to the

government

BOOK II. CHAP. LXV. Notes.

government of *Yang-cheu-fu*) may well be thought to justify the reflexion of the Chinese historians, that the emperor *Kublaï* " a donné trop d'autorité aux gens " d'occident." In the name of the individual also there appears that want of uniformity which arises from careless transcription; being in the Basle edition, *Mar-Sarcis*, and in the Berlin manuscript, *Mar-Iarchis*. The title or appellation of *Mar*, equivalent, in Syriac, to *Dominus* in Latin, is well known to have been commonly affixed to the names of Nestorian bishops, as well as of other persons of rank, and as that of *Mar-Sergius* often occurs in the annals of their church, it seems likely to have been the name of which *Sachis* and *Sarcis* are corruptions. Vid. Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vat. Assemani, t. iii, p. ii, c. ix, et Laurentii Moshemii Hist. Tartarorum Ecclesiast. Appendicem, monumenta et epistolas exhibentem, p. 26.

It is remarkable that De Guignes (Voy. à Peking, &c.) in describing a religious building not far from this city, mentions a tradition that gives strength to the belief of an early Christian establishment in that quarter. " Cette pagode" he says " s'appele *San-y-ko*. Les Chinois racontent qu'un Chrétien, nommé *Kiang-* " *tsy-tay*, vivoit dans ce lieu il y a trois cents ans; on montre encore son apparte- " ment dans la partie de l'est; ce Chrétien venoit d'un pays situé à l'ouest de la " Chine, appelé *Kiang-kio*." T. ii, p. 49. The same circumstance is noticed by Van Braam in the following words: " De ce couvent dépend encore un bâtiment " séparé, placé sur son côté, et habité jadis par un Chrétien, habitant de l'Est, " nommé *Kiam-long-citay-ouang*, originaire de *Tai-kiam-cok*, et qui a été canonisé, " par les Chinois, après sa mort. Son image est honorée ici, ainsi que dans plusieurs " autres pagodes." T. ii, p. 90. To those who have remarked the peculiarities of Chinese pronunciation, which does not admit of a syllable's commencing with the sound of *a*, it will not appear an improbable conjecture, that by *Tai-kian-cok* is meant the city of *Antioch*, where the metropolitan resided. It should be observed that the word " pagode" or " pagoda," which, by the English, is applied to certain angular towers, is used by the French to express the temples to which those towers are commonly attached.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Of the city of Tin-gui-gui.

CHAP. LXVI. DEPARTING from *Chan-ghian-fu*, and travelling three days towards the south-east, you pass many towns and fortified places, the inhabitants

tants of which are idolaters, live by arts and commerce, are the subjects of the Grand *khan*, and use his paper-money. At the end of these three days you reach the city of *Tin-gui-gui*, which is large and handsome,[989] and produces much raw-silk, of which tissues of various qualities and patterns are woven. The necessaries of life are here in plenty, and the variety of game affords excellent sport. The inhabitants were a vile, inhuman race. At the time that *Chinsan Ba-yan*, or the hundred-eyed, subdued the country of *Manji*, he dispatched certain Alanian christians,[990] along with a party of his own people, to possess themselves of this city; who, as soon as they appeared before it, were suffered to enter without resistance. The place being surrounded by a double wall, one of them within the other, the Alanians occupied the first enclosure, where they found a large quantity of wine, and having previously suffered much from fatigue and privation, they were eager to quench their thirst, and without any consideration proceeded to drink to such excess, that becoming intoxicated, they fell asleep. The people of the city, who were within the second inclosure as soon as they perceived that their enemies lay slumbering on the ground, took the opportunity of murdering them, not suffering one to escape.[991] When *Chinsan Ba-yan* learned the fate of his detachment, his indignation and anger were raised to the highest pitch, and he sent another army to attack the place. When it was carried, he gave orders for putting to the sword all the inhabitants great and small, without distinction of sex, as an act of retaliation.[992]

NOTES.

989. The distance of three days journey, in the line of the canal, from the last-mentioned place, shews that this city, which in the early Venice epitome is named *Tin-gin-gui*, and in the Berlin manuscript, *Chin-chin-gui*, must be the *Tchang-tcheou-fou* of Du Halde's map, or *Chang-cheu-fû* according to our orthography: "ville célèbre et d'un grand commerce, qui est située proche du canal." From the third or terminating syllable being in all the copies *gui*, for *giu* or *cheu*, it may be inferred that it was not at that time a city of the first order; a distinction not necessarily connected with the size, but arising from the grant of a certain municipal jurisdiction.

990. Without

990. Without entering upon the ancient and obscure history of the Alani or Alanians of Scythia or Turkistan, it will be sufficient to observe that after their defeat and dispersion by the Huns, a considerable portion of them settled on the northern slope of the range of Caucasus, on the western side of the Caspian, and if not actually the same people, are now confounded with the Abkhas and Cherkess or Circassians. "La veille de la Pentecôte" says Rubruquis, then at the court of a Tartar prince "vinrent vers nous certains Alains, qu'ils appellent "Acias ou Akas, qui sont Chrétiens à la Grecque," Bergeron, chap. xiii, p. 24. See also De Guignes, l'Hist. des Huns, liv. iv; and Ellis, Mem. of Map of Caucasus.

991. Although in L'Histoire gén. de la Chine the circumstances of the inebriation and massacre of the Alanians or other troops employed by *Pe-yen* are not mentioned, (perhaps from a national feeling on the part of the Chinese historian), enough appears to verify the subsequent part of our author's account, and to render the fact of that piece of treachery not improbable; at the same time that it removes any doubt respecting the identity of the place. It is humiliating to remark that throughout the east, drunkenness is considered as a Christian vice.

992. The following passages from the work mentioned in the preceding Note, will shew the operations of the war, as they apply to this city, in the year 1275. "La terreur qu'inspiroient les *Mongous* avoit ébranlé la plupart des gouverneurs, "et plusieurs vinrent d'eux-mêmes se soumettre... *Tchao-yu-kien* se sauva de "*Tchang-tcheou*, que *Ouang-leang-tchin*, son lieutenant, vint leur offrir." P. 355. "*Lichan* étoit chargé de reprendre la ville de *Tchang-tcheou*." P. 356. "Cependant les *Mongous* se préparoit à continuer la guerre contre les *Song* plus "vivement que jamais." 362. "*Péyen* et *Atahaï*, avec le troisième corps, "prirent la route de *Tchang-tcheou*." 363. "Irrité de leur opiniâtreté, le général Mongou détruisit les maisons du peuple bâties dans les fauxbourgs hors "de la ville, et faisant élever un rempart de terre, il plaça dessus ses machines "de guerre avec lesquelles il battit jour et nuit *Tchang-tcheou* et mit le feu en "différens endroits; mais l'activité de *Péyen* ne paroissoit servir qu'à augmenter "le courage des assiégés; à la fin cependant il donna un assaut général, et à la "faveur du rempart de terre, on monta sur les murs dont on se rendit maître... "*Peyen* commanda de faire main-basse sur tous les habitans." P. 364. As the character of *Pe-yen* or *Ba-yan* is praised for magnanimity (of which many instances are recorded), it is fair to suppose that this barbarous severity had some less unjustifiable motive than the punishment of a courageous resistance, and that some act of peculiar atrocity and provocation had been committed by the inhabitants.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER LXVII.

Of the cities of Sin-gui and Va-giu.

Sin-gui is a large and magnificent city, the circumference of which is twenty miles.[993] The inhabitants are idolaters, subjects of the Grand *khan*, and use his paper-money. They have vast quantities of raw-silk, and manufacture it, not only for their own consumption, all of them being clothed in dresses of silk, but also for other markets.[994] There are amongst them some very rich merchants, and the number of inhabitants is so great as to be a subject of astonishment.[995] They are, however, a pusillanimous race, and solely occupied with their trade and manufactures. In these indeed they display considerable ability, and if they were as enterprising, manly, and warlike, as they are ingenious, so prodigious is their number that they might not only subdue the whole of the province *(Manji)*, but might carry their views still further. They have amongst them many physicians of eminent skill, who can ascertain the nature of the disorder, and know how to apply the proper remedies.[996] There are also persons distinguished as professors of learning, or, as we should term them, philosophers, and others who may be called magicians or enchanters.[997] On the mountains near the city rhubarb grows in the highest perfection, and is from thence distributed throughout the province.[998] Ginger is likewise produced in large quantities, and is sold at so cheap a rate that forty pounds weight of the fresh root may be had for the value, in their money, of a Venetian silver groat. Under the jurisdiction of *Sin-gui* there are sixteen respectable and wealthy cities and towns, where trade and arts flourish.[999] By the name of *Sin-gui* is to be understood "the city of the "earth," as by that of *Kin-sai*, "the city of heaven."[1000] Leaving *Sin-gui* we shall now speak of another city, distant from it only a day's journey, named *Va-giu*, where, likewise, there is a vast abundance of raw-silk, and where there are many merchants as well as artificers. Silks of the finest quality are woven here, and are afterwards carried to every part of the province.[1001] No other circumstances presenting

BOOK II. CHAP. LXVII. themselves as worthy of remark, we shall now proceed to the description of the principal city and metropolis of the province of *Manji*, named *Kin-sai*.

NOTES.

993. By *Sin-gui* is to be understood the eminent city of *Su-cheu*, situated in the line of the canal, and much celebrated by travellers, who compare it, in some respects, to Venice. "C'est une des plus belles et des plus agréables villes qu'il "y ait à la Chine; les Européens qui l'ont vue, la comparent à Venise: on s'y "promène dans les rues par eau et par terre." Du Halde, t. *i*, p. 130. "The "streets of the city of *Sou-choo-foo*" says Staunton, "through the suburbs of "which the yachts now passed, were divided like Venice, by branches from the "principal canal. Over each of those branches was erected an elegant stone "bridge. The fleet of the embassy was nearly three hours in passing the suburbs "of *Sou-choo-foo*, before they arrived at the city walls." T. ii, p. 427. "Les "murailles de la ville de *Sucheu* (says Martini) ont quarante stades Chinoises "de circuit; mais si vous y comprenez les fauxbourgs, vous en trouverez sans "doute plus de cent." P. 124. Forty Chinese *li* are equal to fifteen Italian miles.

994. "The inhabitants, most of whom were clad in silk, (Staunton adds) "appeared chearful and prosperous." P. 428. "Ce peuple" says Martini "aime plus que les autres Chinois les beaux habits." P. 125. "Les broderies "et les brocardes qu'on y travaille" says Du Halde "sont recherchés de tout "l'empire, parce que l'ouvrage en est beau, et le prix modique." P. 131.

995. "*Sou-choo-foo*" says Staunton "appears to be an uncommonly large and "populous city." "A voir le mouvement continuel de ce peuple immense" Du Halde observes, "et l'embarras que font de tous côtés, tant ceux qui viennent "vendre que ceux qui viennent acheter, on croiroit que toutes les provinces "viennent négocier à *Sou-tcheou*." Ibid. "Suivant le rapport des Chinois" says Van Braam "il s'y fait un grand commerce; elle a beaucoup de fabriques, "et elle est la résidence d'un nombre considérable de riches capitalistes." T. ii, p. 112.

996. *Su-cheu-fu* being a place of great wealth and luxury, it is natural that the medical art should there be liberally encouraged, and its practitioners skilful. By some writers the Chinese physicians are said to "have made a proficiency that "would astonish the ablest of ours in Europe," whilst others consider their elaborate process of feeling the pulse and their pretensions of being from thence enabled

enabled to ascertain the seat of the disorder, as nothing better than solemn mummery. See General Description of China by the Abbé Grosier, vol. ii, p. 480, and Barrow's Travels in China, p. 343.

997. By philosophers and magicians he evidently alludes to the disciples of Confucius (commonly termed *literati*) and to those of *Lao-kiun* or the sect of the *tao-tse*, as, in other places, by the appellation of idolaters, he means the worshippers of *Fo* or *Buddha*, who constitute the most numerous class. The first of these study the moral and metaphysical works of their great master, and take regular degrees in philosophy, which qualify them, according to their attainments, for holding the several offices of government, and becoming what Europeans term "mandarins of letters." The *tao-tse* or "sons of immortality," as they style themselves, hold doctrines which some writers describe as resembling those of the Hindu *yogis* or quietists (from whom they seem in fact to be derived), whilst others, judging from their worldly habits, attribute to them those of the Epicurean school; but whatever their dogmas may be, they devote themselves to the practice of magic, and delude their followers by the visions and reveries of the *illuminati*. Many, however, of the professed disciples of Confucius, and amongst them several of the emperors of China, have been the dupes of these charlatans, tempted by the promise of a beverage that should render them immortal. "Les "pactes qu'ils font avec le démon" says P. Le Compte, "les sorts qu'ils jettent, "leurs magies, ou vrayes ou apparentes, les font encore appréhender ou admirer "de la canaille; et quoi qu'il arrive, il n'y a presque personne qui n'ait quelque "foy à leurs maximes, ou qui n'espère par leur moyen éviter la mort." Nouv. Mémoires, t. ii, p. 108.

998. "Le *tai-hoam* (more correctly, according to De Guignes, *ta-hoang* grand jaune) "ou la rhubarbe" says P. Perennin "croît en plusieurs endroits de la "Chine. La meilleure est celle de *Sse-tchouen*; celle qui vient dans la province "de *Xensi* et dans le royaume de *Thibet*, lui est fort inférieure." Lett. édif. t. xix, p. 307. The mountains of the province of *Kiang-ngan* being in the same latitude as the former may likewise produce a good kind, although not noticed by our modern travellers, who in general have had little opportunity of making botanical researches beyond the borders of the canals and high roads. With respect to ginger, the quantity that might be purchased for a Venetian groat is said in the Italian epitome to be five only, not forty pounds weight.

999. "Sa jurisdiction particulière" says Du Halde "contient huit villes, dont "une est du seconde ordre, et les sept autres du troisième." P. 131. The extent of these jurisdictions has frequently undergone changes, and cities of the second order are sometimes elevated to the rank of the first.

BOOK II. CHAP. LXVII. Notes.

1000: Although our author may be mistaken in his etymology and in his distinctive epithets of celestial and terrestrial paradise, it is plain that his observation refers to a well-known Chinese saying, that, "what the heavens are Above, *Su-cheu* and *Hang-cheu* are upon Earth." P. Martini gives the proverb in the original words. Thevenot, iiime partie, p. 124.

1001: The city of *Va-giu* of which no mention is made in the other versions, must be either *Ho-cheu*, situated on the side of lake *Tai* opposite to that on which *Su-cheu* stands, or else (and more probably) the city called *Kia-hing* in modern times, and formerly *Siu-cheu*, which is in the direct line of the canal, and midway between *Su-cheu* and *Hang-cheu*. Both of them are celebrated for the richness of their commerce, particularly in silk both raw and manufactured.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

SECTION I.

Of the noble and magnificent city of Kin-sai.

CHAP. LXVIII. *Sect.* I.

Upon leaving *Va-giu* you pass, in the course of three days' journey, many towns, castles, and villages, all of them well inhabited and opulent. The people are idolaters, and the subjects of the Grand *khan*. At the end of three days you reach the noble and magnificent city of *Kin-sai*, a name that signifies "the celestial city," and which it merits from its preeminence to all others in the world, in point of grandeur and beauty, as well as from its abundant delights, which might lead an inhabitant to imagine himself in paradise.[1002] This city was frequently visited by Marco Polo,[1003] who carefully and diligently observed and inquired into every circumstance respecting it; all of which he entered in his notes, from whence the following particulars are briefly stated. According to common estimation this city is an hundred miles in circuit.[1004] Its streets and canals are extensive, and there are squares or market places, which being necessarily proportioned in size to the prodigious concourse of people by whom they are frequented, are exceedingly

ceedingly spacious. It is situated between a lake of fresh and very clear water, on the one side,[1005] and a river of great magnitude, on the other, the waters of which, by a number of canals, large and small, are made to run through every quarter of the city, carrying with them all the filth into the lake, and ultimately to the sea.[1006] This, whilst it contributes much to the purity of the air, furnishes a communication by water, in addition to that by land, to all parts of the town; the canals and the streets being of sufficient width to allow of boats on the one, and carriages in the other, conveniently passing, with articles necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants.[1007] It is commonly said that the number of bridges, of all sizes, amounts to twelve thousand.[1008] Those which are thrown over the principal canals and are connected with the main streets, have arches so high and built with so much skill, that vessels, without their masts, can pass under them,[1009] whilst, at the same time, carts and horses are passing over their heads; so well is the slope from the street adapted to the height of the arch. If they were not in fact so numerous, there would be no convenience of crossing from one place to another.[1010]

NOTES.

1002. At the time when this city, the capital of southern China under the dynasty of the *Song*, was surrendered to the arms of *Kublai*, the Chinese annals call it by the name of *Lin-gnan*. This was changed by the *Ming* for that of *Hang-cheu*, which it had borne at an earlier period, and which it still retains. *Quinsai*, *Kin-sai*, or, according to De Guignes, *Kin-tsay*, must therefore be considered only as a descriptive appellation, grounded, perhaps, upon the proverbial saying already noticed, which terms it a celestial abode, although the meaning of the component words may not be precisely that which our author has assigned to them. " Afin que les cosmographes de l'Europe " says P. Martini " ne s'égarent " et ne s'abusent pas davantage dans la recherche de la ville de *Quinsai* de Marco " Polo de Venise... je la veux représenter comme elle est... Mais pour effectuer " ce que je viens de promettre, je prouve en premier lieu, par de bonnes raisons, " que cette ville de *Hangcheu* est la mesme que celle de *Quinsai* selon Polo; car " elle est éloignée de *Singui*, c'est à dire, de *Sucheu*, de cinq journées de chemin, " si nous parlons de la marche d'une armée, autrement à peine y a-t-il quatre " journées: c'est, dis-je, cette *Quinsai*, où estoit de son temps la cour de la " Chine,

" Chine, que les sçavantes et les polis entre les Chinois nomment *King-su*, et le " vulgaire *King-sai*; c'est de là qu'est venu la *Quinsai* du Venitien: mais *Kingsu* " en cet endroit est un nom de dignité, commun à toutes les villes royales; aussi " signifie-t-il une ville véritablement royale." P. 137. " *King-tsé*" says the editor of l'Hist. gén. de la Chine " exprime l'endroit où l'empereur tient sa " cour." T. ix, p. 410. " En 1161, sous l'empereur *Kao-tsong*, la flotte des *Kin*" says the younger De Guignes " partit de *Tsien-tsin-ouey*, à trente lieues à l'est de " Peking, pour se diriger vers la ville de *Lin-ngan*, actuellement *Hang-tcheou-* " *fou*." " C'est la même (he adds in a Note) que Marco Polo nomme *Kin-tsay*." T. iii, p. 32.

1003. The city of *Yang-cheu-fu*, of which he was the provisional governor for three years, being distant only about a week's journey, by the canal, from *Hang-cheu-fu*, he had consequently the opportunity of occasional intercourse with that capital.

1004. These dimensions, taken in their literal sense, must be regarded as extravagant, even although they should be understood to include the suburbs; but there has already been frequent occasion to remark, that when in describing the size of places our author speaks of miles, he must be supposed to mean Chinese miles, or *li*, which are to the Italian in the proportion of three to eight. Even such an extent might seem excessive, were it not that the walls even of the modern city are estimated by travellers at sixty *li*, and that, if in the course of five centuries they have undergone alterations, it is to be presumed their limits may have been considerably contracted; as is known to be the case with respect to the city of *Nan-king*, " qui avoit " says P. Le Comte " trois enceintes de " murailles, à la dernière desquelles on donnoit seize grandes lieues de circuit. " On en voit encore quelques vestiges." T. i, p. 118. " *Hong-tcheou-fou*" says Van Braam " a soixante *li* de circonférence (six lieues). Sa forme est irrégulière: " tantôt le rempart est circulaire, tantôt droit, tantôt encore il se courbe à cause " des hautes montagnes." T. ii, p. 146. It is rarely indeed that strangers can have the opportunity of measuring the works of fortified places: they must derive their information from the natives, who from ignorance or vanity are likely to deceive them.

1005. The lake here spoken of is the *Si-hu* or " western lake " so called from its being situated on the western side of the city. Although inconsiderable in point of extent, it is highly celebrated by all travellers on account of the beauty of its surrounding scenery and the peculiar transparency of its waters. " The " lake " says Staunton " formed a beautiful sheet of water, about three or four " miles in diameter, and surrounded to the north, east, and south, by an amphi- " theatre of picturesque mountains." " It was in most places shallow, the water " perfectly

" perfectly pellucid, and the bottom gravelly." P. 444. " The water " says Barrow, who made an excursion on it " was as clear as crystal." P. 524. " L'eau " de ce lac délicieux " says P. Martini " est claire comme cristal; de sorte qu'on " y peut voir au fond les plus petites pierres." P. 141.

1006. The river upon which this ancient capital of southern China stands is the *Tsien-tang-kiang*. " The tide " says Staunton " increases the width of this river " to about four miles, opposite the city. At low water there is a fine level strand " near two miles broad, which extends towards the sea as far as the eye can " reach." P. 438. According to the words of our author there appears to have been, in his time, a passage of water from the river, through the numerous canals of the city into the lake. This would take place at the flood tide, and at the ebb, through the same channels, there would be a reflux from the lake into the river, necessary for the purpose of cleansing them. But in the modern accounts of *Hang-cheu-fu* no mention is made of any such communication between the river and the city or the lake, and to account for the disagreement we might be led to conclude that from the receding of the sea, or other natural causes, a change of circumstances may have been produced in so long a course of time. It is, however, more probable that the passage of the water does actually subsist, although, being inapplicable to the smallest purposes of navigation or transport of goods, it has been unnoticed by our modern travellers; and this opinion is strengthened by the rude plan of the city given in Du Halde's work, where a channel of communication, with the appearance of a sluice or flood-gate, is distinctly marked. Their silence, indeed, with respect to a water-passage would prove too much; for as they describe the lake to be fed by a variety of rivulets descending from the gorges of the mountains, and Staunton informs us that it " furnishes a copious " stream, running in a channel round the city walls, in which are turned several " arches for small canals to pass through the principal streets," it follows of necessity that there must be an exit, at least, to the river; because the town would otherwise be exposed to occasional inundation.

1007. All the modern accounts of this city concur in describing its numerous canals, but they likewise insist upon the narrowness of its paved streets. Our author, it is true, in a subsequent part of his description, speaks of the principal street as being forty paces in width (about equal to that of Peking); but it must be considered that at the period when he wrote, *Hang-cheu* still retained the magnificence of a great capital and imperial residence, and that in a country repeatedly ravaged by foreign and domestic conquerors, it cannot be supposed to have escaped repeated destruction, nor, when renewed, to have assumed, in the new arrangement of its streets, any other character than that of a provincial city although of the first class. So perishable, indeed, are the materials with which the

the houses, and even the palaces of the Chinese are built, and so liable are they to conflagration, that we can expect to find but little interior resemblance between a modern and an ancient city, even though the walls should continue to enclose the same space of ground.

1008. Amongst the exaggerations imputed to our author, in his account of China, none has been more commonly pointed out by those who take a part against him, than this assertion, that a city, whatever its extent and magnificence might be, should have contained twelve thousand bridges. It cannot be denied that the truth is here outstepped; but it must be recollected that he does not state the fact upon the authority of any enumeration of his own, but merely as the popular story (*è fama* is the expression) related by the inhabitants of the place, whose vanity, in this and other instances, led them to impose upon admiring credulity. When, on the other hand, we consider that according to the description given of the city, the communication between all its parts was chiefly carried on by water; that through at least every principal street there ran a canal; and that in order to facilitate the intercourse of those who dwelt on opposite sides of the same street, it was necessary to have numerous means of crossing, we shall be disposed to allow that the total number of every thing coming under the denomination of a bridge, especially if those of the suburbs are included, must have been prodigious.

1009. In this passage we find a remarkable variation between the text of Ramusio and that of the Latin version, where, instead of the words "una nave vi può passare di sotto *sens'* albero," we read, on the contrary, "naves magnæ *erecto* malo pertransire possint." In the early epitome the mast is not spoken of, the expression being simply "si alti, che per sotto passa una gran nave." From the context, however, it appears the more consistent sense, that the elevation of the arches was intended to be marked by the circumstance of the vessels being enabled to pass under them without the necessity of lowering the mast; as is the general, although by no means the universal practice; nor can this be considered as bordering on the marvellous, unless under the erroneous supposition that by *navè* our author meant *ships*, in our acceptation of the term. But it is evident that the vessels spoken of can be no other than the barges of the inland navigation, the masts of which, like those of the same class employed on our own rivers and canals, are so constructed as to admit of their being lowered or inclined towards the stern, wherever the want of sufficient height in the arch of the bridge renders it necessary. "Outre ces digues" says P. Le Comte, speaking of the grand canal "on a basti une infinité de ponts pour la communication des "terres: ils sont de trois, de cinq, et de sept arches; celle du milieu est "extraordinairement haute, afin que les barques en passant, ne soient pas "obligées

" obligées d'abaisser leurs masts." Nouv. Mém. de la Chine, t. i, p. 161. " De " tous les environs " says Du Halde in his description of a neighbouring city " on peut venir, entrer, et aller dans toute la ville en bateau. Il n'y a point de " rue où il n'y ait un canal; c'est pourquoi il y a quantité de ponts qui sont fort " élevés, et presque tous d'une seule arche." T. i, p. 179. But most directly to our purpose is Barrow's observation that " Over this main trunk and most of " the other canals and rivers, are a great variety of bridges. . . Some have the " piers of such an extraordinary height that the largest vessels, of two hundred " tons, sail under them without striking their masts." P. 337.

1010. In the Basle edition of our author's work a comparison is made between this city, and Venice, in respect to their marshy situation: " Fundus autem " civitatis est in loco paludinoso ferè ut Venetiæ; unde si careret pontibus, de " vico ad vicum perveniri non posset." The resemblance, however, would seem to be more strong between Venice and the aquatic city of *Su-cheu-fu*, than even this of *Hang-cheu-fu*. See Lord Macartney's Embassy, Vol. ii, p. 427.

SECTION II.

Beyond the city, and enclosing it on that side, there is a fosse about forty miles in length, very wide, and full of water that comes from the river before-mentioned. This was excavated by the ancient kings of the province, in order that when the river should overflow its banks, the superfluous water might be diverted into this channel; and to serve at the same time as a measure of defence.[1011] The earth dug out from thence was thrown to the inner side, and has the appearance of many hillocks surrounding the place.[1012] There are within the city ten principal squares or market-places, besides innumerable shops along the streets. Each side of these squares is half a mile in length,[1013] and in front of them is the main street, forty paces in width, and running in a direct line from one extremity of the city to the other. It is crossed by many low and convenient bridges. These market-squares, (two miles in their whole dimension) are at the distance of four miles from each other. In a direction parallel to that of the main street, but on the opposite side of the squares, runs a very large canal, on the nearer bank of which capacious warehouses are built of stone, for the accommodation of the merchants who arrive from India and other parts, toge-

ther with their goods and effects; in order that they may be conveniently situated with respect to the market-places.[1014] In each of these, upon three days in every week, there is an assemblage of from forty to fifty thousand persons, who attend the markets and supply them with every article of provision that can be desired. There is an abundant quantity of game of all kinds, such as roebucks, stags, fallow deer, hares, and rabbits, together with partridges, pheasants, francolins, quails, common fowls, capons, and such numbers of ducks and geese as can scarcely be expressed; for so easily are they bred and reared on the lake, that for the value of a Venetian silver groat, your may purchase a couple of geese and two couple of ducks.[1015] There, also, are the shambles, where they slaughter cattle for food, such as oxen, calves, kids, and lambs, to furnish the tables of rich persons and of the great magistrates. As to people of the lower classes, they do not scruple to eat every other kind of flesh, however unclean, without any discrimination.[1016] At all seasons there is in the markets a great variety of herbs and fruits, and especially pears of an extraordinary size, weighing ten pounds apiece, that are white in the inside, like paste, and have a very fragrant smell.[1017] There are peaches also, in their season, both of the yellow and the white kind,[1018] and of a delicious flavour. Grapes are not produced there, but are brought in a dried state, and very good, from other parts.[1019] This applies also to wine, which the natives do not hold in estimation, being accustomed to their own liquor prepared from rice and spices.[1020] From the sea, which is twenty-five miles distant, there is daily brought up the river, to the city, a vast quantity of fish; and in the lake also there is abundance, which gives employment at all times to persons whose sole occupation it is to catch them. The sorts are various according to the season of the year, and in consequence of the offal carried thither from the town, they become large and rich.[1021] At the sight of such an importation of fish, you would think it impossible that it could be sold; and yet in the course of a few hours it is all taken off; so great is the number of inhabitants, even of those classes which can afford to indulge in such luxuries; for fish and flesh are eaten at the same meal. Each of the ten market-squares is surrounded with high dwelling houses,[1022] in the lower part of which are shops, where every kind of manufacture is carried on, and every article of trade is sold;

sold; such, amongst others, as spices, drugs, trinkets, and pearls.[1023] In certain shops nothing is vended but the wine of the country, which they are continually brewing, and serve out fresh to their customers at a moderate price. The streets connected with the market-squares are numerous, and in some of them are many cold baths, attended by servants of both sexes, to perform the offices of ablution for the men and women who frequent them, and who from their childhood have been accustomed at all times to wash in cold water, which they reckon highly conducive to health. At these bathing places, however, they have apartments provided with warm water, for the use of strangers, who from not being habituated to it, cannot bear the shock of the cold. All are in the daily practice of washing their persons, and especially before their meals.[1024]

NOTES.

1011. The existence of this fosse, commencing at the lake, and terminating at the river, may be traced in Du Halde's plan of the city. Its length there appears to exceed the proportion here assigned of four-tenths of the whole extent of the walls, but all the plans in that collection are without scale, and seem to have been drawn by Chinese artists, from memory rather than from actual survey. With regard to the object of this excavation, it may rather be thought intended to carry off the overflowings of the lake, than to receive those of the river, and Staunton accordingly speaks of the stream that flows through it at ordinary times, as being supplied from the former.

1012. This account of the manner in which the earth taken from the fosse was disposed of, does not convey any very clear idea: which may proceed from the original words not having been distinctly understood by the early translators. Some modern descriptions of the place take notice of a hill or mound, within the walls, serving for the site of a watch-tower, to the formation of which the earth in question may have been applied; but our author himself furnishes the best explanation, when in a subsequent part of this chapter, he mentions that "for "the purposes of nightly watch, there are mounds of earth thrown up, at the "distance of about a mile from each other."

1013. The interior of this and of every other Chinese city (as observed in Note 1007) must have undergone an entire change since the days of our author, and the

BOOK II. CHAP. LXVIII. *Sect.* II. Notes.

bazars or market-places here mentioned are unnoticed by modern travellers, unless indeed indirectly, as in the journal of De Guignes, where he says "On "n'entendoit du bruit que dans les carrefours, où les Chinois se pressoient "davantage pour nous voir." Tom. ii, p. 67. According to the length of the Chinese *li*, as established by the most accurate writers, at 296 French toises, each side of these squares would be about 320 English yards, and their distance from each other about 2560.

1014. The regulations of the Chinese government with regard to foreign commerce appear to have been nearly the same, at a remote period, as those to which the European concerns at the port of Canton are subjected at the present day. "Lors que les marchands arrivent à la Chine par mer" says the Arabian Traveller of the ninth century "les Chinois saisissent toutes leurs marchandises, "et les transportent dans des magazins: ils les empeschent de passer outre pen- "dant six mois, jusqu'à ce que le dernier vaisseau marchand soit arrivé. Ensuite "ils prennent trois pour dix de toutes les marchandises, et rendent le reste aux "marchands." Anciennes Relations, p. 26. It is probable that the accommodation of warehouses for imported goods of which our author boasts, was fully as much intended to facilitate the collection of the emperor's duties as to promote the convenience of the foreign merchants.

1015. Perhaps instead of the conjunction copulative "and," we should here read the disjunctive "or," and consider two of the smaller of these aquatic birds as an equivalent for one of the larger.

1016. Staunton observes that, "of the larger kind (of quadrupeds) the common "people have little opportunity of ever tasting, unless of such as die by accident "or disease. In such cases the appetite of a Chinese surmounts all scruple; "whether it be an ox or camel, a sheep or ass, it is equally acceptable." This "people know no distinction of clean and unclean meat." Quadrupeds that can "find some resources for subsistence about dwelling-houses, such as hogs and "dogs, are the most common animal food, and are sold at the public markets." P. 399. The Arabian Travellers of the ninth century notice in like manner the indiscriminate style of feeding to which the Chinese were addicted, in their days. Anciennes Relations, p. 17. "Les Chinois exposent aussi dans leurs marchés" say the Jesuits "de la chair de cheval, d'anesse et de chien." Lettres édifiantes, t. xviii, p. 311.

1017. Pears of the weight of ten pounds are, it must be confessed, an extraordinary production of nature, and must have been of a kind still unknown in Europe, where, I believe, the largest are not found to exceed two pounds; nor have

have I been able to ascertain the weight of any pear grown in England, exceeding twenty-six ounces. It is well known, indeed, that the varieties of the pyrus, as well as of other fruits, not only degenerate in size and quality, but in a long course of years, actually become extinct. But the credibility of our author's assertion does not rest for support upon the mere presumption of what might have been the state of Chinese horticulture in the thirteenth century; for we learn from the accounts of modern travellers that pears of uncommon magnitude are still produced in the eastern provinces of China. "On vendoit, le long du "chemin," says Van Braam, "des poires qui sont très-grosses ici. Hier on m'en "a donné une dans notre logement, dont la circonférence, mesurée dans son sens "oblong, avait quinze pouces et demi, et la grosseur quatorze pouces. Cette "espèce de poire paraît être la seule qu'on trouve dans les provinces septentri- "onales. Sa couleur est d'un beau jaune doré. Revêtue de sa peau, elle a une "sorte de dureté, mais en la mangeant, le jus en découle; la chaire en est fon- "dante, et le goût assez agréable." T. ii. p. 33. It may be presumed that this measurement is given in French inches, which are rather longer than ours. Had the weight as well as the dimensions been stated, the comparison with those described in the text would have been more satisfactory. The former, it should be observed, were met with by the Dutch travellers, in the vicinity of an inconsiderable village in the northern provinces of *Shan-tung*, where it is probable they had not the advantage of any high degree of culture, whereas those mentioned in our text were raised in a mild climate, for the consumption of a luxurious capital, and consequently might have attained to greater perfection. In modern times the skill of the Chinese gardeners is directed, not to the object of increasing the size of their fruits, but, on the contrary, to that of diminishing both plant and fruit in such a manner as to represent the original productions in miniature. Had such a whimsical process been adverted to by Marco Polo, it would have fairly required from his readers a stronger degree of faith, than is called for by this account of pears brought to an uncommon magnitude by successful cultivation in the ordinary way. What is said of their inner substance resembling paste, is meant to describe that quality which Van Braam terms *fondante* or melting, and which De Guignes, speaking of the same fruit, expresses by *beurrée*. The latter pronounces them to be "fort grosses et excellentes." T. iii. p. 355. ed. 1

1018. By peaches of the yellow kind it may be conjectured that our author means apricots, which, as well as peaches, are the produce of that part of China. No mention is made of oranges.

1019. See Chap. xxix of this Book, and Note 759. What is here said of dried grapes will be thought to justify the correction suggested in that note, respecting the supposed transport of wine.

1020. Res-

BOOK II. CHAP. LXVIII. *Sect.* II. Notes.

1020. Respecting this Chinese liquor see Notes 598 and 709; to which we may add the observation of the Arabian traveller: "Leur boisson est une espèce de "vin fait avec du ris; ils n'ont point d'autre vin dans le païs, on n'y en porte "pas d'ailleurs, ils ne le connoissent pas, et ils n'en boivent pas." Anc. Relat. p. 17. De Guignes further remarks that, "La Chine produit du raisin, mais le "pays n'est pas vignoble; le raisin même paroît peu propre à faire du vin." T. iii, p. 348. For a more particular account of the mode of brewing the *chu*, *tsieu*, or *tarasun*, the reader is referred to t. ii, p. 278 of this writer, and to t. ii, p. 118 of Du Halde.

1021. In the mind of a Chinese no idea of indelicacy would be excited by this disgusting circumstance; and to our author, whose education had been finished amongst these people and the Tartars, it was probably a subject of indifference. It must be observed at the same time that that specific offensive matter which constitutes the bulk of "*le immonditie*" in European cities, is regarded in China as too precious an article to be allowed to run into public sewers and to be ultimately lost in rivers or lakes. Like the dung of our stables it is carefully preserved for the improvement of the land.

1022. The generality of Chinese houses having only one floor, those which are raised to a second story may, comparatively, be termed *case alte*."

1023. "L'intérieur de la ville" says Van Braam "est assez bien bâti, et ren-"ferme plusieurs belles maisons... Les rues ne sont pas fort larges... En les "traversant j'ai remarqué de grandes boutiques bien assorties, et des magasins de "toutes sortes de marchandises." P. 146. "Celles des parfumeurs" observes De Guignes "sont les plus ornées." P. 67. "The chief streets" says Staunton "consist entirely of shops and warehouses; many not inferior to the most "splendid of the kind in London." P. 439.

1024. These attentions to personal cleanliness, so little practised amongst the Tartars, would strike our author, as he advanced from the colder provinces of the north to the milder climate of *Che-kiang*, where luxury at least, if not necessity, (as in the still more southern provinces) would call for frequent ablution.

SECTION III.

Sect. III. IN other streets are the habitations of the courtesans, who are here in such numbers as I dare not venture to report: and not only near the squares,

squares, which is the situation usually appropriated for their residence, but in every part of the city they are to be found, adorned with much finery, highly perfumed, occupying well-furnished houses, and attended by many female domestics.[1025] These women are accomplished, and are perfect in the arts of blandishment and dalliance, which they accompany with expressions adapted to every description of person; insomuch that strangers who have once tasted of their charms, remain in a state of fascination, and become so enchanted by their meretricious arts, that they can never divest themselves of the impression. Thus intoxicated with sensual pleasures, when they return to their homes they report that they have been in *Kin-sai* or the celestial city, and pant for the time when they may be enabled to revisit paradise. In other streets are the dwellings of the physicians and the astrologers, who also give instructions in reading and writing, as well as in many other arts. They have apartments also amongst those which surround the market-squares. On opposite sides of each of these squares there are two large edifices, where officers appointed by his majesty are stationed, to take immediate cognizance of any differences that may happen to arise between the foreign merchants or amongst the inhabitants of the place. It is their duty likewise to see that the guards upon the several bridges in their respective vicinities (of whom mention shall be made hereafter) are duly placed, and in cases of neglect to punish the delinquents at their discretion.[1026]

On each side of the principal street, already mentioned as extending from one end of the city to the other, there are houses and mansions of great size, with their gardens, and near to these, the dwellings of the artisans, who work in shops, at their several trades; and at all hours you see such multitudes of people passing and repassing, on their various avocations, that the providing food in sufficiency for their maintenance, might be deemed an impossibility;[1027] but other ideas will be formed when it is observed that on every market-day the squares are crowded with tradespeople who cover the whole space with the articles brought by carts and boats; for all of which they find a sale. By instancing the single article of pepper, some notion may be formed of the whole quantity of provisions, meat, wine, groceries, and the like, required

BOOK II. CHAP. LXVIII. Sect. III.

required for the consumption of the inhabitants of *Kin-sai*; and of this, MARCO POLO learned from an officer employed in his majesty's customs, the daily amount was forty-three loads, each load being two hundred and forty-three pounds.[1028]

NOTES.

1025. At *Khanbalu* or Peking it was the custom in our author's time, as it is at the present day, to restrict the residence of the public women to the suburbs of the city, where the numerous strangers who resort to the capital were likewise quartered. Here, on the other hand, they are described as inhabiting the most frequented parts of the town, and especially the vicinity of the squares or bazars; as if the accommodation of the foreign merchants, in this respect also, was particularly consulted. "Ces femmes" (says the second of the Arabian Travellers, after explaining the manner in which they were registered and licensed by the officers of government) "marchent les soirs habillées d'estoffes (silks) de diverses "couleurs, et elles ne portent point de voiles. Elles s'abandonnent à tous les "estrangers nouvellement arrivés dans le païs, lors qu'ils aiment la desbauche. "Les Chinois les font venir chez eux, et elles n'en sortent que le matin. Louons "Dieu, de ce qu'il nous a exemptez de semblables infamies." Anc. Relat. p. 57.

1026. In the account given by De Guignes of the several ranks of civil mandarins or magistrates (*kouan*), he mentions "le *nan-hay*, chef de police, et ses "assesseurs ou lieutenants de quartiers." The officers spoken of in the text were probably of this latter class.

1027. "It was difficult" says Staunton "to pass along the streets, on account "of the vast concourse of people not assembled merely to see the strangers, or "on any other public occasion, but each individual going about his own con-"cerns." P. 439. "Il y paroit dans les rues" says Le Comte "autant de monde "que dans celles de Paris; et comme d'ailleurs les fauxbourgs en sont immenses, "et la multitude de barques qui couvrent tous les canaux infinie, je ne la crois "pas moins peuplée que les plus grandes villes de l'Europe." T. i, p. 129.

1028. As our author professes to have obtained his information on this head from an officer of the customs, it follows that the quantity of pepper stated in the text was that of the importation (which alone could come under his cognizance), and not the quantity consumed in the city; with which, however, it was not unlikely to be confounded in the mind of the former. The daily entry being stated at

at 10,449 lbs. the annual quantity would be 3,813,885 lbs. or (at the customary rate of sixteen hundred-weight to the ton, in this article) about 2130 tons. This may be thought large, but in a paper drawn up by Mr. F. Pigou and published in Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory (vol. ii, p. 305), it is asserted that "the usual import, "at all the trading ports of China, is about 40,000 *peculs*," or, at 133 lbs. to the *pecul*, about 3,000 tons. "Les Hollandois et les Anglois" says De Guignes, speaking of the modern commerce of the Chinese, "ont vendu 1,465,053 livres "pesant de poivre, 46,371 livres de girofle, et 8,979 livres de muscade. Cette "quantité d'épiceries, si l'on considère la population de la Chine, est plus qu'in-"suffisante, et n'est rien en raison de ce que l'empire devroit consommer." T. iii, p. 304. In regard to the inadequacy of this importation, it should be observed that it is not upon the European trade alone the Chinese depend for their supplies of pepper. Their junks frequent many of the eastern islands, and at the port of *Borneo* proper, in particular, annually take on board large cargoes of that article."

"From documents obligingly communicated to me at the East India House, it appears that the quantity brought into the port of London and sold at the Company's sales, has been, upon an average of twenty years, from 1781 to 1800, inclusive, about 2,000 tons, or, if taken upon an average of eleven years, from 1790 to 1800, during which the Dutch commerce was absorbed in that of England, no less than 2,500 tons. Of this quantity a considerable part is again exported; and such we may reasonably conclude to have been the case at *Hang-cheu-fu*, from whence, as one of the grand marts for Indian commodities, all the northern portion of China, and the capital itself, must have had their demands supplied. Under these circumstances the importation stated in the text will not be thought to exceed the bounds of probability; even though it be admitted that the southern provinces may have drawn what was required for their consumption from Canton and the ports of *Fo-kien*.

SECTION IV.

THE inhabitants of the city are idolaters, and they use paper-money as currency. The men as well as the women have fair complexions, and are handsome.[1029] The greater part of them are always clothed in silk, in consequence of the vast quantity of that material produced in the territory of *Kin-sai*, exclusively of what the merchants import from other provinces.[1030] Amongst the handicraft trades exercised in the place, there are twelve considered to be superior to the rest, as being more generally useful; for each of which there are a thousand work-

shops, and each shop furnishes employment for ten, fifteen or twenty workmen, and in a few instances as many as forty, under their respective masters. The opulent principals in these manufactories do not labour with their own hands, but on the contrary assume airs of gentility and affect parade. Their wives equally abstain from work. They have much beauty, as has been remarked, and are brought up with delicate and languid habits.[1031] The costliness of their dresses, in silks and jewelry, can scarcely be imagined. Although the laws of their ancient kings ordained that each citizen should exercise the profession of his father, yet they were allowed, when they acquired wealth, to discontinue the manual labour, provided they kept up the establishment, and employed persons to work at their paternal trades.[1032] Their houses are well built and richly adorned with carved work. So much do they delight in ornaments of this kind, in paintings, and fancy buildings, that the sums they lavish on such objects is enormous. The natural disposition of the native inhabitants of *Kin-sai* is pacific, and by the example of their former kings, who were themselves unwarlike, they have been accustomed to habits of tranquillity. The management of arms is unknown to them, nor do they keep any in their houses.[1033] Contentious broils are never heard among them.[1034] They conduct their mercantile and manufacturing concerns with perfect candour and probity.[1035] They are friendly towards each other, and persons who inhabit the same street, both men and women, from the mere circumstance of neighbourhood, appear like one family. In their domestic manners they are free from jealousy or suspicion of their wives, to whom great respect is shewn, and any man would be accounted infamous who should presume to use indecent expressions to a married woman. To strangers also who visit their city in the way of commerce, they give proofs of cordiality, inviting them freely to their houses, shewing them hospitable attention, and furnishing them with the best advice and assistance in their mercantile transactions. On the other hand, they dislike the sight of soldiery, not excepting the guards of the Grand *khan*; as they preserve the recollection, that by them they were deprived of the government of their native kings and rulers.[1036]

NOTES.

1029. The Arabian travellers of the ninth century, whose visit was to this part of China, make the same observation respecting the complexion of the inhabitants. "Les Chinois" they say, in Renaudot's translation "sont pour l'ordinaire, "beaux, de belle taille, et blancs." P. 37.

1030. "The flowered and embroidered satins, and other branches in the manu- "facture of silk, every part of which is done by women, occupy" says Staunton "vast numbers of them in *Han-choo-foo*. Most of the men were gaily dressed; "and appeared to be in comfortable circumstances." Embassy, vol. ii, p. 439. "On peut dire sans aucune exaggération" says Du Halde "que *Hang-tcheou* est "proprement le pays de la soye, parce que c'est là principalement qu'on le met "en œuvre. On prétend qu'elle renferme environ soixante mille ouvriers dans "son enceinte." T. i, p. 175. "La Chine" says De Guignes "fournit une pro- "digieuse quantité de cette matière; presque tout le monde, à l'exception des "paysans et du peuple, portent des vêtemens de soie. La meilleure provient du "*Tche-kiang*," T. ii, p. 225.

1031. The softness of feature, delicacy of shape, and languid habits of the Chinese women of superior rank, may be observed in their paintings. "Though "the ladies" says Staunton "reckon corpulence a beauty in a man, they conside[r] "it as a palpable blemish in their own sex, and aim at preserving a slimness and "delicacy of shape." P. 440. "On assure" says Du Halde "qu'elles se frot- "tent tous les matins d'une espèce de fard, qui relève la blancheur de leur teint." T. ii, p. 80. "Elles s'habillent magnifiquement" says Le Comte "et passent le "matin plusieurs heures à se parer, dans la pensée qu'elles pourront estre veuës "le jour, quoy-que pour l'ordinaire elles ne le soient que de leurs domestiques." T. i, p. 192, ed. 1697.

The practice of reducing the size and impeding the use of their feet, by early bandaging, is not adverted to by our author, unless he may be thought to have had it in view when he employed the phrase of "*allevate morbidamente*." In respect to this and some other instances of extraordinary peculiarities (such as the growth of the finger-nails to the length of two or three inches, and the preserving them in cases) he may have been doubtful of gaining credit, or apprehensive of being exposed to ridicule, should he relate them as facts. It may also admit of question whether such fashions did actually prevail at that period.

1032. If this hereditary exercise of professions was anciently a custom amongst the Chinese, as it is with the people of India, it must be allowed that the traces

BOOK II. CHAP. LXVIII. *Sect.* IV. Notes.

of it are not apparent in modern times.* Our author, however, is not singular in his assertion. " Beaucoup d'auteurs " observes De Guignes " ont écrit " qu'à la Chine les enfans exercent le même métier que leurs pères : selon eux " ils ne peuvent en changer ; " but he adds " Il est de fait, au contraire, que " les fils apprennent rarement le métier de leur père et que ce n'est que la " necessité qui les y contraint." T. ii, p. 454. " Aussitôt qu'ils ont gagné " quelque argent " says P. Parennin " ils passent au rang des commerçans, et " quelques-uns même tâchent de devenir petits mandarins." Lett. édif. t. xxii, p. 158.

1033. The unwarlike disposition and habits of the Chinese are generally known; yet in the defence of their towns they have on many occasions shewn the highest degree of patriotic and desperate resolution ; nor would the Mungals have effected the subjugation of the country, if the people had not been betrayed by their superior officers.

1034. The exterior deportment of these people is grave and placid, but their temper is naturally irascible and vindictive, and the infrequency of broils is chiefly to be attributed to a rigorous police.

1035. To this character for probity it may be thought that the Chinese traders of the present day have little claim, as all our accounts of their manners abound with stories of the ingenious frauds practised at Canton upon the less cunning Europeans; but these apply chiefly to the lower class of dealers, who, perhaps, if they could be heard in their own defence, might justify their knavery upon the principle of retaliation. In the long continued intercourse that has subsisted between the agents of the European companies and the more eminent of the Chinese merchants, whatever injustice the former may have experienced from the effects of court intrigue, complaints on the ground of commercial unfairness have been extremely rare, and on the contrary their transactions have been marked with the most perfect good faith and mutual confidence.

1036. The *naïveté* of this observation is characteristic of our author's ingenuous mind.

SECTION V.

Sect. V.

On the borders of the lake are many handsome and spacious edifices belonging to men of rank and great magistrates. There are likewise many idol temples, with their monasteries, occupied by a number of monks,

monks, who perform the service of the idols.[1037] Near the central part are two islands, upon each of which stands a superb building, with an incredible number of apartments and separate pavilions.[1038] When the inhabitants of the city have occasion to celebrate a wedding or to give a sumptuous entertainment, they resort to one of these islands, where they find ready for their purpose every article that can be required, such as vessels, napkins, table-linen, and the like, which are provided and kept there at the common expence of the citizens, by whom also the buildings were erected. It may happen that at one time there are an hundred parties assembled there, at wedding or other feasts, all of whom, notwithstanding, are accommodated with separate rooms or pavilions, so judiciously arranged that they do not interfere with or incommode each other. In addition to this, there are upon the lake a great number of pleasure-vessels or barges, calculated for holding ten, fifteen, to twenty persons, being from fifteen to twenty paces in length, with a wide and flat flooring, and are not liable to heel to either side in passing through the water. Such persons as take delight in the amusement, and mean to enjoy it, either in the company of their women or that of their male companions, engage one of these barges, which are always kept in the nicest order, with proper seats and tables, together with every other kind of furniture necessary for giving an entertainment. The cabins have a flat roof or upper deck, where the boatmen take their place, and by means of long poles, which they thrust to the bottom of the lake (not more than one or two fathoms in depth), they shove the barges along, until they reach the intended spot. These cabins are painted within-side, of various colours and with a variety of figures: all parts of the vessel are likewise adorned with painting.[1039] There are windows on each side, which may either be kept shut, or opened to give an opportunity to the company, as they sit at table, of looking out in every direction and feasting their eyes on the variety and beauty of the scenes as they pass them. And truly the gratification afforded in this manner, upon the water, exceeds any that can be derived from the amusements on the land; for as the lake extends the whole length of the city, on one side, you have a view, as you stand in the boat, at a certain distance from the shore, of all its grandeur and beauty, its palaces, temples, convents, and gardens, with trees of the

the largest size growing down to the water's edge, whilst at the same time you enjoy the sight of other boats of the same description, continually passing you, filled in like manner with parties in pursuit of amusement. In fact, the inhabitants of this place, as soon as the labours of the day have ceased, or their mercantile transactions are closed, think of nothing else than of passing the remaining hours in parties of pleasure, with their wives or their mistresses, either in these barges, or, about the city in carriages; of which it will here be proper to give some account, as constituting one of the amusements of these people.

It must be observed in the first place, that the streets of *Kin-sai* are all paved with stones and bricks,[1040] and so likewise are all the principal roads extending from thence through the province of *Manji*, by means of which passengers can travel to every part without soiling their feet; but as the couriers of his majesty who go on horseback, with great speed, cannot make use of the pavement, a part of the road, on one side, is on their account left unpaved.[1041] The main street of the city, of which we have before spoken, as leading from one extremity to the other, is paved with stone and brick to the width of ten paces on each side, the intermediate part being filled up with small gravel, and provided with arched drains for carrying off the rain water that falls, into the neighbouring canals; so that it remains always dry. On this gravel it is that the carriages are continually passing and repassing. They are of a long shape, covered at top, have curtains and cushions of silk, and are capable of holding six persons. Both men and women who feel disposed to take their pleasure, are in the daily practice of hiring them for that purpose; and accordingly at every hour you may see vast numbers of them driven along the middle part of the street.[1042] Some of them proceed to visit certain gardens, where the company are introduced by those who have the management of the place, to shady recesses contrived by the gardeners for that purpose; and here the men indulge themselves all day in the society of their women; returning home, when it becomes late, in the manner they came.

NOTES.

1037. " Les bords du lac " says Du Halde " sont ornés de temples, de " grands monastères de bonzes, et d'assez jolies maisons." P. 176. " The lake " says Staunton " formed a beautiful sheet of water, about three or four miles in " diameter, and surrounded, to the north, east, and south, by an amphitheatre " of mountains, between the base of which and the margin of the lake, the " narrow slip of level ground was laid out in a pleasing style suitable to the " situation. It was ornamented with houses and gardens of mandarines, as well " as a palace belonging to the emperor, together with temples, monasteries for " the *hoshaung* or priests of *Fo*, and a number of light and fanciful stone bridges " that are thrown across the arms of the lake... Upon the summit also were " erected pagodas, one of which attracted particular attention." P. 444.

1038. " Au milieu du lac sont deux petites isles, où l'on se rend d'ordinaire, " après avoir pris le plaisir de la promenade sur des barques." Du Halde, p. 176. " Lorsque tout y était bien entretenu " observes Van Braam " ces lieux devaient " offrir, dans la belle saison, une espèce de paradis terrestre, un asyle où tout " devait appeler le plaisir et la sensualité. C'est avec justice, que ce lac et ses " environs sont aussi renommés dans tout l'empire Chinois." T. ii, p. 155.

1039. " Navires " says P. Martini " qu'on pourroit appeller avec raison des " palais dorés, parce qu'ils sont peints de diverses couleurs, et que tout y brille " du plus fin et du meilleur or: de sorte que c'est là où la magnificence et la " pompe des festins, des spectacles, et des jeux éclatent tous les jours. Ces " Chinois de *Hang-cheu*, qui sont autant d'esclaves de la volupté, y trouvent en " abondance tout ce qu'ils peuvent souhaiter." P. 141. " Vast numbers of " barges " says Barrow, speaking of the same lake " were sailing to and fro, " all gaily decorated with paint and gilding and streaming colours; the parties " within them apparently all in pursuit of pleasure." P. 524.

1040. " Les rues " Van Braam remarks " ne sont pas fort larges, mais elles " sont bien pavées avec de grands pierres de taille." P. 146. " The streets " says Staunton " are narrow. They are paved with large smooth flags in the " middle, and with small stones on each side." P. 439. When it was an imperial city (as observed in Note 1007) the streets were probably wider than they are now found to be, after all the changes incident to a lapse of five centuries.

1041. " Après être rentrés dans nos palanquins " says De Guignes " nous " continuâmes notre route. Le chemin est en bon état et pavé; il règne au " milieu

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" milieu un cordon formé par de grandes pierres, et sur les bords un autre plus " petit d'environ six pouces de largeur; les intervalles sont cailloutés." T. ii, p. 75. In another place, speaking of the roads in general through China, he says: " Ceux qui avoisinent la ville de *Hang-tcheou-fou*, et le lac *Sy-hou*, dans " le *Tche-kiang*, sont pavés." P. 216.

1042. The carriages which stand for hire in the streets of Peking are of a smaller size than these described by our author, but in other respects the construction is the same. " Ces voitures " says De Guignes " dont on trouve à " Peking une grande quantité à louer, ressemblent à des palanquins ordinaires, " mais d'une forme plus alongée; elles sont rondes en dessus, doublées en dehors " et en dedans de gros drap bleu, et garnies de coussins noirs. Plusieurs de ces " voitures sont fermées en avant, avec une porte sur le côté; mais généralement " elles sont ouvertes; il y a en outre de chaque côté deux petits carreaux pour " voir ce que se passe: le cocher est assis à l'entrée de la voiture et dirige le " cheval, qui est toujours seul." T. i, p. 372. See plate 41, of those annexed to M. De Guignes' work, where it will be observed that the carriages nearly resemble what we term in England a tilted cart. As the habits of the ancient Chinese capital were much more luxurious than those of Peking under the Tartar dominion, at any period, we may conclude that the vehicles of the former were fitted up with more attention to ease and convenience, as well as with more splendour, than the clumsy machines above described. Staunton indeed, speaks of " cushions " stuffed with cotton, and covered with silk, to sit upon," in the *waggons* of *Hang-cheu-fu*. P. 447.

SECTION VI.

Sect. VI.

It is the custom of the people of *Kin-sai*, upon the birth of a child, for the parents to make a note, immediately, of the day, hour and minute at which the delivery took place. They then inquire of an astrologer under what sign or aspect of the heavens, the child was born; and his answer is likewise committed carefully to writing. When therefore he is grown up, and is about to engage in any mercantile adventure, voyage, or treaty of marriage, this document is carried to hte astrologer, who having examined it, and weighed all the circumstances, pronounces certain oracular words, in which these people, who sometimes find them justified by the event, place great confidence. Of these astrologers, or rather magicians, great numbers are to be met with

with in every market-place, and no marriage is ever celebrated until an opinion has been pronounced upon it by one of that profession.[1043]

It is also their custom, upon the death of any great and rich personage, to observe the following ceremonies. The relations, male and female, clothe themselves in coarse dresses, and accompany the body to the place appointed for burning it. The procession is likewise attended by performers on various musical instruments, which are sounded as it moves along, and prayers to their idols are chaunted in a loud voice. When arrived at the spot they throw into the flame many pieces of cotton-paper, upon which are painted representations of male and female servants, horses, camels, silk wrought with gold, as well as of gold and silver money. This is done in consequence of their belief that the deceased will possess in the other world all these conveniences, the former in their natural state of flesh and bones, together with the money and the silks. As soon as the pile has been consumed, they sound all the instruments of music at the same time, producing a loud and long continued noise; and they imagine that by these ceremonies their idols are induced to receive the soul of the man whose corpse has been reduced to ashes, in order to its being regenerated in the other world, and entering again into life.[1044]

NOTES.

1043. Repeated notice has already been taken of the degree to which the eastern people are addicted to astrology. " Les Chinois " observes De Guignes " croient aux jours heureux et malheureux. Le gouvernement publie tous les " ans un almanach, dans lequel les momens favorables sont indiqués." T. ii, p. 358. " On y mêle aussi " says P. Le Comte " divers points de l'astrologie " judiciaire que l'ignorance et la superstition ont inventé, touchant les jours heu- " reux et malheureux, et les temps propres aux mariages, aux bâtimens, au " commencement des voyages." T. ii, p. 76.

1044. The reader is referred to Notes 905 and 963, for a discussion of the difficulties attending this uniform assertion of our author respecting the practice of burning corpses in China. In the following passage from De Guignes he will

find a confirmation of many particulars of the funeral ceremony detailed in the text, and also a strong allusion to those circumstances which might be regarded as the most doubtful. " Le jour de funérailles " says this traveller " les parens et " les amis se rassemblent pour accompagner le corps ; la marche est ouverte par " des musiciens ; viennent ensuite plusieurs personnes, portant différentes figures " d'animaux, les marques de dignité du mort, &c. Les bonzes précèdent le cer- " cueil, qui est élevé sur un brancard porté par une vingtaine d'hommes, et sur- " monté quelquefois d'un baldaquin. Le fils aîné vient immédiatement après, " suivi de ses frères ; il est couvert d'un sac de grosse toile, avec un bonnet de la " même étoffe ; suivent les amis et les domestiques, et plus loin les femmes, à " pied ou en palanquins, habillées de la même étoffe que les hommes ; elles " poussent de gémissemens et des cris et versent des pleurs, en s'interrompant " par intervalles, pour recommencer ensuite toutes en même temps." " Lorsque " le cercueil est entièrement recouvert de terre, les Chinois font de libations, &c. " Ils brûlent des papiers dorés, ainsi que des chevaux, des habits et des hommes, " le tout en papier, dans la ferme persuasion que ces offrandes faites aux morts, " les accompagnent dans l'autre monde." " Il est difficile de dire si les anciens " Chinois se sont bornés à brûler des habits et des hommes de papier, et si cette " coutume n'est pas la représentation d'un ancien usage barbare qui a existé chez " beaucoup de peuples de l'antiquité, et qui se pratiquoit encore, il n'y a pas " long-temps, chez les Tartares Mantchoux, actuellement maîtres de la Chine. " L'empereur *Chun-tchy*, dont le règne finit en 1661, ordonna, à la mort d'une " de ses femmes, que l'on immolât trente personnes aux manes de cette princesse, " et que son corps fût déposé dans un cercueil précieux, et *brûlé* avec une pro- " digieuse quantité d'or, d'argent, de soieries et de meubles. A la mort de la " mère de *Kang-hy* (en 1718), quatre jeunes filles voulurent s'immoler sur la " tombe de leur maîtresse ; mais l'empereur ne voulut pas le permettre et dé- " fendit de brûler désormais des étoffes, des meubles ou des esclaves." T. ii, p. 302-304. These instances prove that their ceremonies with respect to the dead have undergone changes ; and the presumption is strong, that, at an earlier period, when the custom of burning slaves, in order to accompany and attend upon their deceased master, was prevalent, the bodies were all consumed at the same time, if not upon the same pile. The doctrine of successive regeneration appears to have been received from India, along with the religion of *Buddha*. " Proche de la " cité de *Kiung* " says Martini, speaking of places dependent on *Siang-yang* " est la grande montagne de *Vu-tang* . . . Il y a plusieurs temples magnifiques, avec " des couvents de sacrificateurs (*bonzes*) ; car c'est là que les autres sacrificateurs " de la Chine prennent leurs cérémonies : ceux, dis-je, qui suivent la doctrine " des idoles la plus subtile, et croyent la métempsycose ou le passage des ames, " entendant par là une séparation morale de l'ame d'avec le corps ; c'est pourquoi " ils sont toujours dans la contemplation : ceux qui croyent le sens littéral de la

" métempsycose

" métempsycose et le passage de l'ame d'un animal dans le corps d'un autre, " reçoivent leur ordre et institution de la montagne de *Tien-tai* dans la province " de *Chekiang*, où demeurent les principaux sacrificateurs de leur secte." P. 93.

SECTION VII.

Sect. VII.

In every street of this city there are stone buildings or towers, to which, in case of a fire breaking out in any quarter (an accident by no means unusual, as the houses are mostly constructed of wood) the inhabitants may remove their effects for security.[1045] By a regulation which his majesty has established, there is a guard of ten watchmen stationed, under cover, upon all the principal bridges; of whom five do duty by day, and five by night. Each of these guard-rooms is provided with a sonorous wooden instrument as well as one of metal, together with a *clepsydra (horiuolo)* by means of which latter, the hours of the day and night are ascertained.[1046] As soon as the first hour of the night is expired, one of the watchmen gives a single stroke upon the wooden instrument, and also upon the metal *gong (bacino)* which announces to the people of the neighbouring streets that it is the first hour.[1047] At the expiration of the second, two strokes are given; and so on progressively, increasing the number of strokes as the hours advance.[1048] The guard is not allowed to sleep, and must be always on the alert. In the morning, as soon as the sun begins to appear, a single stroke is again struck, as in the evening; and so onwards, from hour to hour. Some of these watchmen patrol the streets, to observe whether any person has a light or fire burning after the hour appointed for extinguishing them. Upon making the discovery, they affix a mark to the door, and in the morning the owner of the house is taken before their magistrates, by whom, if he cannot assign a legitimate excuse for his offence, he is condemned to punishment. Should they find any person abroad at an unseasonable hour, they arrest and confine him, and in the morning he is carried before the same tribunal.[1049] If in the course of the day they notice any person who from lameness or other infirmity is unable to work, they place him in one of the hospitals of which there are several in every part of the city, founded by the ancient kings, and

liberally endowed. When cured, he is obliged to work at some trade.[1050] Immediately upon the appearance of fire breaking out in a house, they give the alarm by beating on the wooden machine, when the watchmen from all the bridges within a certain distance, assemble to extinguish it, as well as to save the effects of the merchants and others, by removing them to the stone towers that have been mentioned. The goods are also sometimes put into boats, and conveyed to the islands in the lake. Even on such occasions the inhabitants dare not stir out of their houses, when the fire happens in the night-time, and only those can be present whose goods are actually removing,[1051] together with the guard collected to assist, which seldom amounts to a smaller number than from one to two thousand men. In cases also of tumult or insurrection amongst the citizens, the services of this police guard are necessary; but independently of them, his majesty always keeps on foot a large body of troops, both infantry and cavalry, in the city and its vicinity; the command of which he gives to his ablest officers, and those in whom he can place the greatest confidence, on account of the extreme importance of this province, and especially its noble capital, which surpasses in grandeur and wealth every other city in the world. For the purposes of nightly watch, there are mounds of earth thrown up, at the distance of above a mile from each other,[1052] on the top of which a wooden frame is constructed, with a sounding board, which being struck with a mallet by the guard stationed there, the noise is heard to a great distance. If precautions of this nature were not taken, upon occasions of fire, there would be danger of half the city being consumed; and their use is obvious also in the event of popular commotion, as, upon the signal being given, the guards at the several bridges arm themselves, and repair to the spot where their presence is required.

NOTES.

1045. It does not appear that this precaution against the effects of conflagration, in towns built of wood or canes, is noticed in the journals of our modern embassies. With the difference only of the brick receptacles being in the houses of the individuals, instead of the public street, I have had the opportunity of seeing it employed

employed in a Chinese colony. The Arabian Travellers remark "qu'ils mettent "tout ce qu'ils ont dans des caisses montées sur des roues; et lors que le feu "prend en quelque endroit, ils tirent ces caisses dehors." Anc. Relat. P. 59.

1046. "On y voit" says P. Martini "un horologe rempli d'eau, qui marque "les heures: car quand l'eau coule et tombe d'un vaisseau dans l'autre, elle "éléve en mesme (tems) une tablette et escriteau qui marque les heures." P. 17. "Dans l'enceinte de la ville de *Hangcheu* il y a une montagne (mound of earth) "nommée *Chinghoang*, au midi de la ville, où l'on voit cette tour, où les heures "se marquent par le moyen d'une clepsydre ou horologe à l'eau." P. 138.

1047. "Les soldats" says De Guignes "marquent les veilles de la nuit en "frappant sur une cloche ou sur un tambour." T. iii, p. 105. The nature of the instrument called a *gong* by Europeans (from the Malayan word *gông* گوڠ) and by the Chinese, *lu*, is too well known to require description. With respect to the sounding board, its principle or construction has not been satisfactorily explained. "Two pieces of wood" says Staunton "struck against each other, and producing "a sound like that of a great rattle, serve to give notice from authority, on most "occasions, especially among the troops." P. 15. De Guignes, speaking of the same kind of machine, says, "Un soldat frappe sur un instrument fait en forme "de poisson de bois." T. ii, p. 218: and again; "Ils ont aussi des cymbales et "des instrumens entièrement de bois; tel est le poisson de bois creux dont les "soldats se servent dans le *Kiang-nan*. Ce poisson a deux pieds et demi de long "sur six pouces de diamètre." P. 319. These wooden instruments, although perhaps not in the form of a fish, appear to have been in use in the time of the Arabian Travellers, who say "Ils sont précédés par des hommes qui portent des "morceaux de bois, semblables à ceux dont les Chrestiens de Levant se servent "au lieu de cloches. Le bruit qu'ils font s'entend de fort loin." P. 60.

1048. "On distingue ordinairement" says Le Comte "cinq (veilles de la nuit) "qui commencent à sept ou huit heures du soir. Au commencement de la pre- "mière on frappe un seul coup, un moment après on redouble encore, ce qu'on "répète continuellement durant deux heures, jusqu'à la seconde veille. Car "alors on frappe deux coups, et on continue toujours à frapper jusqu'à la troi- "sième veille, &c. . .augmentant le nombre des coups, à mesure qu'on passe d'une "veille à l'autre, de sorte que ce sont autant d'horloges à répétition, qui font "connoistre à tout moment quelle heure il est. On sert encore pour marquer les "mesmes veilles d'un tambour, d'une grandeur extraordinaire, sur lequel on "frappe toute la nuit selon les mesmes proportions." T. i, p. 127. This continued repetition of the strokes, during the intervals of the several watches (similar to calling the hours in the streets of our own metropolis) is not stated in the

the text. The practice may have undergone a change; but it seems more likely that our author's words may have been misunderstood by those who, being accustomed to the mechanical striking of a town-clock, have brought his meaning to that standard. It is remarkable at the same time that what P. Le Comte has so distinctly explained is not adverted to in the journals of the late embassies. "La "première veille" says De Guignes "s'annonce par un coup de tambour; la "troisième, par trois coups, et ainsi de suite." T. ii, p. 426.

1049. "D'espace en espace, il y a des sentinelles qui arrêtent ceux qui ne "seroient pas retirés dans leurs maisons...Cette loy est si bien observée qu'il "n'y a point d'honnêtes gens qui se trouvent pendant la nuit dans les rues: si par "hazard on trouve quelqu'un, on le regarde, ou comme de la plus vile populace, "ou comme un voleur, et on l'arrête." Du Halde, T. ii, p. 50. "Une des "ordonnances de la police Chinoise" says De Guignes "défend à toute personne "quelconque de sortir le soir sans lumière." T. iii, p. 104.

1050. In the modern descriptions of China we do not observe any mention of hospitals of this kind; but it will be allowed that a regulation so wise and just is more likely to have been a part of the actual system of police in a great nation, than merely the speculative idea of an European writer of the thirteenth century. Every thing indeed shews that since the expulsion of the native dynasty of the *Ming*, by the present race of Eastern Tartars all public establishments have been in a state of decay; and it requires no extraordinary foresight to predict, that the Chinese will, before long, attempt to renovate their empire by another revolution.

1051. "Le mesme homme," continues P. Martini "prend garde au feu, et "comme il regarde toute la ville de fort haut, si le feu vient à se mettre dans "quelque maison, il bat le tambour." P. 17. But however prudent and efficacious may be the precautions of the Chinese against the breaking out of fires, it seems to be agreed that their exertions to stop the progress of the flames, are ill-directed and seldom attended with success. "Si c'est dans la ville" says De Guignes "que le feu prend, la méfiance des mandarins l'emporte sur le danger; "ils n'appellent aucun secours, et l'incendie ne cesse qu'avec la destruction totale "des maisons." T. iii, p. 104. This remark may perhaps apply more particularly to the city of Canton, where the jealousy of European interference is excessive.

1052. Respecting these mounds see Note 1012.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

When the Grand *khan* reduced to his obedience the province of *Manji*, which until that time had been one kingdom, he thought proper to divide it into nine parts,[1053] over each of which he appointed a king or viceroy, who should act as supreme governor of that division, and administer justice to the people.[1054] These make a yearly report to commissioners acting for his majesty, of the amount of the revenue, as well as of every other matter pertaining to their jurisdiction. Upon the third year they are changed, as are all other public officers.[1055] One of these nine viceroys resides and holds his court in the city of *Kin-sai*, and has authority over more than an hundred and forty cities and towns, all large and rich.[1056] Nor is this number to be wondered at, considering that in the whole of the province of *Manji* there are no fewer than twelve hundred, containing a large population of industrious and wealthy inhabitants.[1057] In each of these, according to its size and other circumstances, his majesty keeps a garrison, consisting, in some places, of a thousand, in others of ten or twenty thousand men, accordingly as he judges the city to be, in its own population, more or less powerful.[1058] It is not to be understood that all these troops are Tartars. On the contrary they are chiefly natives of the province of *Kataia*.[1059] The Tartars are universally horsemen, and cavalry cannot be quartered about those cities which stand in the low, marshy parts of the province, but only in firm, dry situations, where such troops can be properly exercised.[1060] To the former he sends Kataians, and such men of the province of *Manji* as appear to have a military turn; for it is his practice to make an annual selection amongst all his subjects, of such as are best qualified to bear arms; and these he enrolls to serve in his numerous garrisons, that may be considered as so many armies. But the soldiers drawn from the province of *Manji* he does not employ in the duty of their native cities, on the contrary, he marches them to others at the distance of perhaps twenty days journey, where they are continued for four or five years, at the expiration of which they are allowed to return to their homes, and others are sent to replace them. This regulation applies equally to the Kataians.[1061] The greater part

part of the revenues of the cities, paid into the treasury of the Grand *khan*, is appropriated to the maintenance of these garrisons.[1062] When it happens that a city is in a state of rebellion (and it is not an uncommon occurrence for these people, actuated by some sudden exasperation, or when intoxicated, to murder their governors), a part of the garrison of a neighbouring city is immediately dispatched with orders to destroy the place where such guilty excesses have been committed;[1063] whereas it would be a tedious operation to send an army from another province, that might be two months on its march. For such purposes the city of *Kin-sai* constantly supports a garrison of thirty thousand soldiers; and the smallest number stationed at any place is one thousand.[1064]

NOTES.

1053. There is reason to believe that the boundaries of the several provinces were not, in former times, exactly the same as we find them at present. Generally, however, these nine parts into which *Manji*, or southern China, was divided, may be considered as the provinces of *Kiang-nan*, *Kiang-si*, *Che-kiang*, *Fo-kien*, *Kuan-tong*, *Kuang-si*, *Koei-cheu*, *Hu-kuang*, and *Ho-nan*. Kataia or *Khatai* appears to have consisted of *Pe-che-li*, *Shan-tung*, *Shan-si*, and the eastern part of *Shen-si*. The remaining provinces of the fifteen, namely *Se-chuen* and *Yun-nan*, as well as the western portion of *Shen-si*, had been but imperfectly subdued by the Chinese emperors, and seem not to have belonged, in our author's time, to either of the two grand divisions.

1054. The great officer or mandarin here styled a king (*re*), or, more properly, viceroy, is by the Chinese termed *tsong-tu*; of whom there are eleven throughout the empire; some of them having jurisdiction over more than one province. The proper governor of each province is named *fu-yuen*, whom the missionaries frequently style the viceroy, although avowedly subordinate to the former.

1055. " Les mandarins " says De Guignes " sont changés tous les trois ans." T. ii, p. 455. " De trois en trois ans " says Du Halde " on fait une revue " générale de tous les mandarins de l'empire." T. ii, p. 39. " Les trois années " de son employ estant achevées " says P. Magalhanes " il fut élevé à la charge " de mandarin d'une ville du premier ordre." P. 250.

1056. This

1056. This number much exceeds what is allotted to the jurisdiction of any of the great cities at the present day; but it must be considered that *Hang-cheu-fu* had then recently been the capital of the proper Chinese empire, and its municipal influence might not have been brought down to the level of other provincial cities.

1057. According to Du Halde's list the nine provinces of the south-eastern part of China, enumerated in Note 1053, contain 101 cities of the first class, 84 of the second, and 625 of the third, making together 810 cities; independently of any portions of *Yun-nan* or *Se-chuen* that might then have belonged to the kingdom of *Manji*. This, it will be seen, does not fall very far short of our author's statement, who might, besides, have intended to include some populous towns of the fourth order. With respect to those of the third, Du Halde observes: "Quand "on parle de *hien* ou ville du troisième ordre, il ne faut pas s'imaginer que ce "soit un district de peu d'étendue: il y a tel *hien* qui a 60, 70, et même 80 "lieues de circuit, et qui paye à l'empereur plusieurs millions de tribut." T. i, p. 2. P. Le Compte makes the number of cities more considerable than Du Halde: "On les divise ordinairement" he observes "en trois ordres. Dans le "premier, il y en a plus de 160; dans le second 270, et dans le troisième, près "de 1200; sans compter 300 autres villes murées qu'on met hors de rang, quoy "qu'elles soient presque toutes fort peuplées et qu'on y fasse un grand commerce." T. i, p. 118. This seems to exceed also the enumeration of our author; but it must be recollected that the latter speaks of *Manji* only, which excludes the three northern provinces of China.

1058. "On compte" says the same writer "plus de dix-huit mille mandarins "de guerre (military officers of a certain rank) et plus de sept cens mille soldats "répandus dans toutes les provinces." Of these, a great proportion must be regarded in the light of militia or *landwehr*; but whatever their numbers may have been in the last or the preceding century, it is obvious that in the reign of *Kublaï*, by whom the whole country was subdued and held in obedience by force of arms, the number of troops must have been prodigiously greater.

1059. "Les trois provinces septentrionales donnent beaucoup de soldats pour le "service de l'empereur." P. 44.

1060. Our author's perfect acquaintance with the local circumstances of this part of China is evinced by the observation in the text. A country intersected by canals, and causeways over marshes, is obviously unfit for the operations of cavalry.

BOOK II. CHAP. LXVIII. *Sect.* VIII. Notes.

1061. Here we find a striking instance of a departure, in the modern military institutions of these people, from the system of *Kublaï*, which was founded on more extensive experience in the art of disciplining armies, and a deeper knowledge of mankind. " Comme la Chine jouit d'une paix profonde, l'état de soldat " dans ce pays " De Guignes observes " expose à peu de dangers; il est même " lucratif, et par conséquent recherché. Les soldats sont enrôlés dans les pro- " vinces où ils sont nés, et attachés aux corps qui y résident. Ces corps ne changent " jamais de garnison: le gouvernement pense que l'officier et le soldat vivant " ainsi auprès de leurs familles, et ne les perdant point de vue, combattront avec " plus de courage pour les défendre, si l'occasion s'en présente." T. iii, p. 15. See also Du Halde, t. ii, p. 44. The change of system is more likely to have been produced by the facility of this enrolment, the comparatively small expence of such local corps, and the want of energy in the government, than by the motives which M. De Guignes has assigned.

1062. " Une grande partie des deniers impériaux " says Du Halde " se consu- " ment dans les provinces, par les pensions, le payement des troupes, les " ouvrages publics, &c. Le surplus est porté à Peking." P. 16.

1063. " Ces troupes " observes the same writer " ne servent guères, sur tout " depuis que la Tartarie est soumise, qu'à prévenir les révoltes des peuples, ou " à appaiser les premiers mouvemens qui s'éleveroient dans une ville, ou dans " une province." P. 45.

1064. That it should be found necessary to station an army of that number of men, in or near the populous capital of a newly conquered empire, is by no means improbable; nor that a thousand men should, at that period, have constituted the ordinary garrison of cities of the first or second class; however deficient of troops they may be found (according to some travellers) at the present time. In the seventeenth century, as we are told by P. Le Comte, the garrison of *Hang-chew* consisted of ten thousand men, of whom three thousand were Chinese. T. i, p. 129.

SECTION IX.

Sect. IX.

It now remains to speak of a very fine palace that was formerly the residence of king *Fanfur*,[1065] whose ancestors enclosed with high walls an extent of ground ten miles in compass and divided it into three parts. That in the centre was entered by a lofty portal, on each side of which

was

was a magnificent colonnade, on a flat terrace, the roofs of which were supported by rows of pillars highly ornamented with the most beautiful azure and gold. The colonnade opposite to the entrance, at the further side of the court, was still grander than the others, its roof being richly adorned, the pillars gilt, and the walls on the inner side ornamented with exquisite paintings representing the histories of former kings.[1066] Here, annually, upon certain days consecrated to the service of their idols, king *Fanfur* was accustomed to hold his court, and to entertain at a feast his principal nobles, the chief magistrates, and the opulent citizens of *Kin-sai*. Under these colonnades might be seen, at one time, ten thousand persons suitably accommodated at table. This festival lasted ten or twelve days, and the magnificence displayed on the occasion, in silks, gold, and precious stones, exceeded all imagination; for every guest, with a spirit of emulation, endeavoured to exhibit as much finery as his circumstances would possibly allow. Behind the colonnade last mentioned, or that which fronted the grand portal, there was a wall, with a passage, that divided this exterior court of the palace, from an interior court, which formed a kind of large cloister, with its rows of pillars sustaining a portico that surrounded it, and led to various apartments for the use of the king and queen. These pillars were ornamented in a similar manner, as were also the walls. From this cloister you entered a covered passage or corridor, six paces in width, and of such a length as to reach to the margin of the lake. On each side of this there were corresponding entrances to ten courts, in the form of long cloisters, surrounded by their porticos, and each cloister or court had fifty apartments, with their respective gardens, the residence of a thousand young women, whom the king retained in his service.[1067] Accompanied sometimes by his queen, and on other occasions by a party of these females, it was his custom to take amusement on the lake, in barges covered with silk, and to visit the idol temples on its borders. The other two divisions of this seraglio were laid out in groves, pieces of water, beautiful gardens stored with fruit-trees, and also enclosures for all sorts of animals that are the objects of sport, such as antelopes, deer, stags, hares, and rabbits. Here likewise the king amused himself, in company with his damsels, some in carriages and some on horseback. No male person was allowed to be of these parties,

but on the other hand, the females were practised in the art of coursing with dogs, and pursuing the animals that have been mentioned. When fatigued with these exercises, they retired into the groves on the banks of the lake, and there quitting their dresses, rushed into the water in a state of nudity, sportively swimming about, some in one direction and some in another, whilst the king remained a spectator of the exhibition. After this they returned to the palace. Sometimes he ordered his repast to be provided in one of these groves, where the foliage of lofty trees afforded a thick shade, and was there waited upon by the same damsels. Thus was his time consumed amidst the enervating charms of his women, and in profound ignorance of whatever related to martial concerns, the consequence of which was, that his depraved habits and his pusillanimity enabled the Grand *khan* to deprive him of his splendid possessions, and to expel him with ignominy from his throne;[1068] as has been already stated.[1069] All these particulars were communicated to me, when I was in that city, by a rich merchant of *Kin-sai*, then very old, who had been a confidential servant of king *Fanfur*, and was acquainted with every circumstance of his life.[1070] Having known the palace in its original state, he was desirous of conducting me to view it. Being at present the residence of the Grand *khan's* viceroy, the colonnades are preserved in the style in which they had formerly subsisted, but the chambers of the females had been suffered to go to ruin, and the foundations only were visible. The wall likewise that enclosed the park and gardens was fallen to decay, and neither animals nor trees were any longer to be found there.[1071]

NOTES.

1065. Respecting this title (a corruption of the Arabic word *Faghfur* فغفور) applied by the Mungals to the monarchs of Southern China, see Note 935.

1066. The plans of Chinese palaces seem nearly to resemble each other, and particularly in respect to this kind of court, on a raised terrace, in front of the principal part of the building, where those persons assemble, whose rank entitles them to the privilege of paying their compliments to the sovereign. In the "Gezandtschaft" of Nieuhof (p. 172) will be found a representation of the anterior

anterior court of the palace of Peking, which Van Braam commends for its fidelity. The hotel or palace of a great officer of state or wealthy individual seems to be built upon the same plan and decorated in the same manner. "Elle est "toujours précédée" says De Guignes "d'une grande cour où logent les por- "tiers, et qui est entourée de galeries et d'un grand péristyle dont le toit est "soutenu par des colonnes . . . Cette cour est fermée par trois grandes portes en "bois . . . Après ces trois portes on trouve une autre cour . . . et enfin une troisième "cour qui fait face à l'appartement principal . . . Cet appartement composé de "plusieurs pièces, donne par derrière sur les jardins, et communique par des "galeries avec celui des femmes." T. ii, p. 176. "Par les mots *colonnes* et *ga-* "*leries*," the same writer observes "il ne faut pas entendre des colonnes ou des "galeries, dans le style Grec; le vrai mot, celui qui convient le mieux à la "colonne Chinoise, c'est *pilier*, puisque son diamètre est toujours le même dans "toute sa longueur." P. 173. "Some of the walls," says Staunton "were "covered with paintings, representing the pleasures of the chase in Tartary." P. 242.

1067. "Avant que les Tartares se fussent emparés de l'empire" says De Guignes "certains empereurs Chinois ont eu jusqu'à *dix* mille femmes." T. ii, p. 284.

1068. "Les débauches auxquelles cet empereur s'abandonna, lui furent funestes, "et à son empire." Du Halde, t. i, p. 492.

1069. See Chap. lv of this Book, and Note 943.

1070. *Tu-tsong*, the *faghfur* or emperor of the *Song*, here alluded to, having ceased to reign in 1274, and the Polo family having quitted China in or about the year 1291, our author might well have conversed with the domestics of that prince, and particularly whilst he held the government of *Yang-cheu*, in the adjoining province.

1071. "Les jardins que nous avons vus auprès du lac *Sy-hou*, à *Hang-tcheou-fou*, ont dû être très-beaux lorsqu'ils étoient en bon état; mais, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, les ouvrages des Chinois demandent un entretien continuel, et pour peu qu'on les néglige, ils sont bientôt détruits." De Guignes, t. ii, p. 194.

SECTION

SECTION X.

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At the distance of twenty-five miles from this city, in a direction to the northward of east, lies the sea, near to which is a town named *Ganpu*, where there is an extremely fine port, frequented by all the ships that bring merchandize from India.[1072] The river that flows past the city of *Kin-sai* forms this port, at the place where it falls into the sea. Boats are continually employed in the conveyance of goods up and down the river, and those intended for exportation are there put on board of ships bound to various parts of India and of Kataia.

Marco Polo happening to be in the city of *Kin-sai*, at the time of making the annual report to his majesty's commissioners of the amount of revenue and the number of inhabitants, had an opportunity of observing that the latter were registered at one hundred and sixty *tomans* of fire-places, that is to say, of families dwelling under the same roof, and as a *toman* is ten thousand, it follows that the whole city must have contained one million six hundred thousand families[1073] amongst which multitude of people there was only one church of Nestorian Christians. Every father of a family, or housekeeper, is required to affix a writing to the door of his house specifying the name of each individual of his family, whether male or female; as well as the number of his horses. When any person dies or leaves the dwelling, the name is struck out, and upon the occasion of a birth it is added to the list. By these means the great officers of the province and governors of the cities are at all times acquainted with the exact number of the inhabitants. The same regulation is observed throughout the province of Kataia as well as of *Manji*.[1074] In like manner all the keepers of inns and public hotels inscribe in a book the names of those who take up their occasional abode with them, particularising the day and the hour of their arrival and departure; a copy of which is transmitted daily to those magistrates who have been spoken of as stationed in the market-squares. It is a custom in the province of *Manji*, with the indigent class of the people, who are unable to support their families, to sell their children to the rich, in order that they may be fed and brought up in a better manner than their own poverty would admit.[1075]

NOTES

NOTES.

1072. *Gan-pu*, here described as the seaport of *Kin-sai* or *Hang-cheu*, answers to the port of *Ning-po*, situated on a river the entrance of which is sheltered by the islands of *Chu-san*, where H. M. ship Lion and the East India Company's ship Hindostan lay, in the year 1793. To those islands Captain Macintosh who had accompanied Lord Macartney, proceeded from *Hang-cheu-fu*, to rejoin his ship; passing through *Ning-po* in his route.

"*Ning-po*, que les Européens ont appellé *Liam-po*" says Du Halde "est un "très-bon port sur la mer orientale de la Chine." "A dix-huit ou vingt lieues de "*Ning-po* dans la mer, est une isle nommée *Tcheou-chan*. Le port est très-bon, "mais peu commode pour le commerce. C'est où les Anglois abordèrent par "hazard la première fois n'ayant pu démêler ni trouver le chemin de *Ning-po*, "parmi toutes les isles de cette côte." P. 177. "Sur la vaste étendue des côtes "de la Chine, trois ports seulement, savoir, Quanton, Emouy, Ning-po, expé- "dient pour les pays étrangers." De Guignes, t. iii, p. 301. At this port it was that P. le Comte and the other French missionaries, in the year 1687, arrived in China, and from *Nimpo*, as he writes the name, they proceeded directly to *Hamtcheou*, the capital of the province. By the expression of "*all* the ships that "bring merchandise from India" must be understood, all that were bound to that part of China.

1073. This statement of the number of families in *Hang-cheu*, even admitting that the suburbs are meant to be included, appears excessive; but it is unfair to measure the population of an ancient capital of China, by the standard of a modern city. Yet Staunton observes that "its population is indeed immense; "and is supposed to be not very much inferior to that of Pekin," which he computes at about three millions; remarking, at the same time, that few of the circumstances take place in the metropolis of China, which contribute to the aggrandizement of other capitals; Pekin being merely the seat of government of the empire. It is neither a port nor a place of inland trade or manufacture, and forms no rendezvous for pleasure and dissipation. P. 149, 439. The former, on the other hand, possessed these advantages in an eminent degree.

In the Basle edition the number of families is stated at six hundred thousand only, which would give a population of about three millions; but in the earlier Latin and the Berlin and B. M. manuscripts the enumeration corresponds with Ramusio's text. Upon the whole it is to be presumed that our author was misled, as others have been since his days, by exaggerated accounts received from the natives. The *toman* of the Tartars and Persians, it may be observed, is equivalent

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lent to the *van* or *wan* of the Chinese, and large numbers are expressed, by the latter, in multiples of ten thousand, exactly in the manner he has stated.

1074. It does not appear in the writings either of the missionaries or of modern travellers, that mention is made of such lists of the inhabitants being affixed (at stated periods we may presume) on the outside of houses; but I have the verbal assurance of Mr. Reeves, who resided many years in China and is lately returned to that country (of whose authority I have already availed myself in Note 980), that the regulation exists at the present day: to which he added his opinion that it was established not merely on account of the facility it gives to the officers of revenue and police, but from a regard to delicacy, that there might be no pretence for intrusion into the apartments of the females.

1075. "Les famines et la misère" observes De Guignes "forcèrent dans la "suite les parens à vendre leurs enfans, et établirent ce droit funeste, qu'un père "peut engager son fils et même le vendre. Mais, si l'infortune est souvent la "cause de cet acte dénaturé, l'intérêt l'est encore bien davantage; et l'on ne "trouve beaucoup de petites filles à vendre, que parce qu'il se rencontre un "grand nombre d'acheteurs." "Pendant notre voyage à Peking, un de nos "domestiques Chinois ayant acheté un petit garçon, remit quelque argent au "père, et fit un écrit par lequel il s'engageoit à nourrir et à habiller l'enfant; le "contrat terminé il l'appela son frère, et le traita comme s'il l'eût été réelle-"ment." T. ii, p. 292-3. In the part of the country of which our author is here treating it has at all periods been a prevalent custom to educate young females with every kind of meretricious accomplishment, for the purpose of disposing of them to rich debauchees. ***

CHAPTER LXIX.

Of the Revenues of the Grand khan.

CHAP. LXIX.

We shall now speak of the revenue which the Grand *khan* draws from the city of *Kin-sai* and the places within its jurisdiction, constituting the ninth division or kingdom of *Manji*. In the first place, upon salt, the most productive article, he levies a yearly duty of eighty *tomans* of gold, each *toman* being eighty thousand *saggi*, and each *saggio* fully equal

equal to a gold florin, and consequently amounting to six millions four hundred thousand ducats.[1076] This vast produce is occasioned by the vicinity of the province to the sea, and the number of salt lakes or marshes in which, during the heat of summer, the water becomes crystallized, and from whence a quantity of salt is taken, sufficient for the supply of five of the other divisions of the province.[1077] There is here cultivated and manufactured a large quantity of sugar,[1078] which pays, as do all other groceries, three and one-third per cent. The same is also levied upon the wine or fermented liquor made of rice. The twelve classes of artisans, of whom we have already spoken, as having each a thousand shops, and also the merchants, as well those who import the goods into the city, in the first instance, as those who carry them from thence to the interior, or who export them by sea, pay, in like manner, a duty of three and one-third per cent.; but goods coming by sea from distant countries and regions, such as from India, pay ten per cent. So likewise all native articles of the country, as cattle, the vegetable produce of the soil, and silk, pay a tithe to the king.[1079] The account being made up in the presence of MARCO POLO, he had an opportunity of seeing that the revenue of his majesty, exclusively of that arising from salt, already stated, amounting in the year to the sum of two hundred and ten *tomans* (each *toman* being eighty thousand *saggi* of gold), or sixteen million eight hundred thousand ducats.[1080]

NOTES.

1076. Estimating the gold ducat of Venice at ten shillings English (for the sake of round numbers) this revenue derived from the article of salt would amount to the sum of £3,200,000 which may be thought excessive, as applying, not to the empire at large, but to that portion of China of which *Hang-cheu-fu* was the capital. It must, however, be considered that all the northern provinces, as well as those of the interior, are supplied from the south-eastern parts of the coast; and that the quantity exported from the places of manufacture must consequently be enormous. One half of the duties upon articles of produce is understood to be paid in kind, and we are informed that the stock of salt collected upon government account at *Tien-sing* on the *Pe-ho*, was calculated by the gentlemen of Lord Macartney's embassy, at three millions of bags or six hundred millions

of pounds weight. Vol. ii, p. 21. The *gabelle* or revenue from salt, in France, about the year 1780, is stated by M. Necker to have been 54,000,000 livres, or £2,250,000.

1077. Sea salt is produced by a similar process of solar evaporation, in many of the southern parts of Europe, as well as on the coasts of India.

1078. "The vallies along the river" says Staunton, speaking of that which flows by *Hang-cheu-fu* "were cultivated chiefly in sugar-canes, then almost ripe "and about eight feet high." T. ii, p. 460.

1079. "L'impôt" says De Guignes "est le dixième de l'évaluation des terres." "Tous ceux qui ont parlé des revenus de la Chine, disent positivement qu'on "prélève un second dixième sur la récolte du riz, dans la province de *Quan-tong*." T. iii, p. 90. It appears that the grand revenue of China has at some periods arisen from a capitation tax, and at others from an impost on the produce of the land. "Il est à propos d'observer" says the same writer "que l'état des "revenus à l'époque dont les missionnaires ont parlé, ne doit plus être le même "pour le temps actuel, le mode de perception ayant été changé sous l'empereur "*Yong-tching*, qui fit substituer la taille ou impôt sur les terres à la capitation." P. 87. When that country was visited by the Arabian travellers of the ninth century, the capitation existed.

1080. This sum is equal to £8,400,000 of our money, and the aggregate to £11,600,000: an amount which the revenues and expences of our own country, in recent times, have taught us to consider as almost insignificant; and yet it was for such statements that our author's countrymen and cotemporaries, who deemed them fabulous, were pleased to bestow upon him the title of Messer Millioni.

In the attempts that have been made to ascertain the modern revenue of the emperors of China (but which affords no adequate criterion for judging of that of *Kubilai*), we find a remarkable discordance between the calculations of different writers; for, whilst the Account of Lord Macartney's embassy, on the authority of a respectable Chinese magistrate, makes it to amount to sixty-six millions of our money, M. De Guignes, who accompanied the Dutch embassy, states the total at seven hundred and ten millions of livres or about thirty millions sterling. The former estimate, it must be observed, derives strength from the testimony of Du Halde, who says: "En supputant tous ce que l'empereur "(*Kang-hi*) perçoit, et le réduisant à nos livres de France, tous ses revenus "ordinaires sont estimées d'environ deux cens millions de taëls. Un taël est une "once (Chinoise) d'argent qui vaut cent sols de notre monnoye valeur intrinsique." T. ii, p. 15. The current value of the *taël* is six shillings and eight pence.

pence or one-third of a pound sterling, and consequently the sum here stated is about sixty-six millions of English money. It is not, however, my intention to controvert the probability of some exaggeration on the part of the Chinese authorities; but it will be thought a coincidence not a little remarkable, that for the year 1816, the total nett revenue of Great Britain, exclusively of Ireland and the Indian dependencies, amounted to the sum of £66,292,135.

CHAPTER LXX.

Of the city of Ta-pin-zu.

LEAVING the city of *Kin-sai* and travelling one day's journey towards the south-east, continually passing houses, villas, and delightful gardens, where every kind of vegetable is produced in abundance, you arrive at the city of *Ta-pin-zu*, which belongs to the jurisdiction of *Kin-sai*.[1081] The inhabitants worship idols, use paper money, burn the bodies of their dead, are subjects of the Grand *khan*, and gain their subsistence by trade and manual arts. This place not demanding any more particular notice, we shall proceed to speak of the city of *Uguiu*.

NOTES.

1081. No name resembling the *Ta-pin-zu* of our text or the *Tam-pin-gui* of the Latin versions presents itself, at the distance of one day's journey, in a southerly direction, from *Hang-cheu-fu*, nor could it under those circumstances be a place of more importance than the second rank of cities. P. Magalhanes (p. 10) asserts without hesitation that it is intended for *Tai-ping-fu* in the province of *Nan-king* or *Kiang-nan*; but however unexceptionable the agreement in sound may be, the situation of the latter, to the north-west of *Hang-cheu*, presents a formidable difficulty, which cannot otherwise be resolved than by supposing that liberties have been taken with our author's words, and that places which he has thought proper to notice, although lying out of the direct road, have been forced by his translators into the line of an itinerary, to which he never professes to adhere. This remark will be found to apply equally to the city spoken of in the next chapter.

CHAPTER LXXI.

Of the city of Uguiu.

BOOK II. CHAP. LXXI.

FROM *Ta-pin-zu* travelling three days towards the south-east, you come to the city of *Uguiu*,[1082] and still further, in the same direction, two days journey, you pass in continual succession, so many towns, castles, and other inhabited places, and such is their vicinity to each other, that to a stranger they have the appearance of one extended city. All of them are dependent upon *Kin-sai*. The people are idolaters, and the country supplies the necessaries of life in great abundance. Here are found canes of greater bulk and length than those already noticed, being four spans in girt and fifteen paces long.[1083]

NOTES.

1082. The name of *U-guiu* or *U-giu*, which is *U-gui* in the Italian epitomes, but is omitted in the Basle edition, has an obvious affinity to that of *Hu-cheu* on the bank of the lake *Tai*, not far from *Hang-cheu*, but like *Tai-ping* is situated in a direction opposite to that of south-east, as expressed in the text. "Elle passe" says P. Martini "pour une des plus grandes et florissantes villes pour le négoce "et pour ses richesses, considérable pour la splendeur et magnificence de ses "bastimens, pour la beauté de ses campagnes, de ses eaux, &c." P. 143.

1083. *Hu-cheu* and the places subsequently mentioned being surrounded by a low country, and situated in a warm climate, it is reasonable to suppose that the bamboo cane should there be found in abundance and perfection, and accordingly Du Halde says: "Le *Tche-kiang* en est plus fourni qu'aucune autre province. "Il y en a des forêts entières." T. i, p. 174.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER LXXII.

Of the cities of Gen-gui, Zen-gian, and Gie-za.

PROCEEDING further two days' journey in the same direction, you reach the town of *Gen-gui*,[1084] and still advancing to the south-east you never cease to meet with towns full of inhabitants, who are employed at their trades and cultivate the soil. In this part of the province of *Manji* there are not any sheep to be seen, but many oxen, cows, buffaloes, and goats, and of swine a vast number.[1085] At the end of the fourth day you arrive at the city of *Zen-gian*, built upon a hill that stands insulated in the river, which by dividing itself into two branches appears to embrace it. These streams take opposite directions, one of them pursuing its course to the south-east and the other to the north-west.[1086] The cities last mentioned are likewise under the dominion of his majesty, and dependent upon *Kin-sai*. The people worship idols and subsist by trade. There is in the country abundance of game, both beasts and birds. Proceeding further, three days journey, you reach the large and noble city of *Gie-za*, which is the last within the jurisdiction of *Kin-sai*.[1087] Having passed this city, you enter upon another kingdom or viceroyalty of *Manji*, named *Kon-cha*.

NOTES.

1084. *Gen-gui*, which in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts is written *Cheu-gui*, appears to be the *Tchu-ki* of Du Halde's map, a town of the third order. From the mention of this place it may be inferred that our author's journey was not prosecuted (as were those of the English and Dutch embassies, in returning from *Peking* to Canton, by *Hang-cheu-fu*) against the stream of the river, but by land from town to town, as these happened to lie more or less directly in his way to the southern provinces.

1085. In the journals of our modern travellers, as well as in the writings of the missionaries, we find repeated remarks on the paucity of sheep and abundance of pork in this part of China. "Les terres de cette province" says Du Halde, speaking

speaking of *Leao-tong* " nourrissent de grands troupeaux de bœufs et de moutons, " ce qu'on ne voit presque point dans les provinces de la Chine." T. iv, p. 5. " On some small spots " says Staunton, when passing through a northern province, " a few sheep are fed." P. 361. " La viande la plus ordinaire, et dont on fait " une grande consommation " say De Guignes " est celle de cochon." " Le " mouton est très-bon; il est commun dans les provinces septentrionales; mais il " est fort cher à Canton. Le bœuf est excellent à Wampou." T. ii, p. 276. In passing the part of the country of which we are now speaking, the same writer says: " Nous aperçûmes des buffles et des vaches, mais en petit nombre." T. ii, p. 90. " J'ai observé aussi " says Van Braam " que les pourceaux de cette " partie (*Kiang-si*) diffèrent absolument de ceux de *Quang-tong*." T. i, p. 93.

1086. That *Zen-gian* which in the early Italian epitome is *Eian-giari* and in the early Latin, *Cyangy*, was intended for the city of *Yen-cheu* (called also *Nian-cheu*) will hardly admit of a doubt; the names approaching as near as the usual corruptions of the syllable *cheu* or *giu* can be expected to allow. With respect to local circumstances it must be admitted, that the modern city is not built upon a hill, but at the foot of high mountains and just at the meeting (which in ascending rivers is often termed the branching) of two streams that contribute to form the *Tsien-tang-kiang*. Its position is thus described by Van Braam: " A quatre " heures nous nous sommes trouvés en face de la ville de *Yen-tcheou-fou*, où nous " nous sommes arrêtés...La ville est assez grande et bien bâtie...Elle est située " dans une grande vallée entièrement entourée de montagnes, et a, le long de son " côté ouest, *la rivière qui s'y sépare en deux branches*. Son mur d'enceinte passe, " en divers points, dans des endroits où les montagnes sont moins élevées... " Précisément en face de la ville, sur une haute colline...est une haute tour " hexagone à sept étages...A six heures nous avons poursuivi notre route en " prenant *la branche méridionale* de la rivière." T. ii, p. 188-90.

1087. This name of *Gie-za*, or, as it appears in the other versions, *En-giu* and *Cu-gui*, belongs evidently to the city of *Kiu-cheu*, situated as it is, at the south-western extremity of the province of *Che-kiang*, on the border of a distinct viceroyalty, and in the usual, perhaps the only route to the provinces of *Fo-kien* and *Kuang-tong*. " Cette ville de *Kiu-cheu*," observes P. Martini " est une des " plus méridionales de cette province; c'est pourquoy M. Polo la met la dernière " de la province de *Quin-sai*." P. 145.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER LXXIII.

Of the kingdom or viceroyalty of Kon-cha, and its capital city named Fu-giu.

Upon leaving the last city of the kingdom or viceroyalty of *Kin-sai*, named *Gie-za*, you enter that of *Kon-cha*,[1088] the principal city of which is named *Fu-giu*.[1089] In the course of six days journey through this country, in a south-east direction, over hills and along vallies,[1090] you continually pass towns and villages, where the necessaries of life are in abundance, and there is much field-sport, particularly of birds. The people are idolaters, the subjects of the Grand *khan*, and are engaged in commerce. In these parts there are tigers of great size and strength. Ginger and also galangal[1091] are produced in large quantities, as well as other drugs.[1092] For money equal in value to a Venetian silver groat you may have eighty pounds weight of fresh ginger; so common is its growth. There is also a vegetable which has all the properties of the true saffron, as well the smell as the colour, and yet it is not really saffron. It is held in great estimation, and being an ingredient in all their dishes, it bears, on that account a high price.[1093]

The people in this part of the country are addicted to eating human flesh, esteeming it more delicate than any other; provided the death of the person has not been occasioned by disease. When they advance to combat they throw loose their hair about their ears, and they paint their faces of a bright blue colour. They arm themselves with lances and swords, and all march on foot excepting their chief, who rides on horseback. They are a most savage race of men, insomuch that when they slay their enemies in battle, they are anxious to drink[1094] their blood, and afterwards they devour their flesh. Leaving this subject we shall now speak of the city of *Kue-lin-fu*.

NOTES.

NOTES.

BOOK II. CHAP. LXXIII. Notes.

1088. *Kon-cha* or *Kon-ka* as an Italian would pronounce the word, which is *Kon-chay* in the early Latin version and *Tonza* in the Italian epitome, seems to have been the name of a viceroyalty that included the provinces of *Fo-kien*, *Kiang-si*, and *Kuang-tong*; but at the present day, *Che-kiang* and *Fo-kien* are governed by one viceroy or *tsong-tu*, as *Kuang-tong* and *Kiang-si* are by another.

1089. The *Fu-giu* of our author is the city of *Fu-cheu-fu*, the capital of the province of *Fo-kien*. It is here mentioned incidentally, and not as lying in the direction of his route, but it appears to be the city afterwards described in chapter lxxvi.

1090. These hills or, more properly, mountains, constitute the chain which separates the province of *Che-kiang* from those of *Kiang-si* and *Fo-kien*. "Le "chemin" says P. Martini "est de trois journées, fort difficile et malaisé à "cause des montagnes." P. 145. The distance from *Kiu-cheu* to the first considerable town on the south-western side of the mountains, may be considered as a journey of six days.

1091. De Guignes, in his account of the articles exported from China, speaking of the galanga, says: "C'est la racine noueuse d'une plante qui croît à près de "deux pieds de hauteur, et dont les feuilles ressemblent à celles du myrte." T. iii, p. 254. It is remarkable that ginger (*amomum zinziber*) is not mentioned as a production of southern China, either by Staunton or De Guignes; and we are tempted to conjecture, either that some other plant is here meant, or that the passage (as is evidently the case with respect to the concluding paragraph of the chapter) belonged to the account of the eastern islands, and has been introduced into a wrong part of the work. The *galanga* of *Java*, *kæmpferia galanga* (called by the Malays, *konchôr* كنچور) is well known in the *materia medica*.

1092. If I am warranted in the conjecture (which will be found to gain strength, as we advance) that our author's original notes have been transposed in this place, it will account for the circumstance of the article tea, the production of this part of China, and distinctly mentioned by the Arabian travellers of the ninth century, being here omitted in the enumeration of drugs

1093. By this yellow dye is indubitably meant the *curcuma longa*. "Le tur-"merick, ou terra merita, ou curcuma" says De Guignes "est appelé en "Chinois, *cha-kiang*; il vient du *Quang-tong*: cette racine est bonne pour la "teinture:

" teinture : la plus longue est la meilleure." T. iii, p. 264. But in China it is not commonly, if it is at all employed in cookery; whereas, amongst the Malays and other people of the eastern islands, it enters into the composition of every dish, whilst it is by them equally applied to the purposes of a dye-stuff.

1094. In Book i, Chap. lvi, will be found a passage similar to this, in substance, where certain people of Tibet and Kashmír are represented as cannibals, and which, in Note 474, I have endeavoured to shew, must rather have been intended to apply to the *Batta* people of Sumatra, amongst whom our author resided during several months, and with whose peculiar manners he must have been well acquainted. To suppose that this character belonged to the inhabitants of the most civilised, rich, and industrious part of China, would not only be inconsistent with what is known of the country, but also with his own description of the people, whom he speaks of as devoted to all the arts of luxury, unhabituated to the use of arms, and in every respect the reverse of savages. With regard to the *Battas*, on the contrary, all travellers by whom they have been mentioned, attribute to them the practice of cannibalism, and under those circumstances precisely, which are stated in the text. The custom of throwing loose the hair, upon the occasion of any desperate attack, is also strongly characteristic of these islanders. " *Auru* è fra terra," says Barbosa in his description of Sumatra (written in 1516), " dove habitano huomini gentili che mangiano carne humana, " et principalmente di quelli che ammazzano nella guerra." Ramusio, vol. i, fol. 318.2.

It is asserted indeed by the second of the two early Arabian travellers that the practice did exist in China. " Cette cruauté " he says " leur est permise selon " les loix de leur religion, jusques là mesme, qu'ils vendent de la chair humaine " dans leurs places publiques." Ancien. Relat. p. 55. His account however was written immediately after a civil war, in which (according to his information) one hundred and twenty thousand Mahometans and other foreigners were massacred; and he may therefore be suspected of violent prejudice. The traveller who preceded him and who saw the country under more favourable circumstances makes no allusion to such an atrocious custom. Upon the whole there is reason to suspect that not only what relates to it, but the whole of the passage beginning with the words : " In these parts there are tigers of great size and strength " and concluding with : " and afterwards devour their flesh," has been interpolated at this place, and ought to have been reserved for the Third Book.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Of the city of Kue-lin-fu.

BOOK II. CHAP. LXXIV.

THE journey of six days (mentioned in the preceding chapter) being accomplished, you arrive at the city of *Kue-lin-fu*, which is of considerable size, and contains three very handsome bridges, upwards of an hundred paces in length, and eight paces in width.[1095] The women of the place are very handsome, and live in a state of luxurious ease. There is much raw silk produced here, and it is manufactured into silk pieces of various sorts. Cottons are also woven, of coloured threads,[1096] which are carried for sale to every part of the province of *Manji*.[1097] The people employ themselves extensively in commerce, and export quantities of ginger and galangal.[1098] I have been told, but did not myself see the animal, that there are found at this place a species of domestic fowls which have no feathers, their skins being clothed with black hair, resembling the fur of cats.[1099] Such a sight must be extraordinary. They lay eggs like other fowls, and they are good to eat. The multitude of tigers renders travelling through the country dangerous, unless a number of persons go in company.[1100]

NOTES.

1095. From its position with respect to the road across the mountains, and other circumstances, there appears to be reason for agreeing in opinion with P. Martini, that this is the city of *Kien-ning-fu*, in the province of *Fo-kien*. "Elle est située" he says "sur le bord oriental de la rivière de *Min*: elle céde bien à sa capitale "pour les marques de noblesse, mais non pas en grandeur. J'ai déjà fait voir "que l'endroit où Marco Polo l'a placée témoigne assez que c'estoit sa *Quelin-fu*. "Cette ville a esté fort ruinée dans ces dernières guerres... Le feu et l'embrasement n'ont pas épargné une église que nostre Compagnie y avoit, n'y ayant que "ce beau pont qui est sur la rivière de *Min* qui ait esté conservée de sa "violence... Il y a aussi un autre pont magnifique qui se nomme *cho-king*... si "long qu'il y a dessus soixante et treize boutiques." P. 157. It must at the same

same time be observed that the name of *Quei-ling-fu* belongs to the capital of the province of *Kuang-si*; but this lies at so great a distance from the places already mentioned, and is so entirely unconnected with them, that it cannot be considered as the city here meant; unless on the supposition that the accounts of intermediate parts have been omitted.

1096. The words of the text express no more than that the cotton received its colour in the yarn and not in the piece; which would scarcely deserve notice as a peculiarity; but the *Nan-king* cotton, which is known to be, in its raw state, of the colour it bears in the manufacture, may perhaps be that which is meant to be described. "La toile de *Nam-king*" says Van Braam "qu'on fabrique fort loin "du lieu du même nom . . est faite d'un coton roussâtre . . La couleur de la "toile de *Nam-king* est donc naturelle, et point sujette à pâlir." T. ii, p. 73.

1097. "La ville de *Kien-ning*" says P. Martini "est assez marchande: car "toutes les denrées qui montent et descendent sur la rivière passent par là; et lors "qu'elles sont arrivées à la cité de *Pu-ching*, on les débarque pour les faire "porter . . à travers des montagnes qui sont fort hautes et de profondes vallées." P. 158.

1098. Respecting these productions, see Note 1091.

1099. The account of this uncommon species of fowl appears to have been thought too incredible by some early translators; for in the notes or various readings, in Muller's edition, we find at this place the following remark: "Hæsit "autor MS. etiam in hac voce, cui itidem spatium reliquit." P. 126. Yet the same breed, or one equally singular, is thus described by Du Halde: "On y "trouve" he says, speaking of the province of *Se-chuen* "de ces poules dont la "laine est semblable à celle de brebis, qui sont fort petites, qui ont les pieds "courts, et qui plaisent infiniment aux dames Chinoises, lesquelles en élèvent "par amusement." T. i, p. 215.

1100. "On trouve dans ce pays" says P. Martini, speaking of *Che-kiang* "des tigres presque par tout, que Marco Polo de Venise appelle improprement "des lions." P. 140.

CHAPTER LXXV.

Of the city of Un-guen.

BOOK II. CHAP. LXXV.

Upon leaving the city of *Kue-lin-fu* and travelling three days, during which you are continually passing towns and castles, of which the inhabitants are idolaters, have silk in abundance, and export it in considerable quantities, you reach the city of *Un-guen*.[1101] This place is remarkable for a great manufacture of sugar, which is sent from thence to the city of *Kanbalu* for the supply of the court.[1102] Previously to its being brought under his majesty's dominion, the natives were unacquainted with the art of manufacturing sugar of a fine quality, and boiled it in such an imperfect manner, that when left to cool it remained in the state of a dark-brown paste.[1103] But at the time when this city became subject to his majesty's government, there happened to be at the court some persons from Babylon[1104] who were skilled in the process, and who, being sent thither, instructed the inhabitants in the mode of refining the sugar by means of the ashes of certain woods.[1105]

NOTES.

1101. With whatever modern name that of *Un-guen*, or *U-gueu* (as it appears in the early Venice epitome) may be thought to accord, it is evident from the circumstances, that it must be one of the cities of the second or third class, within the jurisdiction of *Fu-gui* or *Fu-cheu-fu*, and in the neighbourhood of that capital.

1102. "On fait dans son territoire" says P. Martini, speaking of *Fu-cheu*, "une très-grande quantité de sucre fort blanc, et c'est la première province de "l'Orient où on le fasse: par là on peut juger que cette ville est la *Fu-gui* du "Vénitien." P. 153. This priority must be meant of the refining only, for the early manufacture of sugar in the province of *Se-chuen*, where it was introduced by an Indian, is mentioned by the same writer in the following manner: "Ce pays "produit aussi des roseaux à sucre, dont on tire beaucoup et d'excellent, et bien "qu'il y en ait eu de tout temps, si est-ce qu'ils n'en sçavoyent point tirer le "sucre,

" sucre, comme ils disent eux mesmes, jusqu'à ce qu'un certain prestre Indien en " eust enseigné la manière aux habitans du pays." P. 87.

1103. Sugar in that moist and imperfect state is termed *jaggri* in most parts of the East Indies.

1104. By Babylon is to be understood the city of *Baghdad*, where the arts flourished, although under the dominion of the Moghul Tartars.

1105. It is well known that alkaline substances are used in the process of granulating sugars. "Towards the end of this boiling" says the dictionary of arts and sciences "they throw into the juice a strong lixivium of wood-ashes, with "some quick-lime."

CHAPTER LXXVI.

Of the city of Kanagiu.

TRAVELLING fifteen miles further in the same direction, you come to the city of *Kan-giu*, which belongs to the kingdom or viceroyalty of *Kon-cha*, one of the nine divisions of *Manji*.[1106] In this place is stationed a large army for the protection of the country, and to be always in readiness to act, in the event of any city manifesting a disposition to rebel. Through the midst of it passes a river a mile in breadth, upon the banks of which, on either side, are extensive and handsome buildings. In front of these, great numbers of ships are seen lying, having merchandise on board, and especially sugar, of which large quantities are manufactured here also.[1107] Many vessels arrive at this port from India, freighted by merchants who bring with them rich assortments of jewels and pearls, upon the sale of which they obtain a considerable profit. This river discharges itself into the sea, at no great distance from the port named *Zai-tun*. The ships coming from India ascend the river as high up as the city,[1108] which abounds with every sort of provision, and has delightful gardens producing exquisite fruits.

NOTES.

BOOK II. CHAP. LXXVI. Notes.

1106. It cannot be doubted that the word *Kan-giu* is here intended for *Kuang-cheu* or *Quang-cheu*, the name of the city improperly termed by Europeans, Canton, being a corruption of *Kuang-tong*, which belongs to the province of which it is the capital; but however clear the identity of the name may be, its application to the place is attended with insuperable difficulty; for not only the distances stated could not have led us beyond the province of *Fo-kien*, but the circumstance of the river being said to discharge itself not far from the port of *Zai-tun* or *Zarten* (afterwards described) obliges us to consider our author as again speaking of the city of *Fu-cheu*, which he had before incidentally mentioned as the capital of that province. The inference here drawn is also strengthened by the texts of the Basle and the early Italian editions, both of which speak of the latter city as that which was distant fifteen miles from *Un-quen*, *Un-guen*, or *U-gueu*, without noticing the name of *Kan-giu* or *Kuang-cheu*. Yet it must be allowed that the latter could not have been introduced in Ramusio's version, unless it had been found in some of the manuscripts which he consulted, nor is it likely that a place of its great commercial importance should be passed entirely unnoticed in our author's original account. It seems therefore most probable that as there are in this south-eastern part of China at least three considerable ports frequented by foreign traders (although not by ships from Europe), it may have appeared to persons ignorant of and indifferent about the geography, that there was too much sameness in the descriptions, and that one or other of them might be conveniently omitted. Upon any other supposition it will not be an easy matter to account for the same chapter, containing substantially the same facts, being said in some editions to treat of *Fu-gui*, answering to *Fu-cheu* the capital of *Fo-kien*, and in another, to treat of *Kan-giu*, answering to *Kuang-cheu* (Canton) the capital of *Kuang-tong*: neither of which were known to Europeans through any other channel, for two centuries after the date of these travels.

1107. "On fait dans toute l'étendue de son ressort" says Du Halde, speaking of *Fu-cheu*, "du sucre extrêmement blanc." T. i, p. 155.

1108. "Mesme les plus grands vaisseaux de la Chine" says P. Martini speaking of the same city "peuvent, sortans de la mer, monter jusqu'aux murailles qui "sont vers le midy, par une grande embouchure, où est le fauxbourg de *Nantai*." P. 153. These qualities may be thought to apply equally to Canton, which lies more directly open to the trade from India, and was certainly the *Can-su* of the early Arabian travellers, but by some well-informed persons the port of *Fu-cheu* is considered, under all its circumstances as the best adapted to foreign trade of any in China.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER LXXVII.

Of the city and port of Zai-tun, and the city of Tin-giu.

Upon leaving the city of *Kan-giu* and crossing the river to proceed in a south-easterly direction, you travel during five days through a well inhabited country, passing towns, castles, and substantial dwellings, plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions. The road lies over hills, across plains, and through woods, in which are found many of those shrubs from whence the camphor is procured.[1109] The country abounds also with game. The inhabitants are idolaters. They are the subjects of the Grand *khan*, and within the jurisdiction of *Kan-giu*. At the end of five days journey you arrive at the noble and handsome city of *Zai-tun*, which has a port on the sea-coast celebrated for the resort of shipping, loaded with merchandize that is afterwards distributed through every part of the province of *Manji*.[1110] The quantity of pepper imported there is so considerable, that what is carried to Alexandria, to supply the demand of the western parts of the world, is trifling in comparison, perhaps not more than the hundredth part. It is indeed impossible to convey an idea of the concourse of merchants and the accumulation of goods, in this which is held to be one of the largest and most commodious ports in the world.[1111] The Grand *khan* derives a vast revenue from this place, as every merchant is obliged to pay ten per cent. upon the amount of his investment. The ships are freighted by them at the rate of thirty per cent. for fine goods, forty-four for pepper, and for lignum aloes, sandal-wood, and other drugs, as well as articles of trade in general, forty per cent.; so that it is computed by the merchants, that their charges, including customs and freight, amount to half the value of the cargo; and yet upon the half that remains to them, their profit is so considerable, that they are always disposed to return to the same market with a further stock of merchandise. The country is delightful, the people are idolaters, and have all the necessaries of life in plenty. Their disposition is peaceable, and they are fond of ease and indulgence.[1112] Many persons arrive in this city from the interior parts

of

BOOK II. CHAP. LXXVII.

of India for the purpose of having their persons ornamented by puncturing with needles (in the manner before described), as it is celebrated for the number of its artists skilled in that practice.[1113]

The river that flows by the port of *Zai-tun* is large and rapid, and is a branch of that which passes the city of *Kin-sai*.[1114] At the place where it separates from the principal channel, stands the city of *Tin-gui*. Of this place there is nothing further to be observed, than that cups or bowls and dishes of porcelain-ware are there manufactured.[1115] The process was explained to be as follows. They collect a certain kind of earth, as it were from a mine, and laying it in a great heap, suffer it to be exposed to the wind, the rain, and the sun, for thirty or forty years, during which time it is never disturbed. By this it becomes refined and fit for being wrought into the vessels abovementioned.[1116] Such colours as may be thought proper are then laid on, and the ware is afterwards baked in ovens or furnaces.[1117] Those persons therefore who cause the earth to be dug, collect it for their children and grand children. Great quantities of the manufacture are sold in the city, and for a Venetian groat you may purchase eight porcelain cups.

We have now described the viceroyalty of *Kon-cha*, one of the nine divisions of *Manji*, from whence his majesty draws as ample a revenue as even from that of *Kin-sai*. Of the others we shall not attempt to speak, because MARCO POLO did not himself visit any of their cities, as he has done those of *Kin-sai* and *Kon-cha*.[1118] It should be observed that throughout the province of *Manji* one general language prevails, and one uniform manner of writing; yet in the different parts of the country there is a diversity of dialect, similar to what is found between the Genoese, the Milanese, the Florentine, and the dialects of other Italian states, whose inhabitants, although they have each their peculiar speech, can make themselves reciprocally understood.[1119]

Not having yet completed the subjects upon which MARCO POLO purposed to write, he will now bring this Second Book to a close and will commence another with a description of the countries and provinces of India, distinguishing it into the Greater, the Lesser, and the Middle India;

India;[1120] parts of which he visited whilst employed in the service of the Grand *khan*, who ordered him thither upon different occasions of business,[1121] and afterwards when, accompanied by his father and uncle, in their returning journey they escorted the queen destined for king *Argon*.[1122] He will have the opportunity of relating many extraordinary circumstances observed by himself personally in those countries, but at the same time shall not omit to notice others of which he was informed by persons worthy of credit, or which were pointed out to him in the sea-chart of the coasts of India.[1123]

NOTES.

1109. This tree, the *laurus camphora* of China and Japan, grows to a large size and is improperly termed by Ramusio an *arboscello* or shrub. In the Basle edition it is said: "ex nemorum arboribus colligitur *pix*," but in the older Latin version it is mentioned by its proper name. In the Italian epitome the production is unnoticed. Staunton speaks of "the shining leaves of the thick and spreading "camphor tree"... the only species of the laurel genus growing in China, and there a large and valuable timber tree. It is not to be confounded with the camphor tree of Borneo and Sumatra, which is also remarkable for its great size, but is of a genus entirely distinct from the *laurus*.

1110. This famous port of *Zai-tun*, named *Zarten* in the Basle edition, *Zai-zen* in the older Latin, and *Jaitoni* in the epitome, is generally supposed to be the place named *Tsuen-cheu* by the Chinese (the *Suen-tcheou* of Du Halde's map). "Rien ne flatta tant leur ambition et celle de *Kublaï*" says the historian of the Huns "que l'arrivée d'un très-grand nombre de vaisseaux venus d'occident dans "les ports de la province de *Fo-kien*, et sur-tout dans celui de *Tsuen-tcheou*. C'est "un très-bon port où tous les vaisseaux de l'Inde apportent des denrées qui se "vendent dans une grande foire, d'où on les transporte dans tout le reste du "monde." Liv. xvi, p. 180. "M. Paul" says the same writer, in another place, "le nomme *Zarten* ou *Zaiten*: Marakeschi l'appelle *Zaitoun*." P. 169. Yet it may be thought that the description applies with equal justness to the nearly adjoining port of *Hia-muen*, called *Emoui* by the French and *Amoy* by the English navigators, which, until the last century, participated largely with Canton in the foreign commerce of the empire. "Les Anglois" says the younger De Guignes "visitèrent dans ces premiers temps les ports d'*Emouy* dans le *Fokien* "et de *Ning-po* dans le *Tchekiang*." T. iii, p. 194.

1111. As

1111. As a port or road for vessels of the largest class it is probable that *Hiamuen* has the advantage of *Tsuen-cheu*. "Les plus gros vaisseaux" says P. Le Comte "y sont en seureté et s'approchent du bord autant qu'ils veulent, tant la "mer y est profonde. Le grand commerce qui s'y fait depuis quelques années "par les étrangers et par les gens du païs, y attire beaucoup de monde." Nouv. Mém. t. i, p. 151. ed. 1701.

1112. "Ses marchands" says P. Martini "ont de l'industrie. Ceux de ce "pays sont naturellement trompeurs, et addonnés à leurs plaisirs." P. 157.

1113. This assertion may well appear strange and improbable, and must have been occasioned by some mistake either of arrangement of the matter or translation of the passage; for it cannot be supposed that the inhabitants of this most frequented and civilised part of China were then, or at any historical period, in the habit of puncturing or tattooing their skins. It may be that a memorandum on the subject (as in other instances we have had strong grounds to suspect) belonging to a description either of the Malayan islands or of Ava, where the practice prevails, has been introduced in the wrong place; or, as I am more inclined to think, that what has been here misunderstood for puncturing the face, was meant by our author for the art of portrait-painting, in which the Chinese are such adepts that few strangers visit Canton without employing a native to take their likeness, or, as it is expressed in the jargon of the factories, "make handsome face." That they were equally skilful in former times appears from the second relation of the early Arabian travellers, where it is said: "Les Chinois sont les plus "adroits de toutes les nations du monde, en toutes sortes d'arts, et particulièrement dans la peinture." Anc. Relat. p. 62. The passage in Ramusio is: "Vengono à questa città molti della superior India, per causa de farsi dipingere "la persona con gli aghi, (come di sopra habbiamo detto) per essere in questa "molti valenti maestri di questo officio:" in which it is probable that the words "*con gli aghi*, with needles" have been injudiciously added as explanatory of the sense in which the translator understood it.

1114. Into this geographical error our author must have been led by the report of the natives. In all parts of the East there seems to be a disposition to believe and to persuade others, that several rivers proceed from one common source (generally a lake), and afterwards diverge, in their progress towards the sea; however contrary this may be to the known operations of nature. That there is no such community of origin between the river *Tsien-tang*, upon which *Hang-cheu* or *Kin-sai* stands, and the river *Chang*, which empties itself at *Amoy*, is obvious from inspection of the maps of China; but at the same time it will be seen that the sources of the *Chang* and those of the great river that passes by *Fu-cheu*, the capital

capital of the province, are in the same mountains and may be said to be intermingled. It may also be observed that the northern branch of the latter river, which passes the city of *Kien-ning*, is separated only by another ridge from the sources of the *Tsien-tang* or river of *Hang-cheu*; and this sort of connexion of the extremes, by the intervention of a middle term, may have given rise to the mistaken idea adopted by our author, upon a subject of which he was not likely to have any practical knowledge.

1115. The city of *Ting-cheu* answering to the name of *Tin-gui* or *Tin-giu*, stands near the western border of the province of *Fo-kien*, amongst the mountains that give source to the *Chang*, mentioned in the preceding Note, but upon a river that empties itself near the city of *Chao-cheu*, in the province of *Kuang-tong*. It is not, however, at the present day, the seat of porcelain works, which are principally carried on at the town of *King-te-ching*, in the neighbouring province of *Kiang-si*. We may presume that the seat of the manufacture, at any period, is determined by the facility of procuring the proper earths, which will naturally be exhausted in one place and discovered in another. In a modern map of *Fo-kien* that has just reached my hands, I perceive that *Ting-cheu* stands in fact near the sources of two rivers which empty themselves at the principal ports of that province.

1116. " Le meuble commun pour le service de la table " says P. Trigault " est de terre, que la plus-part des Européens (je ne sçay pourquoy) appellent " *pourcelaine*... Il s'en fait de très-belle en un champ de la province de *Kiam* " (*Kiang-si*), où il y a une masse de terre dont on a accoustumé la former." P. 11. " C'est un erreur " says P. Le Comte " de s'imaginer qu'il faille cent et deux " cens ans (our author states it to be thirty or forty) pour préparer la matière de " la porcelaine, et que la composition en soit fort difficile. Si cela estoit elle ne " seroit ni si commune, ni à si bonne marché." T. i, p. 236. In Note 833 I have endeavoured to shew that the word " porcelain " or " porcellana " was applied by Europeans to the earthenware of China, from the resemblance of its varnish or glazing, and perhaps of its colours also, to that of the beautiful shell so named, whilst the shell itself derived its appellation from the curved or gibbous shape of its upper surface, which was thought to resemble the back of a *porcella* or little hog.

1117. " Ainsi les vases sechent peu à peu " says the same writer, " et on y " applique la peinture à loisir, lorsqu'on juge que le fond est propre à la rece- " voir...Après toutes ces préparations, on met les vases dans les fourneaux, ou " on allume un feu lent et uniforme, qui les cuit sans les rompre." P. 237.

1118. There is in this avowal a character of ingenuousness that strongly pervades the whole of our author's relation, but more especially those parts in which he makes any allusion to himself personally.

1119. "Les Chinois" says Du Halde "ont deux sortes de langues; l'un vulgaire et propre du peuple, qui est différente selon les diverses provinces; "l'autre qu'ils appellent la langue mandarine, qui est à peu près ce qu'est parmi "nous la langue Latine pour les ecclésiastiques et les sçavans... La langue "mandarine est proprement celle qu'on parloit autrefois à la cour dans la province de *Kiang-nan*, et qui s'est répandue dans les autres provinces parmi les "personnes polies." T. ii, p. 224. "Le *kouan-hoa*" says De Guignes "est le "langage des mandarins, des lettrés et de toutes les personnes instruites. Le "*Hiang-tan* est le patois ou le langage du peuple." "Le *Hiang-tan* n'est qu'un "*kouan-hoa* corrompu; c'est un patois qui varie suivant les provinces où l'on prononce mieux, principalement dans le *Kiang-nan*." T. ii, p. 393-5. "Le langage "des mandarins" says Van Braam "est le seul qui soit semblable dans tout "l'empire; mais d'une province à une autre, il y a changement de dialecte; et "nos domestiques de Canton avaient beaucoup de peine à entendre le langage "des Chinois des autres parties." T. ii, p. 170.

1120. This division of India (to which name our author gives a very extensive signification) will be adverted to more particularly in the Notes to Chap. xxxvii, of the following Book.

1121. See B. I, Chap. i, Note 45, and B. II, Chap. xxvii, Note 738.

1122. See B. I, Chap. i, Note 63.

1123. It may be presumed that the sea-charts here spoken of were chiefly in the hands of Arabian pilots, who navigated from the Persian gulf to India and China, and who might have added the results of their experience to the information derived from the geographical work of Ptolemy.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Of India, distinguished into the Greater, Lesser, and Middle; of the manners and customs of its inhabitants; of many remarkable and extraordinary things to be observed there; and, in the first place, of the kind of vessels employed in navigation.

HAVING treated in the preceding parts of our work, of various provinces and regions, we shall now take leave of them, and proceed to the account of India, the admirable circumstances of which shall be related. We shall commence with a description of the ships employed by the merchants, which are built of fir-timber.[1124] They have a single deck, and below this, the space is divided into about sixty small cabins, fewer or more, according to the size of the vessels; each of them affording accommodation for one merchant.[1125] They are provided with a good helm. They have four masts, with as many sails, and some of them have two masts which can be set up and lowered again, as may be found necessary.[1126] Some ships of the larger class have, besides (the cabins), to the number of thirteen bulk-heads or divisions in the hold, formed of thick planks let into each other (*incastrati*, mortised or rabbeted). The object of these is to guard against accidents which may occasion the vessel to spring a leak, such as striking on a rock or receiving a stroke from a whale; a circumstance that not unfrequently occurs; for, when sailing at night, the motion through the waves causes a white foam that attracts the notice of the hungry animal. In expectation of meeting with food, it rushes violently to the spot, strikes the ship, and often forces in some part of the bottom.[1127] The water running in at the place where the injury has been sustained, makes its way to the well, which is always kept clear. The crew,

upon

BOOK III. CHAP. I.

upon discovering the situation of the leak, immediately remove the goods from the division affected by the water, which, in consequence of the boards being so well fitted, cannot pass from one division to another. They then repair the damage, and return the goods to that place in the hold from whence they had been taken.[1128] The ships are all double-planked: that is, they have a course of sheathing-boards laid over the planking in every part. These are caulked with oakum both withinside and without, and are fastened with iron nails. They are not coated with pitch, as the country does not produce that article, but the bottoms are smeared over with the following preparation. The people take quick-lime and hemp, which latter they cut small, and with these, when pounded together, they mix oil procured from a certain tree, making of the whole a kind of unguent, which retains its viscous properties more firmly, and is a better material than pitch.[1129]

Ships of the largest size require a crew of three hundred men; others, two hundred, and some, one hundred and fifty only, according to their greater or less bulk. They carry from five to six thousand baskets (or mat-bags) of pepper.[1130] In former times they were of greater burthen than they are at present; but the violence of the sea having in many places broken up the islands, and especially in some of the principal ports, there is a want of depth of water for vessels of such draught, and they have, on that account, been built, in latter times, of a smaller size. The vessels are likewise moved with oars or sweeps, each of which require four men to work them. Those of the larger class are accompanied by two or three large barks, capable of containing about one thousand baskets of pepper, and are manned with sixty, eighty, or one hundred sailors. These small craft are often employed to tow the larger, when working their oars, or even under sail, provided the wind be on the quarter, but not when right aft; because in that case, the sails of the larger vessel must becalm those of the smaller, which would, in consequence, be run down. The ships also carry with them as many as ten small boats, for the purpose of carrying out anchors, for fishing, and a variety of other services. They are slung over the sides, and lowered into the water, when there is occasion to use them. The barks are in like manner, provided with their small

boats.

boats. When a ship having been on a voyage for a year or more, stands in need of repair, the practice is, to give her a course of sheathing over the original boarding, forming a third course, which is caulked and paid in the same manner as the others; and this, when she needs further repairs, is repeated even to the number of six layers; after which she is condemned as unserviceable and not sea-worthy.[1131] Having thus described the shipping, we shall proceed to the account of India; but in the first instance we shall speak of certain islands in the part of the ocean where we are at present, and shall commence with the island named *Zipangu.*

NOTES.

1124. The vegetable productions and especially the timber of southern or maritime India being different from the kinds known in Europe, it is improperly (if our author is actually speaking of Indian ships) that the ship-timber is said in the text to be the *abete* and *zapino*, as neither the abies nor pinus are found (in any accessible situation) between the tropics. But, irregular as it may seem, there will in the sequel be found reason to conclude that he is describing ships built in China, although for the Indian trade.

1125. In the Latin of the Basle edition the number of these cabins is stated at forty, and they are said to be upon, not beneath the upper deck. We know little of the interior of Indian vessels before the period of European intercourse, but in modern times their cabins are usually upon the after part of the quarter deck.

1126. On the subject of vessels with four masts see Note 60. No mention is made of topmasts in any modern description of Chinese *junks*; nor is it clear that such are here meant. The expressions may rather be understood of masts capable of being raised or lowered in the manner of those belonging to our lighters, and the sense of the passage may be: "They have four masts (with as many "sails); two of which may be set up or lowered, as occasion may require."

1127. That accidents not unfrequently happen to ships from running against or receiving the stroke of whales, is matter of notoriety; but it is probable that these are seldom the aggressors, and exert their prodigious force only in self-defence, when struck by the ship; in their sleep as it is generally supposed.

1128. "La

1128. "La cale des sommes" says De Guignes, speaking of the Chinese *junks* which make voyages to *Java* and other islands "est divisée en plusieurs compartimens faits de planches de deux pouces d'épaisseur, et calfatées soigneusement, ainsi que les dehors, avec de la galegale, espèce de mastic composé de chaux et d'huile appelée *tong-yeou*, et mêlé avec des fils déliés de bambou. La galegale se durcit dans l'eau et devient impénétrable. Un seul puits placé au pied du grand mât suffit pour tenir la jonque à sec; on le vide avec des sceaux. C'est un grand avantage pour ces bâtimens que d'avoir leur cale divisée en compartimens... car si un navire touche sur un rocher et en est enfoncé, l'eau ne pénètre que dans un endroit, et ne se répand pas par-tout." T. ii, p 206. Had the page of MARCO POLO lain before M. De Guignes when he wrote, he could not have furnished any matter more illustrative of the description in our text. By comparing what is said in the last sentence, of this chapter, with the conclusion of chapter iv, it will be seen that our author has not yet proceeded to the account of India, nor finally taken leave of the Chinese ports. The shipping here described is consequently that of the latter country.

1129. This mode of preserving the bottoms of their vessels is common to the Chinese and the Indians. "At Surat" says Grose "they excel in the art of ship-building. Their bottoms and sides are composed of planks let into one another, in the nature, as I apprehend, of what is called rabbet work, so that the seams are impenetrable. They have also a peculiar way of preserving their ships-bottoms, by occasionally rubbing into them an oil they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe." Voy. to the East Indies, vol. i, p. 107. The mixture of *chunam* or lime with a resinous oil, or with melted *dammar*, is commonly known in the dock-yards of India by the name of *gul-gul*. "There would be no exaggeration" adds Grose "in averring that they (the natives) build incomparably the best ships in the world for duration, and that of any size, even to a thousand tons and upwards... It is not uncommon for one of them to last a century." P. 108.

1130. Of the burthen of these vessels we cannot judge without knowing the dimensions or capacity of the *sporta*, which may perhaps be intended for those large baskets, called "canisters" by our people, in which sugar is packed for exportation at Batavia. "The ship I saw building" says Stavorinus "was intended to load 1,900 *canassers* of sugar, or 190 lasts." Voy. to the East Indies, vol. iii, p. 23. The *last* is said to be equal to twelve barrels.

1131. This, it must be allowed, is a very extraordinary mode of repairing a ship's bottom. Such a practice may have been the consequence of the cement, above described, becoming so hard, between the original plank and the sheathing, that

that the latter could not be stripped off, without injuring the former. It may be conjectured, indeed, that these additional coatings were not of boards, but only of the *gul-gul* or composition, laid on without scraping away the former incrustation; yet I am assured that it is not uncommon, in the East Indian dock-yards, to lay one coat of sheathing over another.

CHAPTER II.

Of the island of Zipangu.[1132]

Zipangu is an island in the eastern ocean, situated at the distance of about fifteen hundred miles from the main land or coast of *Manji*.[1133] It is of considerable size; its inhabitants have fair complexions, are well made, and are civilised in their manners. Their religion is the worship of idols. They are independent of every foreign power, and governed only by their own kings.[1134] They have gold in the greatest abundance, its sources being inexhaustible,[1135] but as the king does not allow of its being exported, few merchants visit the country, nor is it frequented by much shipping from other parts. To this circumstance we are to attribute the extraordinary richness of the sovereign's palace, according to what we are told by those who have access to the place. The entire roof is covered with a plating of gold, in the same manner as we cover houses, or more properly churches, with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold considerably thick; and the windows also have golden ornaments.[1136] So vast, indeed, are the riches of the palace, that it is impossible to convey an idea of them. In this island there are pearls also, in large quantities, of a red (pink) colour, round in shape, and of great size; equal in value to, or even exceeding that of the white pearls.[1137] It is customary with one part of the inhabitants to bury their dead, and with another part, to burn them.[1138] The former have a practice of putting one of these pearls into the mouth of the corpse. There are also found there a number of precious stones.

Of so great celebrity was the wealth of this island, that a desire was excited in the breast of the Grand *khan*, *Kublai*, now reigning, to make the conquest of it, and to annex it to his dominions.[1139] In order to effect this, he fitted out a numerous fleet, and embarked a large body of troops, under the command of two of his principal officers, one of whom was named *Abbacatan*, and the other, *Vonsancin*.[1140] The expedition sailed from the ports of *Zaitun* and *Kinsai*,[1141] and crossing the intermediate sea, reached the island in safety; but in consequence of a jealousy that arose between the two commanders, one of whom treated the plans of the other with contempt and resisted the execution of his orders, they were unable to gain possession of any city or fortified place, with the exception of one only, which was carried by assault, the garrison having refused to surrender. Directions were given for putting the whole to the sword, and in obedience thereto the heads of all were cut off, excepting of eight persons, who by the efficacy of a diabolical charm, consisting of a jewel or amulet introduced into the right arm, between the skin and the flesh, were rendered secure from the effects of iron, either to kill or wound. Upon this discovery being made, they were beaten with a heavy wooden club, and presently died.[1142]

It happened after some time that a north wind began to blow with great force, and the ships of the Tartars, which lay near the shore of the island, were driven foul of each other. It was determined thereupon, in a council of the officers on board, that they ought to disengage themselves from the land; and accordingly, as soon as the troops were reembarked, they stood out to sea. The gale however increased to so violent a degree, that a number of the vessels foundered. The people belonging to them, by floating upon pieces of the wreck, saved themselves upon an island lying about four miles from the coast of *Zipangu*. The other ships, which not being so near to the land, did not suffer from the storm, and on which the two chiefs were embarked, together with the principal officers, or those whose rank entitled them to command an hundred thousand or ten thousand men, directed their course homewards, and returned to the Grand *khan*. Those of the Tartars who remained upon the island where they were wrecked, and who amounted to about thirty thousand men, finding themselves left without shipping,

shipping, abandoned by their leaders, and having neither arms nor provisions, expected nothing less than to become captives or to perish; especially as the island afforded no habitations where they could take shelter and refresh themselves. As soon as the gale ceased and the sea became smooth and calm, the people from the main island of *Zipangu* came over with a large force, in numerous boats, in order to make prisoners of these shipwrecked Tartars, and having landed, proceeded in search of them; but in a straggling, disorderly manner. The Tartars, on their part, acted with prudent circumspection, and being concealed from view by some high land in the centre of the island, whilst the enemy were hurrying in pursuit of them by one road, made a circuit of the coast by another, which brought them to the place where the fleet of boats was at anchor. Finding these all abandoned, but with their colours flying, they instantly seized them; and pushing off from the island, stood for the principal city of *Zipangu*, into which, from the appearance of the colours, they were suffered to enter unmolested.[1143] Here they found few of the inhabitants besides women, whom they retained for their own use, and drove out all others. When the king was apprized of what had taken place, he was much afflicted, and immediately gave directions for a strict blockade of the city, which was so effectual that not any person was suffered to enter or to escape from it, during six months that the siege continued. At the expiration of this time, the Tartars despairing of succour surrendered upon the condition of their lives being spared. These events took place in the course of the year 1264.[1144] The Grand *khan* having learned some years after, that the unfortunate issue of the expedition was to be attributed to the dissention, between the two commanders, caused the head of one of them to be cut off, the other he sent to the savage island of *Zorza*,[1145] where it is the custom to execute criminals in the following manner. They are wrapped round both arms, in the hide of a buffalo fresh taken from the beast, which is sewen tight. As this dries it compresses the body to such a degree, that the sufferer is incapable of moving or in any manner helping himself, and thus miserably perishes.[1146]

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NOTES.

BOOK III. CHAP. II. Notes.

1132. The name which is here, as well as in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, written *Zipangu*, in the Basle edition, *Zipangri*, in the older Latin *Cyampagu*, and in the early Italian epitomes, *Cimpagu*, is evidently intended for those islands which we in a collective sense, term Japan. By the Chinese they are named *Ge-pen* (*Jÿ-pèn*, according to the orthography of De Guignes, or *Jih-pun* according to that of Morrison) and from thence all the other names are more or less obviously derived. The terminating syllable *gu* appears to be the Chinese word *kue*, signifying "kingdom," which is commonly annexed to the names of foreign countries. It has been already remarked (Note 105) that in the Venetian dialect of Italian, frequent use is made of the letter *z*, in place of the soft *g* or the English *j* (as *zentil* for *gentile*, *zogo* for *gioco*), and we may consider *Zi-pan-gu*, as written *Gi-pan-gu* or *Ji-pan-gu*, which differ scarcely at all from the genuine pronunciation. "Le *Ge-pen*" says P. Amiot "est ainsi appellé parce "qu'il est situé, par rapport à la Chine, dans l'endroit d'où le soleil semble sortir "pour éclairer le reste de l'univers." Mém. concern. les Chinois, t. xiv, p. 54. By the natives themselves it is called *Ni-pon* and *Ni-fon*, which have the same signification and are written with the same characters as the Chinese name. "Japonia, indigenis *Nipòn*, id est, solis fulcrum, dicta" says Kæmpfer "ea est "insula quam Europæis primus M. P. Venetus *Zipangri* ignotæ originis vocabulo "indigitavit." Amœn. Exotic, p. 481.

1133. The distance of the nearest part of the southern island from the coast of China, near *Ning-po*, not being more than five hundred Italian miles, we may suppose that our author, in stating it at fifteen hundred, speaks of Chinese miles, or *li*, which are in the proportion of something more than one-third of the former.

1134. Political independence is a characteristic of the Japanese nation, which does not appear, at any period of its history, to have been brought permanently under a foreign yoke. "Jaloux de leur indépendance, les Japonais se sont mis "à l'abri de toute usurpation étrangère, par des loix sages et une circonspec- "tion sans exemple." Thunberg, Voyage en Afrique et en Asie, P. 414.

1135. "Gold, the richest of all metals" says Kæmpfer "is dug up in several "provinces of the Japanese empire." "The emperor claims the supreme juris- "diction over all the gold mines, and indeed all other mines in the empire . . . Of "the produce of all the mines that are worked, he claims two-thirds." Hist. of Japan, v. i, p. 107. "But of late, as I was informed," he adds "the veins . . . not "only run scarcer, but yield not near the quantity of gold they did formerly." Ibid.

1136. Kæmpfer

1136. Kæmpfer, speaking of one of the ancient kings of Japan, says, " He " caused a stately palace, named *kojatu*, to be built for his residence, the floors " whereof were paved with gold and silver." Vol. i, p. 82. This account, though perhaps fabulous, shews the idea entertained by the natives of the magnificence of their former sovereigns. " Le palais du roi " says P. Amiot, from Chinese authorities " se fait remarquer par la maniere singulière dont il est construit. C'est " un vaste edifice, d'une hauteur extraordinaire; il a neuf étages, et présente de " tous côtés un extérieur brillant de l'or le plus fin." Mém. t. xiv, p. 55. Modern travellers, it must be observed, speak only of gilding.

1137. " Pearls, by the Japanese called *kainotamma* " says Kæmpfer, " which " is as much as to say, shell-jewels, are found almost every where about *Saikokf*, " in oysters and several other shells. Every body is at liberty to fish them." V. i, p. 110. " Les jonques," says De Guignes, speaking of the Chinese trade with Japan, " reviennent en Octobre avec les vents du nord, et rapportent des " perles fines, de l'or, du cuivre rouge, &c." T. iii, p. 301. With respect to pearls of a pink or flame colour, I find the following notice in a tract by the late Alexander Dalrymple, entitled " a Plan for extending the commerce of this kingdom, &c." where in describing a bay on the coast of *Borneo*, he says: " In " ancient times many pearls were found here: at present not so many: the *capis* " seem little different but in size, from the *teepye* (or large pearl-oyster); they are " only about four inches in diameter; few are without pearls; most of them have " several, generally perfectly round, though commonly small; the colour is " different from the *teepye* pearls; instead of that lucid white, they are generally " of a fire-colour, not yellow, but of a vivid transparency. In a parcel brought " to Sooloo in 1764, by some Bugguese from Malloodoo, there was one of a very " fine white water, round and pretty large; and also above sixty fire-coloured, " perfectly round and extremely fine, though mostly small, from 1 to 7½ grains " each." P. 62. In Mr. Cordiner's Description of Ceylon also, it is said: " The " pearls in general are of a bright shining white; but a few are sometimes found " of a beautiful pink." Vol. ii, p. 69.

1138. It is necessary to mention that two religions prevail amongst the people of Japan: the ancient, or that of the *Sintos*, who worship spirits, called by them *sin* and *kami*, and the modern (being subsequent to the date of the Christian era) or that of the *Budsdos*, worshippers of the Indian *Buddha*, under the names of *Fo-to-ke* and *Budsd*. Of these the latter only, but who constitute by far the more numerous class, are in the practice of burning the bodies of their dead. " One " thing " says Kæmpfer " remains worthy of observing, which is, that many " and perhaps the greatest part of those who in their life-time constantly " professed the *Sintas* religion, and even some of the *Siutosjus* or moralists, " recommend

BOOK III. CHAP. II. Notes.

" recommend their souls on their death-bed to the care of the *Budsdo* clergy, " desiring that the *namanda* might be sung for them, and their *bodies burnt and* " *buried*, after the manner of the Budsdoists. The adherents of the *Sintos* " religion do not believe the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, " although almost universally received by the eastern nations." History of Japan, vol. i, p. 213. In the French translation of the Travels of Thunberg, but on the authority of Georgi, who gives an account of a Japanese college established by the Russian government at Irkutz in Siberia, the assertion of the existence of this custom in Japan is more direct and positive. " Les Japonais ", says the writer " brûlent ou enterrent leurs morts; ces deux méthodes exigent des " cérémonies religieuses, qui consistent en fêtes pour marquer le deuil, ou en " mémoire du défunt." P. 441. In Thunberg's own journal he says: " Plusieurs " personnes m'assurèrent qu'ils n'avoient choisis un endroit éloigné pour enterrer " le mort que pour le brûler selon l'usage du pays, sur laquelle je n'ai pu me " procurer des renseignemens positifs." P. 280.

The opportunities afforded to Europeans in modern times, of observing the religious customs of the Japanese is very limited, but it was otherwise during the period when Christianity flourished in those islands. In L'Histoire Ecclesiastique du Japon by P. F. Solier, printed in 1627, there is a circumstantial account (p. 51) of the funeral ceremony, by which it appears that the body is consumed on a pile of wood in a *fosse*, raised to the level of the ground, and the ashes afterwards interred. It will be admitted that such a coincidence of facts is no weak proof of authenticity on the part of our author's relation; and the reader may be led to apply what is here established with respect to the customs of the Japanese Budsdoists, to the question discussed in Note 963, whether that of burning the dead was not formerly practised, in like manner, amongst the Bhuddists of China.

1139. " La seizieme année de *Tché-yuen* (1279), *Che-tsou* (*Kublaï*) se trouvant " maître de toute la Chine, par la réduction de toutes les places qui avoient tenu " jusqu'alors pour les *Soung*, pensa sérieusement à tourner ses armes du côté " du Japon. Il assembla son conseil, et lui proposa son dessein. Il dit: 'La " famille de *Soung* est éteinte; tout le monde me regarde à présent comme le " seul empereur de la Chine; la plupart des royaumes tributaires m'ont déjà " reconnu comme tel, et ont envoyé leurs ambassadeurs pour me rendre " hommage. Les Japonais n'ont encore fait aucune démarche: à en juger par " leur conduite, on diroit qu'ils veulent me braver. Il est tems de leur faire " connoître quelle est la puissance des Mongoux. Je suis résolu de ne plus " différer à les châtier. Qu'on donne des ordres à mes sujets du *Kiang-nan*, " du *Fou-kien*, du *Ho-nan* et du *Chan-tong*, pour la construction de six cens " vaisseaux; et quand tout sera prêt, qu'on m'avertisse.'" Mém. concern. les Chinois,

Chinois, t. xiv, p. 68. The unjustifiable motives for this invasion imputed to *Kublaï*, as well in the foregoing extract as by our author, are denounced with great severity and eloquence by a Chinese writer, who concludes his observations on the character of the monarch, with these words: "D'où vient donc, malgré "toutes ces difficultés, que *Houpilai-han* s'est obstiné à y porter la guerre? Il "avoit ouï dire sans doute que ces royaumes étoient riches en bijoux et en choses "rares qu'il avoit la cupidité de s'approprier; mais falloit-il risquer la vie de "tant d'hommes et prodiguer le sang de ses sujets pour des choses de pure "curiosité? Un bon prince n'en agit point ainsi." Hist. gén. de la Chine, t. ix, p. 416. Note.

1140. These names appear to be intended for *Abaka-khan*, a Mungal or Moghul, and *Vang-san-chin*, a Chinese. Many of the latter nation were employed by *Kublaï*, both in civil and military capacities, and rendered him good service. P. Amiot, however, speaks of *Fang-ouen-hou* as the commander-in-chief, and adds the name of *Tsin-fan-tcheng*, whilst according to the elder De Guignes, they were named *Hargan* and *Atahai*. Our author's authority is at least as plausible as that of the others, who cannot both be correct.

1141. By the port of *Zaitun* is probably meant *Amoy*, and by *Kinsai*, the port of *Ning-po* or of *Chu-san*, which are at the entrance of the river which flows by *Hang-cheu-fu*, the *Kin-sai* of our author.

1142. The idea of being rendered invulnerable by the use of amulets is common amongst the natives of the eastern islands. De Barros, the historian, relates the circumstance of a Malay whom the Portuguese in vain attempted to put to death, so long as he wore a bracelet containing a bone set in gold, which rendered him proof against their swords. "Algũs dos marinheiros" he says "como elle vinha "bem tratado no vestido, começando de o esbulhar, acertarão de lhe achar hũa "manilha de osso encastoada em oro da face de cima, e ossa da banda da carne "de braço, donde a elle trazia: tirada a qual, se vazou todo em sangue e "espirou." Segunda decada, livro sexto, folio 135. The amulet was afterwards transmitted, as a valuable present, to the Viceroy, Affonso d'Alboquerque.

1143. If the original operations were directed, as might be presumed, against the ancient capital, we should infer that the city here spoken of, was *Osakka*, situated at the mouth of the river upon which, at some distance from the coast, *Mia-ko* stands, and which is known to have been formerly much frequented by Chinese shipping. But according to P. Gaubil the island was that of *Ping-hou* or *Firando*, near the city of *Nangasaki*; not then a place of so much importance as it has since become.

1144. There

1144. There is here a manifest error in the date, which instead of 1264, should rather be 1284. In the early Venice epitome it is 1269, and in the Basle edition, 1289. Our author cannot be made accountable for these contradictions amongst his transcribers. We shall now see in what manner the facts are related by the Chinese historians, and how far those who report from them are consistent with each other. "La dix-huitième année de *Tché-yuen*, de l'ère chrétienne 1281" says P. Amiot "le courier que le général Chinois avoit dépêché à l'empereur, "arriva à le cour à la troisième lune. Il apporta pour nouvelles que l'armée "après être partie de Corée, s'étoit d'abord rendue à l'isle de *Kiu-tchi*, que de-là "elle étoit allée à celle de *Toui-ma*, où l'on avoit appris par ceux du pays, que "les Japonois, après avoir été long-tems sur leurs gardes, et avoit entretenu grand "nombre de troupes aux environs de la ville de *Tay-tsai-fou*, jusqu'à soixante lys "de distance, les avoient enfin retirées, dans la persuasion que les Chinois ne "pensoient point encore à les attaquer." "Vers la fin de la huitième lune vint la "triste nouvelle du naufrage que fit l'armée aux approches du Japon. Toutes les "troupes, dit l'historien, qui étoient sous le commandement des généraux *Fang-*"*ouen-hou*, &c. furent accueillies d'une furieuse tempête qui les submergea dans "les flots. Sur dix personnes, à peine put-il s'en sauver un ou deux." Mém. conc. les Chinois, t. xiv, p. 70. "Ce qui s'est passé par rapport au Japon, sous "le règne de *Kobilai*, que les Chinois appellent plus communément *Ché-tsou*" says the same writer, in a Note "est rapporté d'une manière un peu différente "par le P. Gaubil, dans son histoire de la dynastie des Mongoux, p. 194. Je "ne sais où ce Père a pris les particularités qu'il en raconte. . . Je dois dire "cependant qu'il a confondu l'expédition de cent mille hommes qui firent nau-"frage, à la tête de laquelle étoit *Fung-ouen-hou*, avec le projet d'une autre "expedition, à la tête de laquelle devoit être *Atahai*, et qui n'eut pas lieu. Le "P. Gaubil place la flotte à la vue de *Ping-hou* (c'est de *Firando*), lorsqu'il "s'éleva cette furieuse tempête qui la submergea; et c'est à la vue de *Ou-loung-*"*chan*, dit l'historien Chinois. Il peut se faire que *Ou-loung-chan* soit le nom "que les Chinois donnent à quelque montagne de l'isle de *Ping-hou* ou Firando. "Le P. Gaubil fait faire soixante-dix mille Chinois ou Coréens prisonniers par "les Japonois, et fait tuer trente mille Mongoux. L'historien que je consulte "actuellement, dit simplement que la tempête submergea presque tout." P. 74.

In l'Histoire gén. de la Chine the following account is given of the expedition, which certainly does not differ more widely from our author's statement, than it does from the other Chinese relations. "A la sixième lune (1281), *Alahan* partit "pour l'expédition du Japon; mais à peine fut-il arrivé au port où il devoit s'em-"barquer qu'il mourut. *Atahaï*, qui fut nommé pour le remplacer, arriva trop "tard; la flotte avoit déjà mis à la voile. A la hauteur de l'isle *Pinghou*, elle "fut battue d'une violente tempête; la plupart des barques échouèrent: les offi-

"ciers

" ciers choisissant les moins endommagées, s'en revinrent dessus, laissant dans " cette isle plus de cent mille hommes. Ces soldats, se voyant abandonnés " lâchement, élurent un chef et travaillèrent à couper des bois pour construire de " nouvelles barques, dans l'intention de s'en retourner; mais les Japonois ayant " appris leur naufrage, firent une descente dans l'isle avec une puissante armée et " les passèrent au fil de l'épée. Ils n'épargnèrent que dix à douze mille soldats " Chinois des provinces méridionales qu'ils firent esclaves. De toute cette for- " midable armée, à peine échappa-t-il trois personnes qui revinrent en Chine." T. ix, p. 409.

By Kæmpfer we are furnished, from the annals of the Japanese, with their account of the fate experienced by these invaders. " *Gouda* succeeded his father " in the year of *Synmu* 1935, of Christ 1275." " In the ninth year of his reign " (1283 or 1284), the Tartar general *Mooko* appeared upon the coasts of Japan " with a fleet of 4,000 sail, and 240,000 men. The then reigning Tartarian " emperor *Sijsu (Chi-tsou* or *Shi-tsu)*, after he had conquered the empire of China " about the year of Christ 1270 (1280) sent this general to subdue also the em- " pire of Japan. But this expedition proved unsuccessful. The *Cami*, that is " the gods of the country, and protectors of the Japanese empire, were so " incensed at the insult offered them by the Tartars, that on the first day of the " seventh month, they excited a violent and dreadful storm, which destroyed all " this reputed invincible armada. *Mooko* himself perished in the waves, and " but few of his men escaped." Vol. i, p. 187. When we thus find the native authorities so little consistent with each other in the details, although in regard to the main facts they all agree, it is not to surprise us if our author should have fallen into some mistakes on the subject of a distant military operation. The circumstances he could learn only from the persons about the emperor's court, where a tale of partial successes might be invented to amuse the public and weaken the impression of a serious disaster.

1145. No clue presents itself by which to discover the island meant by the name of *Zorza* or (allowing for the Venetian pronunciation) *Jorja*. We should be induced to look for it in some one of the lakes of Tartary. The place is not mentioned in the other versions.

1146. This must have been a Tartar, not a Chinese mode of punishment. In the history of Sinde we are told of its having been inflicted by *Abd-al-malik*, khalif of Baghdad, upon one of his generals who was accused, by certain princesses, his captives, of a heinous offence. " That monarch" says Pottinger " was highly " enraged at this supposed insult, and sent an order to the general who was " second in command, to sew *Mohummud bin Kasim* into a raw hide, and thus " forward him to the presence... Though consciously innocent, he allowed the

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" unjust and cruel punishment of his sovereign to be inflicted on himself. He " died the third day after." Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde, p. 389.

CHAPTER III.

Of the nature of the idols worshipped in Zipangu, and of the people being addicted to eating human flesh.

CHAP. III.

In this island of *Zipangu* and the others in its vicinity, their idols are fashioned in a variety of shapes, some of them having the heads of oxen, some of swine, of dogs, goats, and many other animals. Some exhibit the appearance of a single head, with two countenances; others, of three heads, one of them in its proper place, and one upon each shoulder. Some have four arms, others ten, and some an hundred; those which have the greatest number being regarded as the most powerful, and therefore entitled to the most particular worship,[1147] When they are asked by Christians wherefore they give to their deities these diversified forms, they answer that their fathers did so before them. " Those who preceded us, they say, left them such, and such we shall " transmit them to our posterity."[1148] The various ceremonies practised before these idols are so wicked and diabolical, that it would be nothing less than impiety and an abomination to give an account of them in this our book. The reader should, however, be informed that the idolatrous inhabitants of these islands, when they seize the person of an enemy, who has not the means of effecting his ransom for money, invite to their house all their relations and friends, and putting their prisoner to death, dress and eat the body, in a convivial manner; asserting that human flesh surpasses every other, in the excellence of its flavour.[1149]

NOTES.

NOTES.

1147. The idols here described belong to the *Budsdo*, or what Kæmpfer terms the foreign pagan worship, and not to that of the *Sintos*, whose objects of veneration, the *sin* and *kami*, seem to have been the personification of deceased heroes. It is true that *Buddha*, whom the Japanese named *Buds* or *Budz* and *Siaka*, is commonly represented of the natural human shape, although often of a monstrous size; but, either along with his religion (said to have been introduced in Japan about the first century of the Christian era) or, probably, at an antecedent period, these people, as well as the Chinese, appear to have adopted the multiform divinities of the Hindu mythology. Many of these, it is well known, have the heads of various animals, as that of the boar, in the third incarnation of *Vishnu*, and of the elephant, in the figures of *Ganesá*; to which may be added the bull of *Siva*, and *Hanumân*, the prince of monkies. Of many-headed deities the instances, in that system, are frequent, as the four heads of *Brahma*, the five, of *Mahadeva-panchamukhi*, and the *trimurti* or Hindu triad. Those which exhibit numerous arms are at least equally common. Such appear to be at this day the idols of the Japanese; although with some modifications peculiar to themselves. "The whole temple" says Kæmpfer "is so neatly and curiously adorned, that "one would fancy himself transported into a Roman Catholic Church, did not "the monstrous shape of the idols, which are therein worshipped, evince the "contrary." Hist. of Japan, vol. ii, p. 416. "Just at the entry of this village says the same traveller "we saw a large, monstrous head of an idol, in the shape "of a calf's head." P. 454. "Nous visitâmes" says Thunberg "plusieurs "temples les plus célèbres de *Miako*... Celui qui est consacré au *Daï-boud*, une "des idoles japonaises, est le plus remarquable tant par sa grandeur que par sa "richesse... Le statue qui paraît d'origine indienne, était placée presque au "milieu du temple, sur un piédestal élevé à peu près d'une toise au-dessus du "plancher. Elle représentait une figure colossale assise à la manière des Indi-"ens, c'est-à-dire les jambes croisées en devant... La main droite se trouvait "élevée, la gauche posait sur l'estomac. Il est difficile d'apprécier au juste la "hauteur de cette statue, dont la figure et la masse est bien faite pour inspirer la "terreur; mais les interprêtes nous assuraient à unanimité que ces proportions "étaient telles, que six hommes pourraient être commodément assis, à la manière "japonaise, dans le creux de sa main. Le second temple que nous visitâmes en "quittant celui du *Daï-boud*, est consacré au *Quan-won*... La statue de *Quan-won* "a trente-six mains, se trouvait également au milieu." Voyage en Afrique et en Asie, p. 394-6. "In the middle of this temple" says Kæmpfer, describing the same place "sate a large idol, which had forty-six arms; sixteen heroes in black, "and bigger than the life, stood round it. A little further on each side, were

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" two rows of gilt idols, much of the same shape, standing with about twenty " arms each." P. 554. We may justly be surprised at the degree of accuracy with which our author has described the objects of worship in a country which he does not profess to have visited; but respecting which he must have had frequent opportunities of conversing with persons who had made the voyage, as well as with the natives themselves.

1148. Such, precisely, would be (as often it has been) the answer given to a similar question, by an intelligent Hindu of the present day.

1149. On this subject of cannibalism I must refer the reader to what has been already said in Note 1094; being convinced that a memorandum made by our author, of a barbarous custom existing amongst the *Batta* people of Sumatra, in whose neighbourhood he resided several months, has been either ignorantly or designedly applied to some other nations, with whose manners it is quite inconsistent. It is obvious indeed, from the passage itself, that the practice could only belong to a population composed of small savage tribes, in whose warfare the capture and sacrifice of an enemy or two might be regarded as a vindictive triumph, and by no means to a nation, however inhumanly disposed, that brought large armies into the field, and made numerous prisoners.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the sea of Chin, between this island and the province of Manji.

CHAP. IV.

"It is to be understood that the sea in which the island (of *Zipangu*) is situated is called the sea of *Chin*,[1150] and so extensive is this eastern sea, that according to the report of experienced pilots and mariners who frequent it, and to whom the truth must be known, it contains no fewer than seven thousand four hundred and forty islands, mostly inhabited.[1151] It is said that of the trees which grow in them, there are none that do not yield a fragrant smell.[1152]" They produce many spices and drugs, particularly lignum-aloes and pepper, in great abundance, both white and black.[1153] It is impossible to estimate the value of the gold and other articles found in the islands; but their distance from the continent is so great, and the navigation attended with so much trouble and inconvenience, that the vessels engaged in the trade, from the ports of *Zai-tun* and *Kin-sai*, do not

not reap large profits, being obliged to consume a whole year in their voyage; sailing in the winter and returning in the summer. For in these regions only two winds prevail; one of them during the winter, and the other during the summer season; so that they must avail themselves of the one for the outward, and of the other for the homeward-bound voyage.[1154] These countries are far remote from the continent of India. In terming this sea, the sea of *Chin*, we must understand it, nevertheless, to be a part of the ocean; for as we speak of the English sea, or of the Egean sea, so do the eastern people, of the sea of *Chin* and of the Indian sea; whilst all of them are comprehended under the general term of the ocean.[1155] We shall here cease to treat further of these countries and islands, as well on account of their lying so far out of the way, as of my not having visited them personally, and of their not being under the dominion of the Grand *khan*.[1156] We return now to *Zaitun*.

NOTES.

1150. Whatever uncertainty may prevail respecting the name which the Chinese themselves give to their country, it is well known that by all the other people of the east it is denominated *Chin* and *China*; the former being the manner in which the word is pronounced by the Persians and natives of Hindustan, and the latter, by the Malays and other islanders. That which our navigators term the China sea, is in the Malayan language invariably called *laut china*. To the Japanese also the name must be familiar, although they denote it likewise by other descriptive appellations.

1151. The limits of the China sea not being accurately defined, it is impossible to verify this pretended enumeration of its islands, which is evidently meant to include the Moluccas or those from whence the spices are chiefly procured. Our author speaks, however, from such information as he could procure, and not of his own knowledge.

1152. " Les campagnes " says M. Poivre " sont couvertes de bois odoriférens " . . . On y respire un air embaumé par une multitude de fleurs agréables qui se " succédent toute l'année, et dont l'odeur suave pénétre jusqu'à l'âme, et inspire " la volupté la plus séduisante." Voy. d'un Philosophe, p. 56. This picture of the

the Malayan countries, though certainly overcharged, is a complete justification of our author's report of their productions.

1153. It is remarkable that this distinction of white and black pepper, which is effected by the process of blanching the grains in their ripest state, should have been noticed at so early a period. Until within the last half century they were generally supposed in Europe to be the productions of different plants.

1154. Such also at the present day is the state of navigation amongst the Chinese, whose *junks* are employed in trading to *Java* and other islands of the archipelago, but not being adapted either by their construction or mode of rigging to work against a contrary wind, require two monsoons for the performance of their outward and homeward bound voyages. The account here given of these periodical winds is substantially correct. In the China seas the north-east or winter monsoon, being that which is favourable for sailing from the southern ports of China to the straits of *Malacca* or *Java*, commences about the month of October or November, and lasts till about February or March: the south-west monsoon sets in about April or May, and blows till August or September; during which latter season the *junks* return homewards.

1155. It seems to be the object of this explanation to prevent the misapprehension of the sea of *Chin* being such as the Caspian, Baikal, or other inland seas, which have no apparent communication with the ocean. Although the name of *Chin* or *Çin* does not appear in the Basle edition nor in the epitomes, Ramusio's text is justified by the authority of the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, where it is written *Cyn*.

1156. There is much reason to believe that, whilst employed in the service of the emperor, he had visited some of the eastern islands, lying the nearest to the coast of China; such, perhaps, as the Philippines. A voyage of this nature is directly mentioned in Book i, chap. i, sect. v. See Note 56. By those "lying far out of the way" may be understood the Moluccas, whose valuable productions must always have made their existence known.

CHAPTER V.

Of the gulph of Keinan, and of its rivers.

DEPARTING from the port of *Zai-tun*,[1157] and steering a westerly course, but inclining to the south, for fifteen hundred miles, you pass the gulf named *Keinan*,[1158] which extends to the distance of two months navigation,[1159] along its northern shore, where it bounds the southern part of the province of *Manji*, and from thence to where it approaches the countries of *Ania*, *Toloman*, and many others already mentioned.[1160] Within this gulf there are a multitude of islands, for the most part well inhabited,[1161] about the coasts of which much gold-dust is collected from the sea, at those places were the rivers discharge themselves.[1162] Copper also and many other articles are found there,[1163] and with these a trade is carried on, the one island supplying what another does not produce. They traffic also with the people of the continent, exchanging their gold and copper for such necessaries as they may require. In the most of these islands grain is raised in abundance. This gulf is so extensive and the inhabitants so numerous, that it appears like another world.

NOTES.

1157. In Notes 1110 and 1111, it has been shewn that *Zai-tun* or *Zar-ten* was either the city of *Tsuen-cheu*, the third in rank of the province of *Fo-kien*, and of great commercial importance, or else the port of *Hia-muen*, called by us *Amoy*, very near to the former, and much better known to Europeans, who had factories there in the last century. It is probable that, by a regulation of the Chinese government, the foreign commerce may have been transferred, at some period subsequent to the reign of *Kublaï*, from *Tsuen-cheu* to *Amoy*, and perhaps on account of the greater draught of water of European ships.

1158. *Keinan* or, according to the Italian orthography, *Cheinan*, is indisputably *Hainan*, the name of a large and important island, lying off the southern coast of China, and by some enumerated as a sixteenth province of that empire. It may

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may naturally be supposed to have communicated its appellation to the bight or gulf in which it is situated, although by our seamen the latter is commonly termed the gulf of *Tung-king*.

1159. The extent of the line of coast from one extremity to the other of this gulf, in its largest sense, not exceeding fifteen hundred nautical miles, two months may be considered as a large allowance of time for navigating it, according to our ideas of seamanship; but our author speaks from the reports of native mariners, who, even if the business of their commerce does not render it necessary, are in the habit of prolonging their voyages, by availing themselves of the shelter of every friendly port.

1160. By *Ania* must be understood the country of *Anan* or Tung-king, by the Portuguese written *Anam* or *Annam*, from whence the language of that country, as well as of Kochinchina, is termed in the dictionary of Alexander de Rhodes, "lingua Annamitica." The Chinese, who never commence a word with the sound of *A*, pronounce it *Ngan-nan*; as it stands in the Jesuits' and D'Anville's maps. With respect to the name of *Toloman*, some conjectures have already been offered in Note 893. From the context we might be led to suppose it was here meant for Kochinchina, the *Kiao-chi* of the Chinese; but neither is this warranted by any resemblance of sound, nor does it appear from the former part of the itinerary (B. I. Chap. xlviii) that *Toloman* or *Tholoman* was situated upon the coast. Our author may not, however, have intended by this passage to assert its maritime situation, but only to say that as the gulf was bounded on the one side by China, so it was, on the other, by the land which contains *Anan* or *Tung-king*; *Toloman* (which may be *Po-lo-man*, the country of the Burmans, according to Chinese pronunciation), and other provinces of which he had before spoken.

1161. The account given of these islands may be supposed to apply, not to the small ones lying close to the main land, at the bottom of the gulf, but rather to the Philippines, together with *Palawan* or Paragua, situated opposite to it; although at a considerable distance. This appears to be justified by the subsequent mention of its vast extent.

1162. Gold dust is collected from the beds of rivers, but not commonly from that part where they mix their waters with the sea. It may be otherwise, however, in particular instances.

1163. Copper, as well as gold, is found in the Philippines and several of the eastern islands; but the greatest quantity, and that of the finest quality, is procured from Japan.

1164. No

CHAPTER VI.

Of the country of Ziamba, of the king of that country, and of his becoming tributary to the Grand khan.

We now resume our former subject. Upon leaving *Zai-tun* and navigating fifteen hundred miles across this gulf, as has been mentioned, you arrive at a country named *Ziamba*, which is of great extent and rich.[1164] It is governed by its own kings, and has its peculiar language. The inhabitants are worshippers of idols.[1165] An annual tribute, in elephants and lignum aloes, is paid to the Grand *khan*,[1166] the occasion and circumstances of which shall be related.[1167] About the year 1268, *Kublai* having received accounts of the great wealth of this kingdom, resolved upon the measure of sending a large force, both of infantry and cavalry, to effect the conquest of it;[1168] and the country was accordingly invaded by a powerful army, placed under the command of one of his generals named *Sagatu*.[1169] The king, whose name was *Accambale*,[1170] and who was far advanced in years, feeling himself incapable of making resistance in the field to the forces of the Grand *khan*, retired to his strong holds, which afforded him security, and he there defended himself valiantly. The open towns, however, and habitations on the plains, were in the mean time overrun and laid waste, and the king perceiving that his whole territory would be ruined by the enemy, sent ambassadors to his majesty for the purpose of representing, that, being himself an old man, who had always preserved his dominions in a state of tranquillity and peace, he was anxious to save them from the destruction with which they were threatened, and, upon the condition of the invading army being withdrawn, he was willing to pay yearly an honorary tribute of elephants and sweet-scented wood. Upon receiving this proposal, the Grand *khan*, from motives of compassion, immediately sent orders to *Sagatu* for his retreat from thence with the force under his command, and directed him to proceed to the conquest of other countries; which was executed without delay.[1171] From that time the king has annually presented to his majesty, in the form of tribute, a very large quantity

of lignum aloes,[1172] together with twenty of the largest and handsomest elephants to be found in his districts.[1173] Thus it was that the king of *Ziamba* became the subject of the Grand *khan*.

Having related the foregoing, we shall now mention some circumstances respecting this king and his country. In the first place it should be noticed that in his dominions no young woman, of a certain degree of beauty, can be given in marriage, until she has been first presented to the king.[1174] Those who prove agreeable to him he retains for some time, and when they are dismissed, he furnishes them with a sum of money, in order that they may be able to obtain, according to their rank in life, advantageous matches. MARCO POLO in the year 1280 visited this place,[1175] at which period the king had three hundred and twenty-five children, male and female. Most of the former had distinguished themselves as valiant soldiers. The country abounds with elephants, and with lignum aloes. There are also many forests of ebony, of a fine black, which is worked into various handsome articles of furniture.[1176] No other circumstance requires particular mention. Leaving this place, we shall now speak of the island called *Java* major.

NOTES.

1164. No doubt can be entertained of the *Ziamba* of Ramusio's text, which in the early Latin version also is *Ziamba*, in the Basle, *Ciamba*, and in the early Italian epitome *Cianban*, being the *Tsiampa*, *Siampa*, *Ciampa*, or *Champa*, of our maps; situated to the southward of Kochinchina, in the south-eastern part of what may be termed the peninsula of *Kamboja*. It appears from the following passage in the Mém. concern. les Chinois, to be the *Tchen-la* of the Chinese geographers, or, at least to be included in it: "La troisième année du règne de "*Ning-tsoung* (an emperor who ascended the throne of China in 1192) il y eut "une guerre cruelle entre ceux de *Tchan-tcheng* (which is one of the designations "of Kochinchina, but is by De Guignes written *Tchen-tching*) et ceux de *Tchen-la*. "Ces derniers restèrent victorieux et s'emparèrent du royaume de *Tchan-tcheng*. "L'empereur consentit que ces deux royaumes fussent sous la domination du roi "de *Tchen-la*, à condition qu'il prendroit le titre du roi de *Tchan-tcheng*." T. xiv, p. 120. The relative situation of these two countries is thus described: "Ce "royaume

" royaume (de *Tchan-tcheng*) a la mer à l'est, le *Yun-nan* à l'ouest, *Tchen-la* au " midi, *Ngan-nan* ou le Tonquin au nord, et Canton au nord-est." " Sa position " (celle de *Tchen-la*) par rapport à la Chine, est au sud-ouest. Il a la mer à l'est " ... et *Tchan-tcheng* au nord." P. 39-111. With respect to the distance between *Zai-tun*, in the province of *Fo-kien*, and *Ziamba*, here said to be fifteen hundred miles (which exceeds the truth), it is stated in the Basle edition at one thousand and fifty miles, and in the early epitome at five days' sail.

1165. " La religion de Fo " say the Mémoires, speaking of *Tchen-la* " est la " seule qui ait cours dans le pays." P. 119. " Leur religion " says P. A. de Rhodes, speaking of the Kochinchinese " est la mesme que celle de la Chine, à " laquelle autrefois ils estoient attachez, aussi bien que le Tunquin." Voyages et Missions, p. 64.

1166. In the year 1373 we find the king of *Tchen-la* sending tribute (that is, complimentary presents by an ambassador) to the emperor *Hong-ou*, one of the descendants of *Kublai*.

1167. This will prove to be another instance of the manner in which the persons about the emperor's court were amused by stories circulated of imaginary victories, or in palliation of defeats. (See concluding sentence of Note 1144). The Chinese historians place the operations of the campaign in a different and, probably, juster light.

1168. In dates, and numbers in general, our author's work has experienced more perversion than in any other part of his text; but the variety of readings in the several copies may fairly be urged in his defence against the charge of any specific inaccuracy; for as he cannot have been guilty of assigning two, or more, erroneous and contradictory dates, so may his original have been different from either. What is here, as well as in the Basle version, stated to have passed in 1268 (before the conquest of southern China) is, in the early epitome, gratuitously referred to 1249. The expedition took place in 1281 or 1282.

1169. The name which here and in the epitome is *Sagatu*, but in the Basle, *Sogatu*, is written *Soutou* and *Sotou* by those who have translated the Chinese histories. *Sogatu* is likely to have been the more nervous Mungal pronunciation.

1170. The name of *Accambale* is not to be traced in the histories of these countries, and as it does not occur in the other versions of our author, we are deprived of that chance of obtaining a more correct orthography. According to the historian of the Huns, the name of the king who reigned in " *Gan-nan* or *Tun-kin*."

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Tun-kin," from 1262 to 1290, was *Tchin-goei-hoang*, otherwise called *Kuang-ping*; and in "*Tchen-tching*," or Kochinchina, *Po-yeou-pou-la-tche-ou*, who in 1282, he adds, was engaged in war with *Kublai-khan*. Liv. iii, p. 171-3.

1171. By the cotemporary annalists of China, the events are described in a manner much less creditable to the arms of their sovereign. "Dans le même tems que "Kublai avoit une flotte nombreuse qui conduisoit ses armées, d'autres armées" says the same historian "marchoient vers le *Tong-king* et la Cochinchine. Le général "*Soutou*, (M. Paul le nomme *Sogatou*), qui en avoit le commandement, étoit "entré dans le pays, dont il avoit ruiné la capitale; mais le fils du roi de Tong-"king, qui étoit à la tête d'une armée, et qui amusoit les Mogols par de feintes "promesses, s'empara de plusieurs postes situés entre la Chine et le Tong-king, "et par-là coupa la retraite aux Mogols, qui étoient d'ailleurs incommodés par "les grandes chaleurs. *Soutou* fit de grandes actions de valeur pour sortir de ce "mauvais pas, et perdit la meilleure partie de son armée." "Les Chinois," he adds, "n'approuvoient pas ces grandes entreprises." Liv. xiv, p. 174. It is possible, however, that as the Chinese reprobated these attempts at foreign conquest, they may have been led to exaggerate their disastrous consequences.

As the circumstances are related with some variation in l'Histoire gén. de la Chine, and approach rather more nearly to those stated in our text, the passage is here presented to the reader: "Le royaume de *Tchen-tching* s'étoit reconnu "tributaire de *Houpilai-han* aussitôt que ce prince avoit achevé la conquête de la "Chine. Cependant l'héritier de la couronne avoit refusé de se soumettre, et "s'étoit retiré à Pouti où il espéroit être en sûreté. Cette année (1282) à la "première lune, *Sotou* emporta de force sa principale ville, ce qui obligea "l'héritier de *Tchen-tching* à se sauver dans des montagnes de difficile accès, d'où "il envoya un de ses officiers pour amuser *Sotou* et gagner du tems. *Sotou*, "trompé, résolut de faire les plus grands efforts pour le détruire entièrement, et "il lui livra divers combats où il eut quelque avantage; il le poussa jusqu'au "pied d'une ville située sur un rocher qu'il avoit fortifiée de palissades: elle parut "aux Mongous si difficile à prendre qu'ils n'alloient à l'assaut que malgré eux, "et ne revenoient jamais qu'après une perte considérable de leurs soldats, que "les assiégés à couvert tuoient à coups sûrs. Pendant que les Mongous se mor-"fondoient inutilement devant cette place, le fils du roi de *Tchen-tching* saisit "l'occasion de leur couper le chemin du retour. *Sotou* leva le siège, et se retira, "à la sixième lune, non sans être vivement inquiétés pendant sa route." T. ix, p. 414. See also p. 420, where it appears that *Kublai*, in contemplation of a second attempt to subdue this prince, demanded of the king of *Ngan-nan* a passage for troops through his dominions. The editor says here in a Note, "*Ngan*-"*nan* comprend le Tonquin et le *Kiaotchi* ou la Cochinchine." In this case *Tchen-tching* lying beyond them, should be *Tsiampa*; but, at p. 414, he likewise says,

says, and I think incorrectly, "*Tchen-tching* est la partie maritime de Tonquin." It will be found more consistent to consider *Ngan-nan* or *Annan* as *Tung-king*, and *Tchen-tching* (which P. Amiot in the Mémoires, writes *Tchan-tcheng*) as another name for *Kiao-chi* or Kochinchina; observing at the same time, that as these, together with *Tsiampa*, have been sometimes under one, and sometimes under separate governments, they are frequently confounded in regard to their political relations with China.

1172. It may be necessary to inform some of my readers that lignum aloes, agallochum, or agila wood, called by the Malays and other eastern people *kalambak* كلمبق, is an unctuous, and, apparently, decayed wood, that melts away in burning, like a resin, emitting a fragrant smoke that is highly esteemed as a perfume. "De toutes les terres du monde," says P. A. de Rhodes, but not quite correctly, "il n'y a que la Cochinchine, où vienne cet arbre si renommé qu'on "appelle Calambouc, qui a le bois si odoriférant, et qui sert à tant de médecines. "Il y en a de trois sortes, le plus précieux s'appelle Calamba, l'odeur en est "admirable, il sert pour fortifier le cœur, et contre toutes sortes de venin. En "ce pays-là mesme il se vend au poids de l'or." Voy. et Miss. p. 65. This account will serve to shew the estimation in which the wood is held; but for more accurate information respecting the tree, the reader is referred to the Flora Cochinchinensis of Loureiro, edited by Willdenow, where, after the scientific description, under the name of Aloexylum agallochum, it is remarked: "Omnes veri Aloes "ligni species ex hac arbore procedunt; etiam pretiosissima, quæ dici solet "Calambac, quæque in *solis montibus Champavæ* (s. *Tsiampavæ*) ad Cochinchinam "pertinentibus, circa decimum tertium gradum latitudinis borealis sitis, in-"venitur." To those who have taken the trouble of attending to the geographical discrimination of these kingdoms, the foregoing assertion of an eminent naturalist long resident on the spot, that the most valuable samples of this wood are brought from *Tsiampa*, as distinguished from Kochinchina (although now dependent upon it), will appear a proud instance of fidelity and accuracy on the part of our author.

1173. It would seem that until the period of these invasions, rather than conquests, of *Mien* or Ava and *Ngan-nan* or Tung-king, the Mungal emperors had not been in the practice of employing elephants, either as a military arm or as beasts of burthen. In latter times a few only are kept for parade, or for transporting the baggage of the court from one palace to another.

1174. We read of this species of "droit seigneurial" in accounts of the feudal times of Europe, but have too little information respecting the customs heretofore prevailing in *Tsiampa*, to verify its existence in that part of the world.

1175. If

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1175. If this was actually in 1280, he must have been then employed on a special mission, in the service of the emperor. The early Italian epitome, with less appearance of being correct, assigns the date of 1275. It seems probable that the fleet in which he took his final departure from China, also touched there about the year 1291.

1176. We are here again indebted to the valuable information contained in Loureiro's Flora, where, speaking of the "Ebenoxylum verum" or true ebony, it is said: "Habitat vastas sylvas Cochinchinæ, maximè prope confinia Cambodiæ "ad 11 gradum lat. bor. ubi has arbores iteratò vidi. Usus. Nigredine et nitore "(polish) excellit in scriniis et minoribus operibus, præsertim quando ebure vel "margaritarum conchis discernitur."

CHAPTER VII.

Of the island of Java.

CHAP. VII. DEPARTING from *Ziamba* and steering between south and south-east, fifteen hundred miles, you reach an island of very great size named *Java*,[1177] which, according to the reports of some well-informed navigators, is the largest in the world; being in circuit above three thousand miles.[1178] It is under the dominion of one king only; nor do the inhabitants pay tribute to any other power. They are worshippers of idols. The country abounds with rich commodities. Pepper, nutmegs, spikenard, galangal, cubebs, cloves, and all the other valuable spices and drugs, are the produce of the island;[1179] which occasion it to be visited by many ships laden with merchandise, that yields to the owners considerable profit. The quantity of gold collected there exceeds all calculation and belief. From thence it is that the merchants of *Zai-tun* and of *Manji* in general have imported, and to this day import, that metal to a great amount, and from thence also is obtained the greatest part of the spices that are distributed throughout the world.[1180] That the Grand *khan* has not brought the island under subjection to him, must be attributed to the length of the voyage and the dangers of the navigation.[1181]

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1177. The name which in Ramusio's text is *Giaua*, in the Basle, *Jaua*, in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts and the early Latin edition, *Jana* or *Yana*, and in the early epitomes *Jaúa* and *Laua*, is obviously intended for that island which we call *Java* and the natives *Jaua* or *Jawa*, being precisely the *Giaua* of the Italian. The genuine pronunciation will be found a middle term amongst the several corruptions, and might nearly be inferred from their disagreement. The distance also of fifteen (in the epitome, fourteen) hundred miles, although exceeding the truth, points to that distinguished island; but in regard to some other circumstances, the description would seem to apply rather to *Borneo*, which lay in our author's route to the straits of Malacca. Such indeed was the opinion of old Purchas, who, in a marginal note to his translation, says, "*Jaua major*, I suppose this is "*Borneo*."

1178. *Borneo*, to which the distinction of being the largest island in the world (unless we allow the anomalous exception of New Holland and perhaps of New Guinea) properly belongs, is about 2,100 nautical or 2,400 English miles in circuit, whilst *Java* is not more than about 1,200 of the former, or 1,400 of the latter: but circuit is by no means an accurate test of comparative size. With respect to political importance, *Java* has been at all periods much the superior. It is no improbable supposition that our author, not having visited either, may have blended in his mind the information he acquired concerning both.

1179. Pepper is produced both in Borneo and Java; cloves or nutmegs are not the growth of either; but Batavia has been in modern times the great mart for the sale of them, in consequence of the Moluccas being under the dominion of those who govern Java. Such may likewise have been the case at the period when the country was ruled by the sovereigns of *Majapáhit*; a subject upon which we have much curious information from the pen of Sir T. S. Raffles, in his excellent History of that interesting island. Speaking of the political occurrences about this period, he observes that "All the provinces (after a rebellion) again fell "under the authority of *Majapáhit*. According to some accounts *Dámar Wúlan* "had also been successful in repelling an invasion from *Kambója*." Vol. ii, p. 112. The intercourse between *Java* and *Tsiampa* or *Champa* is also repeatedly noticed.

1180. *Java* is not celebrated for the production of gold; in *Borneo*, on the contrary, much is collected. It is difficult, however, for a traveller, when he finds an article abounding in the commerce of a place, to distinguish whether it is indigenous

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indigenous or brought thither by the operations of that commerce. The precious metals will always flow into a country that exports valuable produce, which *Java* appears to have done in all ages, as well from her own internal resources as from her connexion with the Moluccas or spice islands.

1181. This observation is much more applicable to *Java* than to *Borneo*, as the navigation to the latter, from the southern ports of China, is neither distant nor attended with any particular difficulty. It may be proper to notice in this place, that the Chinese historians speak of a kingdom named *Koua-oua* against which an expedition was sent by *Kublaï*, about the year 1287, according to P. Amiot, or in 1292, according to the elder De Guignes. " Autant les Chinois," says the latter " avoient été opposés aux entreprises que Kublai vouloit faire " contre les pays étrangers, autant ils témoignèrent alors de zèle et d'empresse- " ment pour l'engager à porter la guerre dans le pays de *Koua-oua*, que l'on soup- " çonne être l'isle de *Borneo*. Ce prince qui avoit une passion extraordinaire de " faire connoître son nom chez les étrangers, avoit souvent envoyé des officiers " vers différens rois Indiens, pour les engager d'apporter dans la Chine les " raretés de leur pays; et les Indiens, à qui ce commerce étoit très-avantageux, " venoient en foule dans les ports de *Fo-kien*. *Meng-ki*, un de ses ministres qui " avoit été envoyé vers le roi de *Koua-oua*, y fut insulté, et fut marqué sur le " visage avec un fer chaud comme un voleur public. Cet affront irrita tous les " Chinois qui supplièrent Kublai d'en tirer vengeance. On rassembla à la hâte " mille vaisseaux de guerre et de transport, sur lesquels on embarqua trente " mille hommes, sans conter les matelots, avec des provisions pour un an. " *Chepi* eut le commandement général, *Kao-hing* celui des troupes, et *Yehemiche*, " qui étoit du pays d'*Igour*, celui des matelots. La flotte rangea les côtes de " Tong-king et de Cochinchine, entra dans la grande mer, et débarqua les " troupes dans le pays de *Koua-oua* après 68 jours de navigation (du port de " *Tsuen-tcheou*). Le roi du pays, nommé *Touhan-pitouyé* se rendit aussitôt aux " Chinois, et leur fit de grands présens, dans le dessein de les tromper et de les " faire périr. Il les engagea ensuite à porter la guerre dans un pays voisin, " nommé *Kou-lang*, dont le roi étoit son ennemi, et pris secrettement toutes les " mesures pour faire périr leur armée. Suivant son avis, on laissa quelques " officiers pour la garde de la flotte, et on se rendit avec les troupes vers la " capitale du pays de *Kou-lang*, où l'on trouva une armée de cent mille hommes, " qui soutint le combat depuis le leyer du soleil jusqu'à midi. Malgré cette " résistance ces troupes furent battues, et le roi se rendit aux Chinois, qui le " tuèrent avec toute sa famille. Alors le roi de *Koua-oua*, ne voulant plus tenir " aucune des paroles qu'il avoit données, se mit en état de couper aux Chinois le " chemin de la mer; il les harcela pendant trente lieues, et leur tua environ trois " mille

« mille hommes. Les Chinois se sauvèrent de ce danger par leur bravoure, « et se rembarquèrent avec un butin immense." Liv. xvi, p. 186.

P. Amiot in his "Introduction à la connoissance des peuples Chinois," (Mém. concern. &c. t. xiv, p. 101), has detailed many circumstances respecting this country, but so imperfect and unsatisfactory is Chinese information, in general, on geographical subjects, that it would be difficult to ascertain from thence the place meant by *Koua-oua*, although evidently situated on the eastern side of the straits of Malacca and Sunda, and inhabited by the race to whom the name of Malays is commonly given. De Guignes, as it appears, supposed it to be the island of *Borneo*, whilst others, with more reason, have considered it as *Java*, and this opinion has recently been confirmed beyond all doubt by a very curious document inserted in the History of Java, which was furnished by a Chinese whose family have for several generations been settled in that island, and translated into English by Mr. Crawfurd, when resident of *Surabaya*. In this writing (which agrees in most particulars with that published in the Mémoires) it is said: "There is a country called *Jaw-wa*, formerly called *Cha-po*" (the *Koua-oua* and *Tché-po* of P. Amiot); "on the sea coast of it there is a country called *Po-kyà-* "*lung*, by which is the entrance into the country." "In the reign of the "emperor *Hut-pit-lyat*, of the family of *Givan* (evidently *Hu-pi-lai* of the dynasty "of *Yuen*), and in the thirteenth year of his reign, soldiers were sent from "China, but the Javan subjects were very numerous, and they could not succeed." "The country of *Jaw-wa* is divided between two kings, one to the west and one "to the east. In the reign of the emperor *Chee-Te*, of the dynasty of *Beng*" (*Chìng-Tsu*, better known by the name of *Yong-lo*, of the dynasty of *Ming*), "when that prince had sat five years on the throne (1409), the western prince, "whose name was *Fo-wan-pan*, made war on the prince of the eastern half of the "island, and overthrew his kingdom." Vol. ii, p. 137-8. This refers to the destruction of the city of *Majapáhit* by the western or Mahometan state, which took place, according to the Javanese annals, in the year 1400 of their era. "La "troisième année de *Young-lò*" says P. Amiot "en 1405" (his reign, as stated by Du Halde, commenced in 1404) "le roi oriental envoya seul son tribut," et fit "demander pour lui des patentes et un sceau particulier: ce qui lui fut accordé. "Mais cela n'empêcha pas que, deux ans après, le roi occidental, son concurrent, "envahit toute l'autorité, et ne le détruisît avec tous ceux qui lui étoient "attachés." P. 109.

By these authorities a connection is established between the histories of China and of Java, and it appears indubitable that an expedition was undertaken by the emperor *Kublai* against the latter country. This may at first be considered as an instance of defective information on the part of our author, as no notice is taken by him of the event, and on the contrary his words imply that the attempt had not been made. But upon an examination of dates it will be perceived that his silence

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on this point is strongly corroborative of his fidelity; for as it did not take place, according to the *Surabaya* document, until the thirteenth year of the reign of that monarch, which dates from the extinction of the *Song* in 1280, or until 1292 according to the historian of the Huns, it must have been at least one year after the departure of the Polo family from the court of Peking, and only a short time before the death of *Kublaï*, which happened in 1294.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the islands of Sondur and Condur, and of the country of Lochac.

CHAP. VIII. Upon leaving the island of *Java*, and steering a course between south and south west, seven hundred miles, you fall in with two islands, the larger of which is named *Sondur*, and the other, *Kondur*.[1182] Both being uninhabited, it is unnecessary to say more respecting them. Having run the distance of fifty miles from these islands, in a south-easterly direction, you reach an extensive and rich province, that forms a part of the main land, and is named *Lochac*.[1183] Its inhabitants are idolaters. They have a language peculiar to themselves, and are governed by their own king, who pays no tribute to any other, the situation of the country being such as to protect it from any hostile attack.[1184] Were it assailable, the Grand *khan* would not have delayed to bring it under his dominion. In this country sappan or brezil wood is produced in large quantities. Gold is abundant to a degree scarcely credible; elephants are found there; and the objects of the chase, either with dogs or birds, are in plenty.[1185] From hence are exported all those porcelain shells, which, being carried to other countries, are there circulated for money; as has been already noticed.[1186] Here they cultivate a species of fruit called *berchi*, in size about that of a lemon, and having a delicious flavour.[1187] Besides these circumstances there is nothing further that requires mention, unless it be that the country is wild and mountainous, and is little frequented by strangers, whose visits the king discourages, in order that his treasures and other secret matters of his realm, may be as little known to the rest of the world as possible.[1188]

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1182. If, as there is reason to presume, the *Kondur* here mentioned be the Condore of our maps (by the Malays named *Kondûr* كندور, signifying a species of gourd), it is evident that the bearings and distance assigned must be erroneous, as a south-south-west course from Java, instead of leading to an island on the coast of *Kamboja*, would carry the navigator into the southern ocean. Such an inconsistency ought not, however, in fairness, to be charged to our author, as his editors are not consistent amongst themselves. The Basle version says: "Navigando ab insula Jaua, numerantur septingenta miliaria, ad duas insulas, "Sondur et Condur dictas, à quibus ultra procedendo inter meridiem et garbi- "nium, sunt quingenta miliaria, &c.;" which does not necessarily imply that the course from Java to these islands was the same as that pursued upon leaving them, although it will bear the construction. The early Venice epitome, which seems indeed to speak gratuitously with respect to the distance, says: "Partite "da Jaua, e navegi 18 miglia intro mezzo di, e garbino, tu trovi due isole, &c." These contradictory errors appear to have arisen from a misconception of the itinerary, into which our author, avowedly, introduces places of which he had only hearsay information, along with those which he actually visited. That his voyage did not lead him to the island of *Java* (as distinguished from that which he afterwards terms *Java minor*) is apparent from his own words; but upon leaving China and reaching *Tsiampa*, which he either touched at or saw in passing, he digresses in his narrative, in order to mention the distance and some particulars of that celebrated island, and having so done, returns to the point he had left; from whence he proceeds (in his desultory manner) with the sequel of his proper route, which naturally leads him to the small island of Condore. The early transcribers of his manuscript not adverting to so material a distinction, have attempted to render the journal more regular, according to their idea, by forcing these excursive notices, however inconsistent with geography, into one uniform track, and for that purpose assigning imaginary bearings. The name of *Sondur* cannot be identified. If in fact a distinct place, and not another reading of *Kondur* (which itself consists of a greater and a smaller island), it may be meant for *Pulo Sapata*, which lies in the route, but at a considerable distance from the former.

1183. The *Lochac* of Ramusio's text and *Lochach* of the epitome, is *Laach* in the early Latin, and *Boeach* in the Basle edition. In one version it is said to lie in a south-east, and in another, in a south-south-west direction from *Kondur*: both equally inconsistent with the geographical fact. It appears from the circumstances to be intended for some part of the country of *Kamboja*, the capital of

which was named *Loech*, according to the authority of Gaspar de Cruz, who visited it during the reign of Sebastian king of Portugal. See Purchas, Vol. iii, p. 169. In D'Anville's map the name is written *Levek*.

1184. The difficulties of invasion appear to arise from the great distance of the capital from the sea, on a river of dangerous navigation, which overflows the lower parts of the country at certain seasons.

1185. " The country of Cambodia " as Hamilton informs us " produces gold of " twenty-one carats fine, and elephants' teeth at 50 to 55 dollars for the largest. " They have also much sapan-wood, sandal-wood, agala-wood, &c." New Account of the East Indies, Vol. ii, p. 198. " The woods " says Thomas Bowyear " abound with rhinoceroses, elephants, deer, buffaloes, wild hogs, &c." Oriental Repertory, Vol. i, p. 91.

1186. Excepting at *Sulu*, near the north-eastern coast of *Borneo*, I am not aware of the production of cowries in any part of the eastern or China seas, and suspect that there may have been here a transposition or mistake of some other kind, as the words of the text are applicable to the Maldives alone. In the Latin version it is said: " Utuntur incolæ pro moneta glebis quibusdam aureis," by which may be understood small lumps of gold, such in form as those pieces of silver resembling flattened bullets, which are current in *Siam*: but these could not be exported for circulation in other countries.

1187. Without a more particular description, it is impossible, even with the assistance of Loureiro's Flora Cochinchinensis, to ascertain the kind of fruit here named *berci* or *berchi*. In a country where the mangustin (*garcinia mangostana*) should be found, it might be thought to merit this special notice; but we are not informed of that exquisite fruit being a native of *Kamboja*.

1188. Very different reasons are assigned in the several versions for this seclusive state of the country. Here we find it attributed to motives of jealous policy; in the Basle edition the occasion is said to be, " adeò inhumani sunt " habitatores ejus;" and in the early epitome, " perche elli si e fora de via;" which last, as it is the simplest, may be the most genuine cause.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the island of Pentan, and of the kingdom of Malaiur.

DEPARTING from *Lochac* and keeping a southerly course for five hundred miles, you reach an island named *Pentan*,[1189] the coast of which is wild and uncultivated but the woods abound with sweet-scented trees.[1190] Between the province of *Lochac* and this island of *Pentan* the sea, for the space of sixty miles, is not more than four fathoms in depth, which obliges those who navigate it, to lift the rudders of their ships (in order that they may not touch the bottom).[1191] After sailing these sixty miles, in a south-easterly direction, and then proceeding thirty miles further, you arrive at an island, in itself a kingdom, named *Malaiur*, which is likewise the name of its chief city.[1192] The people are governed by a king, and have their own peculiar language. The town is large and well built. A considerable trade is there carried on in spices and drugs, with which the place abounds.[1193] Nothing else that requires notice presents itself. Proceeding onwards from thence, we shall now speak of *Java* minor.

NOTES.

1189. *Pentan*, which in the Basle edition is *Petan*, but in the older Latin, *Pentayn*, appears to be the island of *Bintan* بنتن, or, as it is more commonly written *Bintang*, near the eastern mouth of the straits of Malacca; whose port called *Riyu* ريو or *Rhio*, is a place of considerable trade. The course to it from *Kamboja* is nearly south, as stated both in the Italian and the Latin texts, and the distance does not materially differ from five hundred miles.

1190. This may be understood either of those woods which, by burning or otherwise, are used as perfumes, such as the lignum-aloes and sandal-wood, or of sweet-scented blossoms, such as those of the *uvaria cananga*, which diffuse their fragrance to a considerable distance.

1191. In

1191. In the navigation from the coast of *Kamboja* to the island of *Bintan* and straits of Malacca, there are numerous shoals and coral reefs, but the particular tract of shallow water to which the passage in the text refers cannot be precisely ascertained. In the journal of one of the Jesuit missionaries we find circumstances noticed of the straits of *Banka*, which strongly exemplify what is here described: "à l'entrée se trouve l'isle de *Lucepara*; la mer est basse aux environs... "Les vaisseaux qui vont à la Chine tirent ordinairement dix-sept pieds d'eau, et "souvent dans les endroits où il y en a le plus, il ne s'en trouve que cinq brasses, "c'est-à-dire 25 pieds, mais pour peu qu'on se détourne, on n'en trouve que "douze ou quinze...La quille du vaisseau étoit si proche de terre, que mettant "les eaux en mouvement, la vase du fond en étoit agitée, et revenant sur la "surface de la mer, ne présentoit aux yeux qu'une eau bourbeuse." Let. édif. t. xxii, p. 421. The Chinese junks do not draw so much water in proportion to their tonnage as our ships, but their rudders are considerably larger.

1192. By the island and kingdom of *Malaiur* (in the Basle edition *Maletur*, but in the older Latin, *Maleyur*) it will scarcely be doubted that our author means to speak of the kingdom of the Malays (*orang malâyu* اورغ ملايو) founded about a century before, at the south-eastern extremity of the peninsula that bears their name; for although about the year 1252, the seat of government was transferred to Malacca, the appellation of *Tanah malâyu* تانه ملايو "the Malayan land" seems to have been always applied emphatically to that part of the country where the original establishment was formed, which is now included in the kingdom of *Johor* جوهر. From the name of their first city, the straits formed by an island which lies close to the extreme point of the land, obtained the appellation of the straits of *Singa-pura* سيڠاڤور or, vulgarly, Sincapore.

1193. Pepper alone is the proper spice of the peninsula; but the chief object of the commercial establishments in the straits of Malacca, has ever been to form a mart for exchanging the spices and drugs collected there from the eastern islands, for the produce and manufactures of India and the more western parts of the world.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER X.

Of the island of Java minor.

Upon leaving the island of *Pentan*[1194] and steering in the direction of south-east for about one hundred miles, you reach the island of *Java* the Lesser.[1195] Small, however, as it may be termed by comparison, it is not less than two thousand miles in circuit.[1196] In this island there are eight kingdoms, governed by so many kings,[1197] and each kingdom has its own proper language, distinct from those of all the others. The people are idolaters. It contains abundance of riches, and all sorts of spices, lignum-aloes, sappan-wood for dying, and various other kinds of drugs,[1198] which, on account of the length of the voyage and the danger of the navigation, are not imported into our country, but which find their way to the provinces of *Manji* and *Kataia*.

We shall now treat separately of what relates to the inhabitants of each of these kingdoms; but in the first place it is proper to observe that the island lies so far to the southward as to render the north star invisible.[1199] Six of the eight kingdoms were visited by Marco Polo, and these he will describe, omitting the other two which he had not an opportunity of seeing.

NOTES.

1194. The departure being here taken from *Pentan* or *Bintan*, and not from *Malaiur*, the place last mentioned, it may be inferred that the fleet did not touch at any place in the peninsula, and that what is mentioned respesting the kingdom of the Malays was information subsequently obtained. In the Italian epitomes the names in this part are more than usually corrupted, those last mentioned being there *Pentara* for *Pentan*, and *Malonir* for *Malouir* or *Malaiur*, whilst the chief city of the latter is called *Pepetam*. The Latin versions have *Petan* and *Pentam*, *Maletur* and *Malenii*.

1195. Every circumstance tends to confirm the opinion that by the *Giaua* minor of Ramusio's text, the *Jaua* minor of the Basle, the *Jana* minor of the older Latin,

Latin, and the *Jauamener* of the epitomes, is meant the island of *Sumatra*, a name very little known to the natives, and probably of Hindu origin. It may indeed be remarked that almost all the prevailing names of large islands have been imposed by foreigners, and it is not unlikely that our author himself, from a supposed analogy, may have given to this the appellation of the *Lesser Java*. Such also it is termed by Nicolo di Conti who visited the island in the early part of the fifteenth century; but he had evidently read the work of his countryman, Marco Polo. By Odoardo Barbosa, a Portuguese, who concludes the journal of his voyage in 1516, the name of Java minor is, on the contrary, applied to the small island of *Sambawa*, near the eastern extremity of *Java* proper, and Sumatra is called by that which it now bears.

1196. Barbosa (mentioned in the preceding Note) speaks of "una grandissima "e bellissima isola chiamata Sumatra, laqual tien di circuito da settecento leghe, "che sono da *dumila e cento miglia*, contate per li Mori que l'han navigata tutta "d'intorno." Ramusio, vol. i, fo. 318-2. That in our modern charts it should measure nearly the same, is a very unexpected coincidence. Barbosa's account of the island is particular and unexceptionable; which is far from being the case with our author; but the progress of knowledge in the interval of two centuries between the periods of their travels, was immense.

1197. Most of the early describers of Sumatra attempt, in the same manner, to distribute the island into a certain number of kingdoms. "Ao tempo que nós "entramos na India," says John de Barros, "estava repartida em *vintenove* "*reynos*." "Le roy d'*Achen*" says Beaulieu "possède la moitié et qui est la "meilleure." (But this power did not exist in our author's time). "L'autre "moitié est possédée de cinq ou six roys, lesquels tous ensemble ne sont à beau-"coup près si puissants que celuy d'*Achen;* encore qu'ils possèdent de bonnes "terres." Thevenot, t. i, p. 96. Such divisions, however, are inapplicable to the general circumstances of the island; for although considerable portions of it are ruled by sultans more or less powerful, the greater part of the interior is subject to innumerable petty *rajas* or chiefs.

1198. The other drugs here alluded to, are probably the gum benzoin and the native camphor (as distinguished from the factitious camphor of the shops, imported from China and Japan); both of them staple articles of trade in Sumatra.

1199. The island being intersected by the equinoctial line, the north star must be invisible to the inhabitants of all the southern portion, and even by those of the northern it can be seen but rarely and only under particular circumstances.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the kingdom of Felech, in the island of Java minor.

We shall begin with the kingdom of *Felech*, which is one of the eight.[1200] Its inhabitants are for the most part idolaters, but many of those who dwell in the sea-port towns have been converted to the religion of Mahomet, by the Saracen merchants who constantly frequent them.[1201] Those who inhabit the mountains live in a beastly manner. They eat human flesh,[1202] and indiscriminately all other sorts of flesh, clean and unclean.[1203] Their worship is directed to a variety of objects, for each individual adores throughout the day, the first that presents itself to his sight when he rises in the morning.[1204]

NOTES.

1200. The name here written *Felech* is in the Latin edition *Ferlech*, and in the Italian epitomes *Ferlach*, equivalent to *Ferlak*. It appears therefore to be intended for a place named *Perlak*, situated at the eastern extremity of the northern coast; and as we find in the sequel that the detention of the fleet in a port of this island was occasioned by the unfavourable circumstances of the weather, it may be conjectured that after leaving the island of *Bintan* and having nearly cleared the straits they were encountered by westerly gales, as they made the high land of *Tanjong Perlak* or the Diamond Point of our charts, and they would be forced to seek for shelter in a neighbouring bay. It should be observed that the *Perlak* of the Malays is pronounced *Ferlak* by the Arabs, who have not the sound of *p* in their language; and amongst the pilots of the fleet it is probable there were many of that nation, who were accustomed to trade to China from the gulf of Persia and Muskat.

1201. The assertion of our author's finding Mahometans amongst these people, about the year 1291, is fully justified by the authority of the annals of the princes of Malacca, which state that in the peninsula the establishment of that religion took place during the reign of a king who ascended the throne in 1276 and died in 1333; whilst at the same time it is obvious that the conversion of individuals, even in great numbers, may have preceded by many years the adoption of islaemism as the religion of the government. See Hist. of Sumatra, ed. 3, p. 343.

1202. This character plainly refers to the people named *Battas*, who inhabit a considerable part of the interior of Sumatra, towards its northern extremity, and whose cannibalism has been noticed by travellers and writers of all periods since the island was first known to Europeans. The subject has been discussed at some length, and the authorities for its existence detailed, in the work last mentioned (p. 390), and for our present purpose it will be sufficient to notice some of the more early ones. "In una parte della sopradetta isola, che chiamano *Batech*, gli "habitatori mangiano carne humana." Viag. di Nicolo di Conti (1450). Ramusio, t. i, f. 339. "The pagans" says John de Barros "retiring from the sea "coast (in consequence of the increasing power of the Mahometans) established "themselves in the interior of the island: those who inhabit that part which is "opposite to Malacca, are of the race called *Bátas*, who eat human flesh, and "are the most savage and warlike of all the land." Decad. iii, fol. 114. (1628). "Le dedans de l'isle" says Beaulieu "est habité des naturels, qui ont leur lan-"gage très-différent du Malais. Ils sont sous l'obeyssance de plusieurs roys, "spécialement du costé d'Achen; lesquels d'ordinaire se font la guerre les uns "aux autres... Ils ne traittent point avec les estrangers, et s'ils les peuvent "attraper à leur avantage, ils les massacrent, puis les mangent; comme ils font "leurs ennemis." Voy. du Gén. Beaulieu (1620). Thevenot, t. i, p. 97. In the following passage from Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, although not material in point of authority as to the custom, he speaks particularly of that part of the coast where the Chinese expedition is supposed to have taken shelter. "There is one (large river) called *Delley*, that lies five leagues within *Pullo Verera* "(*Pulo Varela*), a small uninhabited island. The inhabitants on that part of Su-"matra are said to be cannibals. Diamond Point lies about twenty leagues to the "north-west of *Verera*, that sends dangerous rocks above a league off shore. The "inhabitants are uncivilized, murdering all whom they can surprise or master; "and at *Pissang* (*Pasé*), about ten leagues to the westward of Diamond Point, "there is a fine deep river, but not frequented, because of the treachery and "bloody disposition of the natives." Vol. ii, p. 126.

1203. "It is only on public occasions that they (the *Battas*) kill cattle for "food; but not being delicate in their appetites, they do not scruple to eat "part of a dead buffalo, hog, rat, alligator, or any wild animal with which they "happen to meet." Hist. of Sumatra, ed. 3, p. 380.

1204. A similar assertion is made by Lodovico Barthema respecting the people of *Java*: "La fede loro è questa," says this extraordinary but genuine traveller: "alcuni adorano gli idoli come fanno in Calicut (that is, they worship those of the "Hindûs), e alcuni sono che adorano il sole; altri la luna, molti adorano "il bue; gran parte *la prima cosa che scontrano la mattina*." Ramusio, t. i, p. 168.

p. 168. However unfounded the supposition may be of such a whimsical rule of worship having ever existed amongst any people, it may be thought that the misapprehension of our travellers is explained at least, if not excused in some degree, by the following remark upon the religion of the *Battas*, taken from the Batavian Transactions, and here quoted from the History of Sumatra: "Besides these (three superior deities, bearing rule in heaven, in the air, and "upon earth) they have as many inferior deities as there are sensible objects on "earth, or circumstances in human society; of which some preside over the "sea, others over rivers, over woods, over war, and the like." Ed. 3. p. 385. Bat. Trans. vol. iii, p. 15.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the second kingdom, named Basma.

Upon leaving the last mentioned kingdom you enter that of *Basma*,[1205] which is independent of the others, and has its peculiar language. The people profess obedience to the Grand *khan*, but pay him no tribute, and their distance is so great, that his majesty's troops cannot be sent to these parts. The whole island, indeed, is nominally subject to him, and when ships pass that way, the opportunity is taken of sending him rare and curious articles, and especially a particular sort of falcon.[1206]

In the country are many wild elephants and rhinoceroses, which latter are much inferior in size to the elephant, but their feet are similar. Their hide resembles that of the buffalo. In the middle of the forehead they have a single horn; but with this weapon they do not injure those whom they attack, employing only for this purpose, their tongue, which is armed with long, sharp spines, and their knees or feet; their mode of assault being to trample upon the person, and then to lacerate him with the tongue.[1207] Their head is like that of a wild boar, and they carry it low towards the ground. They take delight in muddy pools, and are filthy in their habits.[1208] They are not of that description of animals which suffer themselves to be taken by females, as our people suppose, but on the contrary are of a shy nature.[1209] There are

found in this district monkies of various sorts, and vultures as black as crows, which are of a large size, and pursue the quarry in a good style.

It should be known that what is reported respecting the dried bodies of diminutive human creatures or pigmies, brought from India, is an idle tale, such pretended men being manufactured in this island in the following manner. The country produces a species of monkey, of a tolerable size, and having a countenance resembling that of a man. Those persons who make it their business to catch them, shave off the hair, leaving it only about the chin and those other parts where it naturally grows on the human body. They then dry and preserve them with camphor and other drugs, and having prepared them in such a mode that they have exactly the appearance of little men, they put them into wooden boxes, and sell them to trading people, who carry them to all parts of the world. But this is merely an imposition, the practice being such as we have described; and neither in India, nor in any other country, however wild (and little known) have pigmies been found of a form so diminutive as these exhibit.[1210] Sufficient having been said of this kingdom, which presents nothing else remarkable, we shall now speak of another named *Samara*.

NOTES.

1205. The *Basma* of Ramusio's and of the older Italian text, or *Basman* of the Basle edition, has been supposed, from a fair analogy of sound, to refer to *Pasaman* on the western coast, immediately under the equinoctial line: but there is no probability of our author's having visited any place on that side of the island, and especially one so far to the southward. All the circumstances, on the contrary, lead us to conclude that it is intended for *Pasé*, by the old travellers written *Paçem*, on the northern coast, not far from Diamond point. "*Pedir*" says J. de Barros "was the principal city of these parts before the founding of "Malacca, but subsequently to that period, and particularly after the arrival of "the Portuguese, it began to decline, and *Paçem*, in its vicinity, to rise in im-"portance." Decad. iii, fol. 115. "Depuis Achen" says Beaulieu "allant le "long de la coste du levant se trouve *Pedir*, qui est à douze lieues d'*Achen*, et "aussi grande et peuplée: puis *Pacem* et *Deli*." P. 97.

1206. This

1206. This account is rendered probable by the known ambition of *Kublaï* to extend the fame of his empire to places situated beyond the reach of his arms, and particularly to establish a vassalage, though merely nominal, amongst the princes of the eastern islands. "Ce prince" says the Historian of the Huns "qui avoit une passion extraordinaire de faire connoître son nom chez les étran-"gers, avoit souvent envoyé des officiers vers différens rois Indiens, pour les "engager d'apporter dans la Chine les raretés de leur pays." "Les vaisseaux "qui s'y rendirent alors" he observes in another place "venoient du Malabar, "de Sumatra, de Sanem-Soumenat, de Ceylon, de Tinghor, et autres pays, "jusqu'au Golphe Persique." Liv. xvi, p. 186-180. "Le seizieme année du "même *Young-lo*, en 1420," says P. Amiot, "le roi de *Koa-oua* (*Jawa*) envoya "pour son tribut un *yng-ou* blanc, espèce de perroquet, ou gros oiseau auquel on "apprend parler." Mém. t. xiv, p. 110.

1207. Both the elephant and rhinoceros are well known to be natives of Sumatra. "At one time" says Capt. Hastings Dare, in the journal of his expedition "our guide lost the proper path by mistaking for it the track of a "rhinoceros, which are in great numbers in these parts." Hist. of Sumatra, ed. 3, p. 318. With respect to the uses of its horn as a weapon of offence, and the spiny structure of the tongue, our author was deceived by what he was told or had read. The belief of its tearing the flesh by licking, was general throughout the world, from the days of Pliny to a very modern period. Bontius, a Dutch physician, who wrote at Batavia in 1629, tell us that "if it be exasperated, it will "toss up a man and horse like a fly, whom it will kill with licking, while by the "roughness of its tongue it lays bare the bones." An Account of the Diseases, &c. P. 183. Even to another beast also we find this extraordinary faculty attributed by a naturalist of our own day. Sparrman in his description of the wild buffalo of southern Africa, says: "He frequently rushes from behind a "thicket upon some unwary passenger; and having thrown him down, tramples "him to death with his *feet* and *knees*, tearing him with his horns and teeth, and "licking him with his *rough tongue*, till the skin is nearly stripped from the "the body." Berwick's Hist. of Quadrupeds, P. 47. See Voy. to the Cape of Good Hope, t. ii, p. 65.

1208. What is said of its delighting in muddy pools, is conformable to the known habits of the animal. "Like the hog" says the Hist. of Quadrupeds, "the rhinoceros is fond of wallowing in the mire." P. 177.

1209. Wild elephants are commonly taken by the means of females of their own species, already tamed, and to this practice I have made the translation of the passage allude, although by no means confident of having conveyed the real

sense

BOOK III. CHAP. XII. Notes.

sense of Ramusios's text, the words of which are: "Non sono tali, quali si dicono "esser nelle parti nostre, que si lasciano prendere dalle donzelle, ma è tutt'al "contrario." It may possibly refer to some popular story, unknown at the present day, of virgins having the power of fascinating this otherwise untractable beast.

1210. At a period when the eastern part of the world was little known to the people of Europe, who were credulous in proportion to their ignorance, it is by no means improbable that such impositions were practised by the travelling Mahometan and Armenian traders who visited the islands where the *orang utan* or *pongo* (simia satyrus) is found, and may have been in the practice of selling their stuffed carcases to the virtuosi of Italy, for the mummies of a pygmy-race of men.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the third kingdom, named Samara.

CHAP. XIII. LEAVING *Basma* you enter the kingdom of *Samara*,[1211] being another of those into which the island is divided. In this MARCO POLO resided five months, during which, exceedingly against his inclination, he was detained by contrary winds.[1212] The north star is not visible here, nor even the stars that are in the wain.[1213] The people are idolaters. They are governed by a powerful prince, who professes himself the vassal of the Grand *khan*.

As it was necessary to continue for so long a time at this island, MARCO POLO established himself on shore, with a party of about two thousand men; and in order to guard against mischief from the savage natives, who seek for opportunities of seizing stragglers, putting them to death, and eating them, he caused a large and deep ditch to be dug around him, on the land side, in such manner that each of its extremities terminated in the port, where the shipping lay. This ditch he strengthened by erecting several blockhouses or redoubts, of wood, the country affording an abundant supply of that material; and being defended by this kind of fortification, he kept the party in complete security, during the

the five months of their residence.[1214] Such was the confidence inspired amongst the natives, that they furnished supplies of victuals and other necessary articles according to an agreement made with them.[1215]

No finer fish for the table can be met with in any part of the world than are found here. There is no wheat produced, but the people live upon rice. Wine is not made; but from a species of tree resembling the date-bearing palm they procure an excellent beverage in the following manner. They cut off a branch, and put over the place a vessel to receive the juice as it distils from the wound, which is filled in the course of a day and a night.[1216] So wholesome are the qualities of this liquor, that it affords relief in dropsical complaints, as well as in those of the lungs and of the spleen.[1217] When these shoots that have been cut are perceived not to yield any more juice, they contrive to water the trees, by bringing from the river in pipes or channels, so much water as is sufficient for the purpose; and upon this being done, the juice runs again as it did at first.[1218] Some trees naturally yieldit of a reddish, and others of a pale colour.[1219] The Indian nuts also grow here, of the size of a man's head, containing an edible substance that is sweet and pleasant to the taste, and white as milk. The cavity of this pulp is filled with a liquor clear as water, cool, and better flavoured and more delicate than wine or any other kind of drink whatever.[1220] The inhabitants feed upon flesh of every sort, good and bad, without distinction.[1221]

NOTES.

1211. The place that appears to answer best to *Samara*, is *Sama-langa*, situated between *Pedir* and *Pasé*, on the same northern coast, and described in the writings of the Malays as having the advantage of a well-sheltered anchorage or roadsted. When such petty places are spoken of as kingdoms, it must be understood that they were governed by *rajas*, who affected independence, and maintained it when they could; but soon after the first visit of the Portuguese (in 1511), the little consequence they possessed was absorbed in the power of *Achin*, until about that period insignificant.

1212. If

1212. If the expedition which our author accompanied left China about the beginning of the year 1291 (as inferred in Note 61), and was three months on its passage to *Java* minor or Sumatra (as stated by himself in the first chapter of the work, p. 33), it would have met the south-west monsoon at the western opening of the straits of Malacca, about the month of May in that year, and having found it necessary, in consequence, to anchor in one of the bays on the northern coast of that island, might have been detained there till the change of the monsoon, in the month of October following, when, with the return of the north-east wind, they might expect fair and settled weather. We are not to expect from a fleet of Chinese vessels, the exertions that under similar circumstances would be made by European navigators to effect their passage; and even if the direction of the wind allowed of their shaping a course to the island of Ceylon or coast of Coromandel, we may presume that they would be deterred from putting to sea at a period when strong squalls of wind, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and heavy rains, are commonly prevalent. In the Latin version the circumstance of their being detained by a periodical wind, is thus simply and naturally described: "In regno *Samara* fui ego Marcus, cum sociis meis, quinque mensibus, non sine "magno tædio, tempus expectans navigationi aptum." Some prospective attention must also have been paid to the time of the monsoons breaking up on the coast to which they were bound in the first instance.

1213. When our author tells us that at a place distant only about five degrees from the equator, the polar star was not to be seen, the fact will be readily admitted; but the further assertion that the stars of the Wain or Great Bear were also invisible, cannot be otherwise accounted for, than by imputing to him the mistaken idea, that, because the body of the constellation was not above the horizon, in the night time, during the greater part of his stay on the island, it was not to be seen at any other season. If his own words, however, could now be precisely known, it might be found that nothing more was meant than that a constellation which, at Peking as well as at Venice, he had been accustomed to observe always above the horizon, was here found to rise and set, and to be invisible during a portion of the year. In his vindication, indeed, it may be urged that the versions of the work are not uniform in their manner of giving the sense of this passage; for although in the Basle edition the expression is: "In hoc regno "nec ursa minor nec major, quam vulgo currum magnum vocant, apparet, "usque adeo insula vergit in austrum;" in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, on the contrary, it is said: "Non apparet polus arcticus, qui vulgo dicitur "transmontana. Ursæ majores apparent, quas vulgus nominat currum magnum:" which, as it is the more ancient, so we must consider it to be the more satisfactory reading.

1214. It

1214. It may be thought from these expressions our author means to convey the idea of his having been entrusted with the chief command of the expedition, which, nominally at least, we cannot suppose to have been the case; but as his superiors in rank might perhaps have been novices in sea affairs, and as in situations of enterprise and danger, the person of most energy and resource naturally takes the lead, we may give him credit for speaking no more than the truth, when he says that this stockade (or *paggar*, as it would be termed in the language of the country) was constructed under his directions.

1215. It is mentioned that in the year 1522, the Portuguese garrison of a fort built at *Paçem* (*Pasé*) in the vicinity of the place here spoken of, was distressed from the "want of provisions, which the country people withheld from them; "discontinuing the fairs that they were used to keep three times a week." Hist. of Sum. ed. 3, p. 419.

1216. "This palm, named in Sumatra *anau*, and by the eastern Malays *gomu-* "*to*, is the *borassus gomutus* of Loreiro and the *saguerus pinnatus* of the Batavian "Transactions.... In order to procure the *nira* or toddy (held in higher esti- "mation than that from the coco-nut-tree), one of the shoots for fructification is "cut off a few inches from the stem, the remaining part is tied up and beaten, "and an incision is then made, from which the liquor distils into a vessel or bam- "boo, closely fastened beneath. This is replaced every twenty-four hours." Hist. of Sum. p. 88.

1217. The sanative qualities of this liquor, like those of many other specifics, are probably imaginary; but our author could speak only of the popular belief as to its virtues. Indulgence in the use of it is generally thought to produce dysentery.

1218. It is natural to suppose that watering the trees during the dry season would have the effect of increasing the quantity of sap, and consequently of the juice or liquor distilled. "En terre ferme" says François Pyrard, speaking of the culture of the coco-nut-tree "c'est avec grande peine qu'on en fait venir, et "faut user de canaux d'eau, ou bien les faire arroser par le pied, soir et matin." Voy. iii partie, p. 24.

1219. I am not aware of the fact myself, nor can I find any authority for this difference of colour in toddy: but it is a subject not much attended to by Europeans.

1220. This description of the coco-nut (*cocos nucifera*) is well known, even to those who have only seen the fruit as brought to Europe, to be perfectly just;

 but

BOOK III. CHAP. XIII. Notes.

but the grateful refreshment afforded by its liquor when drunk from the young nut, whilst the outer husk is green and the kernel still gelatinous, can only be judged of by those who have travelled, under a fervid sun, in those countries where it is produced.

1221. See Note 1203; to which should be added, that horse-flesh is their favourite meat.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the fourth kingdom, named Dragoian.

CHAP. XIV.

DRAGOIAN is a kingdom governed by its own prince, and having its peculiar language.[1222] Its inhabitants are uncivilised, worship idols, and acknowledge the authority of the Grand *khan*. They observe this horrible custom, in cases where any member of the family is afflicted with a disease. The relations of the sick person send for the magicians, whom they require, upon examination of the symptoms, to declare whether he will recover or not. These, according to the opinion suggested to them by the evil spirit, reply, either that he will recover or the contrary. If the decision be that he cannot, the relations then call in certain men, whose peculiar duty it is, and who perform their business with dexterity, to close the mouth of the patient, until he be suffocated. This being done, they cut the body in pieces, in order to prepare it as victuals, and when it has been so dressed, the relations assemble, and in a convivial manner eat the whole of it, not leaving so much as the marrow in the bones. Should any particle of the body be suffered to remain, it would breed vermin, as they observe; these vermin for want of further sustenance would perish; and their death would prove the occasion of grievous punishment to the soul of the deceased.[1223] They afterwards proceed to collect the bones, and having deposited them in a small, neat box, carry them to some cavern in the mountains, where they may be safe against the disturbance of wild animals. If they have it in their power to seize any person who does not belong to their own district, and who cannot pay for his ransom, they put him to death and devour him.

NOTES.

NOTES.

1222. *Dragoian*, which is the same in the Basle and older Latin editions, in the manuscripts *Dagoyam*, and in the Italian epitomes *Deragola*, is supposed by Valentyn and other Dutch writers to be intended for *Indragiri*, or, as it is more commonly written, *Andragiri*, a considerable river on the eastern side of the island, which, although far to the southward, and consequently distant from the place where the fleet anchored, might have been visited by our adventurous traveller, during its five months detention.

1223. I am not aware of any authority for the existence of the peculiarly barbarous custom here described, and presume our author may have been misled by one of the wonderful tales to the invention of which these people are so much addicted, A modern specimen of their talent in this way I shall here venture to give. Having requested a person who resided in the country of the *Battas*, to obtain for me some explanation of the contents of one of their books of necromancy, I was furnished with the following memorandum: "Account given by a "*Batta* chief of the subject of a book in the language of that country." 'It 'related, he said, to their art of war, and among others, to the following mode 'of destroying their enemies. The *guru* or priest procures a boy or girl, either 'by stealing one or by purchase, and carries it into the woods, accompanied by 'other men of his own order. They employ some time in instructing the young 'person to their purpose, and when they have brought it to declare that it will 'not hesitate to commit murder or to perform any other inhuman act, they then 'pour melted lead down its throat, and consider the body as their demon or '*baggu*. It is laid out upon a piece of thick bark, and from the flesh is extracted 'an oil, which they put up in bottles or small white jars. The remains of the 'body they burn to ashes, which they mix with the oil, as also with other oils 'procured from poisonous herbs, snakes, vermin, &c. This composition they 'tie up in sundry forms prescribed in these books, and put some of it into the 'wells of their enemies, or administer it to persons with whom they are at 'variance.' "Upon my expressing to the *raja* my doubts of the truth of such a "story, he offered to verify it by an oath. Others of the people gave much the "same account." W. S. The process followed in the manufacture of charms seems to have been nearly the same in all parts of the world, and the above cannot be read without bringing to our minds the ingredients thrown into the cauldron by Shakspeare's witches in the play of Macbeth.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the fifth kingdom, named Lambri.

BOOK III. CHAP. XV.

Lambri, in like manner, has its own king and its peculiar language:[1224] the people also worship idols, and call themselves vassals of the Grand *khan*. The country produces *verzino* (brezil or sappan wood) in great abundance,[1225] and also camphor, with a variety of other drugs.[1226] They sow a vegetable which resembles the sappan, and when it springs up and begins to throw out shoots, they transplant it to another spot, where it is suffered to remain for three years. It is then taken up by the roots, and used as a dye-stuff.[1227] Marco Polo brought some of the seeds of this plant with him to Venice, and sowed them there; but the climate not being sufficiently warm none of them came up. In this kingdom are found men with tails, a span in length, like those of the dog, but not covered with hair. The greater number of them are formed in this manner, but they dwell in the mountains, and do not inhabit towns.[1228] The rhinoceros is a common inhabitant of the woods, and there is abundance of all sorts of game, both beasts and birds.

NOTES.

1224. The name of *Lambri* appears without any variation in the several editions, excepting that at one place where it recurs in the early Latin, it is printed *Jambri*. If the last mentioned district was *Indragiri*, this would seem to be *Jambi*, another large river, lying still more to the southward: but it must be confessed that its distance from the place of rendezvous, as well as some circumstances noted of its produce, occasion no inconsiderable difficulty.

1225. This is the *cæsalpinia sappan* of L. well known as a dye-stuff by the name of Brezil wood, which it is generally supposed to have acquired from the country so called; but the reverse appears to be the fact. The words *verzino* in Italian and *barcino* in Spanish, of which *berzin* and *berzil* are corruptions, existed long before the discovery of the New world, and the name was given to that part

part of South America in consequence of its abounding with the tree which yields this useful dye. I observe that Pinkerton in his Geography properly notices the derivation of the name of the country from that of the wood.

1226. Our author might have seen camphor at the town of *Jambi*, but it must have been carried thither, for sale, from the inland country lying far to the north-west of it, as the tree does not grow any where to the south of the Line.

1227. What is here said of a second kind of dye-stuff, distinct from the *verzino*, is in the Latin editions confounded with it and to both the name of *berci* is applied, which is evidently connected with *berzin* and *barcino*. Excepting the Indigo plant (*indigofera tinctoria*) I do not know of any vegetable used for dying, of which the leaves, stalk, and root are indiscriminately employed. The same plant is more particularly described in Chap. xx of this Book, by the name of *endigo*.

1228. This is another example of the stories with which the natives amuse inquirers, whilst from the frequent repetition, many of themselves believe them to be facts. The notion of the mountaineers with tails seems to have its origin in the name of *orang utan* or "wild men," given to certain apes that more particularly resemble the human species. It is somewhat remarkable that the class of people, real or imaginary, to whom the following passage refers, belong to the same country, of *Jambi*, where our traveller heard of his satyrs. "In the course "of my inquiries amongst the natives concerning the aborigines of the island" says the author of the Hist. of Sumatra, who at the time of making the note was ignorant of the existence of Marco Polo's work, "I have been informed of two "different species of people dispersed in the woods and avoiding all communica-"tion with the other inhabitants These are called *Orang Kubu* and *Orang Gu-"gu*. The former are said to be pretty numerous, especially in that part of the "country which lies between *Palembang* and *Jambi*... They have a language "quite peculiar to themselves, and they eat promiscuously whatever the woods "afford, as deer, elephants, rhinoceros, wild hog, snakes, or monkies. The "*Gugu* are much scarcer than these, differing in little but the use of speech, from "the *orang utan* of Borneo; their bodies being covered with long hair. There "have not been above two or three instances of their being met with by the "people of *Labun*, from whom my information is derived, and one of these was "entrapped many years ago, in much the same manner as the carpenter in Pil-"pay's fables caught the monkey. He had children by a *Labun* woman, which also "were more hairy than the common race; but the third generation are not to be "distinguished from others. The reader will bestow what measure of faith he "thinks due to this relation, the veracity of which I do not pretend to vouch "for." Ed. 3, p. 41.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the sixth kingdom, named Fanfur, where meal is procured from a certain tree.

BOOK III. CHAP. XVI.

Fanfur is a kingdom of the same island,[1229] governed by its own prince, where the people likewise worship idols, and profess obedience to the Grand *khan*. In this part of the country, a species of camphor much superior in quality to any other, is produced. It is named the camphor of *Fanfur*, and is sold for its weight in gold.[1230] There is not any wheat nor other corn, but the food of the inhabitants is rice, with milk, and the wine extracted from trees in the manner that has been described in the chapter respecting *Samara*. They have also a tree from which, by a singular process, they obtain a kind of meal.[1231] The stem is lofty and as thick as can be grasped by two men. When from this the outer bark is stripped, the ligneous substance is found to be about three inches in thickness, and the central part is filled with pith which yields a meal or flour, resembling that procured from the acorn.[1232] The pith is put into vessels filled with water, and is stirred about with a stick, in order that the fibres and other impurities may rise to the top, and the pure farinaceous part subside to the bottom. When this has been done, the water is poured off, and the flour which remains, divested of all extraneous matter, is applied to use, by making it into cakes and various kinds of pastry.[1233] Of this, which resembles barley bread in appearance and taste, Marco Polo has frequently eaten, and some of it he brought home with him to Venice.[1234] The wood of the tree, in thickness about three inches, as has been mentioned, may be compared to iron in this respect, that when thrown into water, it immediately sinks. It admits of being split in an even direction from one end to the other, like the bamboo cane. Of this the natives make short lances: were they to be of any considerable length, their weight would render it impossible to carry or to use them. They are sharpened at one end, and rendered so hard by fire, that they are capable of penetrating any sort of armour, and in many respects are preferable to iron.[1235] What we have said on the subject of this kingdom, one of the divisions of the

the island, is sufficient. Of the other kingdoms, composing the remaining part, we shall not speak, because MARCO POLO did not visit them. Proceeding further, we shall next describe a small island named *Nocueran*.

NOTES.

1229. *Fanfur*, which in the Basle edition is *Fansur*, in the earlier Latin, *Farfur*, and in the Italian epitomes, as well as in Ramusio, *Fanfur*, has been supposed to mean the island of *Panchor*, separated from the eastern coast of Sumatra by a narrow strait; but although not warranted by analogy of sound, I incline to think it intended for *Kampar* (which the Arabian pilots would pronounce *Kanfar*) on a river opening into the same strait, which, at the period when *Pasé* flourished, was likewise a place of some consequence, and is frequently mentioned by J. de Barros and other early writers. In modern times its importance appears to have been lost in that of *Siak* its immediate neighbour.

1230. The superiority of the native camphor, in the opinion of the Chinese, who are the principal purchasers, over that prepared in their own country and in Japan, has already been noticed. "Camphoram naturalem et cristallinam "perquam pretiosam ac raram" says Kæmpfer "impertitur arbor in Sumatra et "Borneo insulis. Sed hæc arbor ex Daphneo sanguine non est." Amœn. exot. p. 773. See also Hist. of Sumatra, p. 149, and Asiat. Res. vol. xii, p. 535. Its price, in modern times, although by no means equal to its weight in gold, is more than double its weight in silver. According to a price-current of goods at Batavia, for the year 1814, the finest sort of *Camphor-barus* is stated at 50 rupees or £6-5 per lb. whilst in the market, the China or Japan camphor is less than one rupee or about 2 shillings per lb. By the Persians the latter is named *kafûr*, from the Sanskrit *karpûra*, and the former is distinguished by the appellation of *kafûr kanfuri*.

1231. By this is meant the sago tree, called *rumbiya* and *puhn sagu* by the Malays.

1232. The expression in the text is, "come quella del *carvolo*," a word not to be found in the Italian dictionaries, as applied to any vegetable. In Portuguese *carvalho* is the oak.

1233. The method of preparing the sago from the farinaceous and glutinous pith of the tree, has been fully described by Rumphius, Poivre, and others, but more

more succinctly in the Asiat. Researches. "The principal article of their food" says my late estimable friend Mr. John Crisp, speaking of the inhabitants of the *Poggy* islands, lying off the coast of Sumatra "is sago, which is found in plenty "on these islands. The tree, when ripe, is cut down, and the pith, which forms "the sago, taken out, and the mealy part separated from the fibrous by macera- "tion and treading it in a large trough, continually supplied with fresh water; "the mealy part subsides, and is kept in bags made of a kind of rush, and in this "state it may be preserved for a considerable time. When they take it from "their store for immediate use some further preparation of washing is necessary; "but they do not granulate it. One tree will sometimes yield two hundred "pounds of sago: when they cook it, it is put into the hollow joints of a thin "bamboo and roasted over the fire." Vol. vi, p. 83.

1234. Captain Thomas Forrest brought to England in 1778, and exhibited at Sir Joseph Banks's, cakes of sago-bread, prepared by the natives of New Guinea, as well as the earthen oven used for baking them, of which there is an engraving in the account of his voyage to that country, p. 388.

1235. It is evident that our author has fallen into an error, in supposing that this hard and heavy wood, which admits of being split longitudinally into laths, like the bamboo cane, is the ligneous part of the sago-tree, the texture of which is very different. What he describes as fit for making lances, is the stem of another palm growing in the same parts of the country, called by the natives of Sumatra and Java, *nibong*, and by naturalists, *caryota urens*, which he has confounded with its neighbouring tree. Botanists of great celebrity, however, have not shewn more discrimination with regard to some of the *genera* of which the order of palms is composed. The proper sago-palm abovementioned (the *rumbiya* of the Malays) is, for example, named by Rumphius *palma farinaria*, whilst he gives the name of *saguerus* (sago-tree) to the *borassus gomutus* of Loureiro or *anau* of the Sumatrans, which, although it yields some quantity of the gelatinous substance, is not the true sago-tree, but chiefly prized for the liquor drawn from it, and the *gomuto*, a stuff like horse-hair, that envelops its stem; and to increase the confusion of names and qualities, he terms the *caryota* or *nibong* of which the ligneous part and the cabbage only are applicable to use (the pith being but in a very small degree farinaceous) *saguaster* major. With still greater impropriety the true sago-tree is by another high authority termed *cycas circinalis*, although the specific name implies a character not belonging to it, but to the *olus calappoides* of Rumphius or *sayur kalapa* of the Malays, commonly though improperly, considered as a dwarf palm. These instances of a want of accurate distinction in the writings of modern naturalists, may procure indulgence for the mistakes of one who made no pretensions to science.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Island of Nocueran.

Upon leaving *Java* (minor) and the kingdom of *Lambri*,[1236] and sailing about one hundred and fifty miles, you fall in with two islands, one of which is named *Nocueran*[1237] and the other *Angaman*. *Nocueran* is not under the government of a king, and the people are little removed from the conditions of beasts, all of them, both males and females, going naked, without a covering to any part of the body.[1238] They are idolaters. Their woods abound with the noblest and most valuable trees, such as the white and the red sandal, those which bear the Indian (coco) nuts, cloves, and sappan ; besides which they have a variety of drugs.[1239] Proceeding further we shall speak of *Angaman*.

NOTES.

1236. It appears from hence that upon finally leaving Sumatra, in order to proceed to the northward, they took their departure (in the nautical sense) from the district of *Lambri*, and not from *Samara* (*Samar-langa*) where the fleet was said to have anchored ; a circumstance difficult to reconcile with its southern situation, if the name be in fact meant for *Jambi*, as has been supposed, but of which I have already ventured to hint some doubt. We should rather expect to have found their departure taken from *Achin*-head, the northernmost point of the island ; and under this impression I am disposed to allow some weight to the account of places in Sumatra known to the Portuguese, given by J. de Barros, a well-informed historian, who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century. He commences with *Daya* (in Lat. 5. 10. N.), and then mentions successively, *Lambri*, *Achem*, *Biar*, *Pedir*, *Lide*, *Pirada*, *Pacem*, *Bara*, &c. with *Jambi* and *Palimbam* in their proper situations, returning by the western coast to *Daya* and *Lambri*. Decad. iii, fol. 114. It is true that neither this last, nor some others that compose the list, are to be found in our maps ; but it may have happened that since the period when the Portuguese acquired their information, many places which then had a name, may have become insignificant and ceased to be frequented ; especially in that quarter, where the rising power of

BOOK III. CHAP. XVII. Notes.

Achin overwhelmed all the petty states in its neighbourhood, and obliterated the traces of their importance. If therefore the authority of De Barros can be relied upon for a geographical fact, *Lambri* must have been situated not far from the north-western extremity of Sumatra, and consequently a final departure might have been taken from thence.

1237. The island here called *Nocueran*, in the Basle edition, *Necuram*, in the older Latin, *Necuran*, and in the Italian epitome, *Necunera*, is evidently one of the Nicobar islands, named in our maps Noncoury, Nancowrie, Noncavery, and, in that of D'Anville, Nicavery, which, although not the largest of them, is, on account of its harbour, the best known. Its distance from the extreme point of Sumatra is about two degrees and a half or one hundred and fifty nautical miles. These islands are mentioned by the Arabian travellers of the ninth century, by the appellation of *Negebalous*. Se Anciennes Relat. p. 5. Odoardo Barbosa, in 1516, speaks distinctly of the island of *Nauacar*. "The position of three "of those islands" says Mr. N. Fontana "forms one of the safest har- "bours in India, where ships of all sizes may ride with the greatest security, "sheltered from all winds...In one of the bays formed within these islands, we "moored in twelve fathoms, and there remained until the S.W. monsoon was "quite over, which was in the beginning of September." Asiat. Res. vol. iii, p. 149.

1238. "A long, narrow cloth" adds the last mentioned writer "made of the "bark of a tree, round their waist and between their thighs, with one extremity "hanging down behind, is all their dress." "A bit of cloth made with the "threads of the bark of the coco-nut tree fastened to the middle and reaching "half way down the thigh, forms all the covering of the women. Both sexes "are, however, very fond of dress; and when the men go into the presence of "strangers, they put on hats and old clothes that had been given them by "Europeans; but among themselves they are almost naked." "A traveller called "Keoping, a Swede, who went to the East Indies on board a Dutch ship in the "year 1647, which anchored off the Nicobar islands, relates that they discovered "men with tails, like those of cats, and which they moved in the same manner." Asiat. Res. vol. iii, p. 151.

1239. "Trees of great height and size" says the same "are to be seen in their "woods, of a compact texture, well calculated for naval construction." Note. "One of these our people cut down, that measured nine fathoms in circumference "or fifty-four feet." Noble trees indeed. "But the productions of which they "are more particularly careful, are the coco and *areca* (betel-nut) trees...Wild "cinnamon and sassafras grow there also." P. 160.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the island of Angaman.

Angaman is a very large island, not governed by a king.[1240] The inhabitants are idolaters, and are a most brutish and savage race, having heads, eyes, and teeth resembling those of the canine species.[1241] Their dispositions are cruel, and every person, not being of their own nation, whom they can lay their hands upon, they kill and eat.[1242] They have abundance and variety of drugs. Their food is rice and milk, and flesh of every description. They have Indian nuts, apples of paradise,[1243] and many other fruits different from those which grow in our country.

NOTES.

1240. No doubts will be entertained of the *Angaman* of Ramusio's and the older Latin texts, the *Angania* of the Basle, and the *Nangama* of the Italian epitomes, being intended for those islands on the eastern side of the bay of Bengal which we term the Greater and Lesser *Andaman*.

1241. "The Andaman islands" says Mr. R. H. Colebrooke "are inhabited by "a race of men the least civilized perhaps in the world; being nearer to a state "of nature than any other we read of. Their colour is of the darkest hue, their "stature in general small, and their aspect uncouth. Their limbs are ill-formed "and slender, their bellies prominent, and like the Africans they have woolly "heads, thick lips, and flat noses. They go quite naked." Asiat. Res. vol. iv, p. 389. "Ils sont noirs," say the Arabian travellers, "ils ont les cheveux crespus, "le visage et les yeux affreux, les pieds fort grands et presque longs d'une "coudée, et ils vont tout nuds." Anciennes Relat. p. 5. This early description sufficiently confutes the ill-founded tale of the islands having been originally peopled by a cargo of African slaves preserved from the wreck of a Portuguese ship; invented and credited by persons who were ignorant of the circumstance of many of the eastern islands being equally peopled with a race of negroes. The inhabitants of the *Andamans* appear to be in every respect similar to the *Papúas* or natives of New Guinea; and as the lower part of their faces project much more beyond the line of the forehead than those of the Africans, with little

appearance of chin, our author is excusable in comparing them to the muzzles of certain animals. See plate of a *Papûa* boy in Raffles' Hist. of Java, of whom it is but justice to add that his disposition is perfectly the reverse of that ascribed to his congeners of the former island.

1242. The opinion, whether well-founded or otherwise, that the natives of the Andamans were addicted to cannibalism, has been prevalent from the earliest period. The work of Ptolemy speaks of islands inhabited by anthropophagi in this part of the Indian sea, but his account of them wants precision. The Arabian travellers notice the custom in the following terms. "Au de-là de ces deux isles "(appellées *Negebalous*) on trouve la mer appellée d'*Andaman*. Les peuples qui "habitent sur la coste mangent de la chair humaine, toute crue." P. 5. Nicolo di Conti, who travelled in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, says: "Lasciando "à man dritta una isola nominata *Amdramania* . . . gli habitatori dellaquale man- "giano carne humana, et à questa isola nessuno vi capita, se non buttato dalla "fortune, perche giunto che è l'huomo nel poter loro, immediate vien preso da "queste genti crudeli et inhumane, e fatto lo in pezzi, se lo mangiano." Ramusio, vol. i, viaggio di N. di. C. fol. 339.

Authorities of this kind could be multiplied, but it is from Mr. R. H. Colebrooke, who visited the islands about the year 1787, that we have the first circumstantial detail of the manners and character of their inhabitants. "The "wild appearance of the country, and the untractable and ferocious disposition of "the natives," says this intelligent officer, "have been the causes, probably, "which have deterred navigators from frequenting them, and they have justly "dreaded a shipwreck at the *Andamans*, more than the danger of foundering in "the ocean; for although it is highly probable that, in the course of time, "many vessels have been wrecked upon their coasts, an instance does not occur "of any of the crews being saved, or of a single person returning to give any "account of such a disaster." "That they are cannibals has never been fully "proved, although from their cruel and sanguinary disposition, great voracity, "and cunning modes of lying in ambush, there is reason to suspect that in "attacking strangers, they are frequently impelled by hunger; as they invariably "put to death the unfortunate victims who fall into their hands. No positive "instance, however, has been known, of their eating the flesh of their enemies; "although the bodies of some whom they have killed, have been found mangled "and torn." Asiat. Res. vol. iv, p. 385-389.

1243. By the "*pomi paradisi*" are meant plantains, the *pisang* ڤيسڠ of the Malays, and *musa paradisiaca* of Linnæus.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the island of Zeilan.

TAKING a departure from the island of *Angaman*, and steering a course something to the southward of west, for a thousand miles, the island of *Zeilan* presents itself.[1244] This, for its actual size, is better circumstanced than any other island in the world. It is in circuit two thousand four hundred miles, but in ancient times it was still larger, its circumference then measuring full three thousand six hundred miles, according to what we find in maps possessed by the navigators of these seas. But the northern gales which blow with prodigious violence, have in a manner corroded the mountains, so that they have in some parts fallen and sunk in the sea, and the island, from that cause, no longer retains its original size.[1245] It is governed by a king whose name is *Sender-naz*.[1246] The people worship idols, and are independent of every other state. Both men and women go nearly in a state of nudity, only wrapping a cloth round the middle part of their bodies.[1247] They have no grain besides rice and sesamé, of which latter they make oil. Their food is milk, rice, and flesh, and they drink the wine drawn from trees, which has already been described.[1248] There is here the best sappan-wood that can any where be met with. The island produces more beautiful and valuable rubies than are found in any other part of the world, and likewise sapphires, topazes, amethysts, garnets, and many other precious and costly stones.[1249] The king is reported to possess the grandest ruby that ever was seen, being a span in length, and the thickness of a man's arm, brilliant beyond description, and without a single flaw. It has the appearance of a glowing fire,[1250] and upon the whole is so valuable that no estimation can be made of its worth in money. The Grand *khan*, *Kublaï*, sent ambassadors to this monarch, with a request that he would yield to him the possession of this ruby; in return for which he should receive the value of a city. The answer he made was to this effect: that he would not sell it for all the treasure of the universe; nor could he on any terms suffer it to go out of his dominions

being

BOOK III. CHAP. XIX.

being a jewel handed down to him by his predecessors on the throne.[1251] The Grand *khan* failed therefore to acquire it.[1252] The people of this island are by no means of a military habit, but, on the contrary, are abject and timid;[1253] and when there is occasion to employ soldiers, they are procured from other countries, in the vicinity of the Mahometans.[1254] Nothing else of a remarkable nature presenting itself, we shall proceed to speak of *Maabar*.

NOTES.

1244. The name of this important island, which is pronounced *Selan* by the Persians and people of Hindustan (who also call it *Serendib*), has been preserved, through the several versions, more free from corruption than almost any other in the work. In Ramusio's text it is written *Zeilan*, in that of the Basle edition, *Scilam*, in the older Latin, *Seylam*, and in the Italian epitomes *Silan*; all of which are preferable to the orthography of Ceylon, as we (from the Dutch I presume) are accustomed to write the word. The course to the southermost part of it, from the Andamans, is nearly west-south-west, and the distance, by measurement on the map, something more than nine hundred geographical miles.

1245. The navigators here mentioned were probably those Arabians and other Mahometans who traded from the ports of the gulf of Persia to India and China, and were provided with maps constructed on the principles of those which accompany the work of Ptolemy, wherein the island of Taprobane is laid down of an inordinate magnitude. When their experience proved to them that its dimensions were inconsistent with their charts, instead of questioning the authority of the great geographer, they seem to have reconciled the difficulty by supposing that the island had been reduced to its actual size by some convulsions of nature or by the corroding effects of time. See the Maps prefixed to Dr. Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India. Mr. Cordiner, in his Description of Ceylon, published in 1807, states it to be "a tradition of the "natives (supported, as it is said, by astronomical observations) that the island is "much diminished in size from what it was formerly; which tradition is particu- "larly mentioned by Marco Paolo a Venetian, who visited the east in the thir- "teenth century." Vol. i, p. 2.

1246. Indian proper names are always significant. That of *Sander-naz* appears to be intended for *Chandra-nas*, implying the wane or disappearance of the moon. Although not perhaps the king of Candy, or of the whole island, he may have reigned

reigned over a district on the western coast, and probably that which is inhabited by a race of people from the opposite continent.

1247. "The dress of the common people" says Mr. Cordiner "is nothing "more than a piece of calico or muslin wrapped round the waist; the size and "quality of which correspond to the circumstances of the wearer. The more indi- "gent are very sparingly covered." Vol. i, p. 94. The dresses in which the natives of rank are figured in the plates of Knox's account of Ceylon, as well as in those of more modern publications, have evidently been adopted from the ancient Portuguese or other Europeans. The manners indeed of the Singalese appear to have been more sophisticated by foreign intercourse than those of any other people of India.

1248. "Fruit" says the same writer "is the principal article of their food. "Rice is a luxury of which many of them seldom partake: fish and flesh come "nearly under the same description." "They occasionally drink the sweet limpid "water which is found within the coco-nut; and sometimes palm-wine or liquor "drawn from the top of the tree, before it attains an inebriating quality." P. 104. "Of rice" says Knox "they have several sorts." "*Tolla* is a seed used to make "oil." P. 7–12. This is the *til* or sesamé seed of Gladwin's Materia Medica.

1249. "In this island" says Knox "are several sorts of precious stones, which "the king, for his part, has enough of, and so careth not to have more discovery "made...Also there are certain rivers out of which it is generally reported they "do take rubies and sapphires, for the king's use, and cats-eyes." P. 31. Mr. Cordiner enumerates, as the production of Ceylon, the ruby, emerald, topaz, amethyst, sapphire, cats-eye or opal, cinnamon stone or garnet, agate, sardonix, and some others. Vol. i, p. 14.

1250. This description seems to be intended for what is vaguely termed the carbuncle, which Woodward defines to be "a stone of the ruby kind, of a rich "blood-red colour," and is believed to have the quality of shining in the dark. It is a frequent subject of allusion in oriental poetry and romance, but not confined to them, for our Shakspeare says:

"A carbuncle entire, as big as thou art,
"Were not so rich a jewel."

1251. If this extraordinary stone had any real existence, it may have been a lump of coloured crystal; but it is not uncommon with eastern princes in the pre- ambles of their letters and warrants, to boast the possession of imaginary and improbable curiosities; and in this instance, the fallacy of the pretension will account

BOOK III. account for the king's rejecting the magnificent terms held out for the purchase of it, by the emperor of China.

CHAP. XIX. Notes.

1252. The belief of such a negociation, even though our author should have been deceived with regard to the fact, serves to shew that the intercourse between China and Ceylon was not considered at that time as any thing extraordinary or incredible. The circumstances however are consistent with the character of *Kublaï*, which was not more strongly marked with ambition, vanity, and rapacity, than it was with credulity.

1253. "Ce sont gens" says Pyrard "fort addonnez à leurs plaisirs et délices, "au reste, fort poltrons et couarts." Voyage, Seconde Partie, p. 88. "The Cin- "galese" says M. Cordiner "are indigent, harmless, indolent, and unwarlike, "remarkable for equanimity, mildness, bashfulness, and timidity." "An attempt "was made some years ago to train a body of them as soldiers, but, after great "perseverance, it completely failed of success." P. 92. "Gli habitanti suoi non "sono molto bellicosi." "Hanno alcune lancie e spade, lequali lancie sono "di canna, e con quelle combattono fra loro, ma non se ne ammazzano troppo di "essi, perche sono vili." Itiner. di Lodovico Barthema. Ramusio, vol. i. fol. 163-2.

1254. It is uncertain to what country this expression alludes. If the people whose assistance was obtained were Mahometans, they were probably the *Moplas* of the Malabar coast, the descendants of Arabs who settled there at an early period. The Arabs themselves were also much employed as mercenaries.

CHAPTER XX.

SECTION I.

Of the province of Maabar.

CHAP. XX. *Sect.* I.

LEAVING the island of *Zeilan* and sailing in a westerly direction, sixty miles,[1255] you reach the great province of *Maabar*,[1256] which is not an island, but a part of the continent of the greater India, as it is termed, being the noblest and richest country in the world. It is governed by four kings, of whom the principal is named *Sender-bandi*.[1257] Within his

his dominions is a fishery for pearls, in the gulf of a bay that lies between Maabar and the island of Zeilan,[1258] where the water is not more than from ten to twelve fathoms in depth, and in some places not more than two fathoms.[1259] The business of the fishery is conducted in the following manner. A number of merchants form themselves into separate companies, and employ many vessels and boats of different sizes, well provided with ground-tackle, by which to ride safely at anchor.[1260] They engage and carry with them persons who are skilled in the art of diving for the oysters in which the pearls are enclosed. These they bring up in bags made of netting that are fastened about their bodies, and then repeat the operation, rising to the surface when they can no longer keep their breath, and after a short interval diving again.[1261] In this operation they persevere during the whole of the day, and by their exertions accumulate (in the course of the season) a quantity of oysters sufficient to supply the demands of all countries.[1262] The greater proportion of the pearls obtained from the fisheries in this gulf, are round and of a good lustre.[1263] The spot were the oysters are taken in the greatest number is called *Betala*, on the shore of the mainland; and from thence the fishery extends sixty miles to the southward.[1264]

In consequence of the gulf being infested with a kind of large fish, which often prove destructive to the divers, the merchants take the precaution of being accompanied by certain enchanters belonging to a class of Brahmans, who, by means of their diabolical art, have the power of constraining and stupifying these fish so as to prevent them from doing mischief;[1265] and as the fishing takes place in the day time only, they discontinue the effect of the charm in the evening; in order that dishonest persons who might be inclined to take the opportunity of diving at night and stealing the oysters, may be deterred by the apprehension they feel of the unrestrained ravages of these animals.[1266] The enchanters are likewise profound adepts in the art of fascinating all kinds of beasts and birds. The fishery commences in the month of April, and lasts till the middle of May.[1267] The privilege of engaging in it is farmed of the king, to whom a tenth part only of the produce is allowed: to the magicians they allow a twentieth part; and consequently they reserve to themselves a considerable profit.[1268] By the time the period above-

abovementioned is completed, the stock of oysters is exhausted; and the vessels are then taken to another place, distant full three hundred miles from this gulf, where they establish themselves in the month of September, and continue till the middle of October.[1269] Independently of the tenth of the pearls to which the king is entitled, he requires to have the choice of all such as are large and well-shaped; and as he pays liberally for them, the merchants are not disinclined to carry them to him for that purpose.[1270]

NOTES.

1255. The distance between *Aripo* on Ceylon and the nearest part of the continent, is exactly sixty geographical miles; but such precision not being uniform in our author's work, is not here to be insisted on; and it is probable that the port in which the fleet lay, was *Columbo* rather than *Aripo*.

1256. The name of this country, which both in the Basle edition and the older Latin is *Maabar*, and *Moabar* in the epitomes, is *Malabar* in the text of Ramusio, of which the former has been supposed a corruption; but the reverse is the case, for circumstances unequivocally point to the southern part of the coast of Coromandel as the place where the fleet arrived after leaving Ceylon, and what puts the matter beyond all doubt is, that the province of *Malabar* is afterwards distinctly mentioned in its proper place. It is well known indeed that the *Tamul* language, spoken in the southern part of the peninsula, on both sides, is called the "Malabars," but this is generally acknowledged to be a vulgar European misapplication of terms, and no argument is necessary to shew that the name has no proper connexion whatever with the eastern coast.

Maàbar معبر, signifying a "passage, ferry, ford, trajectus," (see the dictionaries of Meninski and Richardson), was an appellation given by the Mahometans to what we call the *Tinevelly*, *Madura*, and, perhaps, *Tanjore* countries, from their vicinity, as it would seem, to the celebrated chain of sand-banks and coral reefs named *Rama's* or Adam's bridge. It has now fallen into disuse, but is to be found in the works of all the oriental geographers and historians who have treated of this portion of India. "Commemorat ol Canum" says Abulfeda, as translated by Reiske "urbem Indicam, nomine Mandari, et ait esse urbem inter "emporium et trajectum (al *Mabar*) ad insulam *Sarandib:*" and again: "Ter- "tiam Indiæ provinciam recensebat *al Mabar* (seu trajectum), cujus initium inci- "dat in locum, tribus aut quatuor diebus ab al Caulam in orientem remotum."

Magazin

Magazin für die neue Hist. und Geogr. von Büsching, Th. iv. p. 270. It is curious to find the very learned translator of Abulfeda asking, in a note to these passages, "Quare Arabes Malabarem, *Mabar* appellant?" and then explaining the supposed error by an orthographical correction; when a moderate degree of attention to his subject would have discovered to him that the countries are different, and the resemblance of sound accidental.

For historical instances of the appropriation of this name, we may refer to the work of *Ferishta*, as translated (imperfectly) by Dow. "In the year 710" (A. D. 1310, being about eighteen years after the period of our author's visit) "the king" (of Delhi, *Alla* I.) "sent Cafoor and Chaja, with a great army, to "reduce Dhoor, Summund, and *Maber*, in the Decan, where he had heard "there were temples very rich in gold and jewels." "Mahommed" (III. king of Delhi) "turned his thoughts to war (725-1325), and the regulation of his army. "He subdued, by different generals, many distant countries, such as Door, "Summudir, *Maber*, Compila, Arinkil, some of which provinces had revolted, "and others had never been subjected by the arms of the Islamites. He soon "after reduced the Carnatic to the extremities of the Decan, and from sea to "sea, obliging all the rajahs to pay him tribute." History of Hindostan, vol. i, p. 305-338.

The subject of this distinction between the names and countries of *Maábar* and *Malabar*, has been fully discussed by S. De Sacy, who observes: "Marc-Pol distingue bien évidemment le Malabar, qu'il nomme *Melibar*, du Mabar;" and again: "Quant au mot *Mabar*, on a douté si c'étoit un mot Arabe, ou une "altération du nom Indien *Maravar*; mais comme ce mot renferme un *aïn* et a "d'ailleurs une forme purement Arabe, je regarde comme certain qu'il appartient à cette langue." Relation de l'Egypte, Notes, p. 112, 113.

1257. The princes of India were supposed to belong to the *kshetri* or military tribe, and to be descended from one or other of two illustrious races, termed the *surya vangsa* or race of the sun, and *chandra vangsa* or race of the moon. The king here spoken of appears to have belonged to the latter, and his name of *Chandra bandi* may be understood to signify the "slave or servant of the moon." "A *ciandra* vel ut alii corrupte scribunt *chandra* vel *shandra* pariter multi Indici "reges fuere denominati." Paolino, Syst. Brahm. p. 7.

1258. The banks on which the fishery for pearls takes place, appear to occupy, to a considerable extent, the coasts on both sides of the gulf that separates the island of Ceylon from the continent of India, or, more strictly, of that portion of the gulf which lies to the southward of Adam's bridge. On the eastern side the banks most commonly fished are near the small island of *Manár*, and on the western or continental side, near the bay of *Tutakorin*. This latter or some place

in its vicinity, may be presumed to have been the scene of our author's observations; but as the operations on the Ceylon side have been more circumstantially and correctly described than those at *Tutakorîn*, the elucidations of his text will be chiefly derived from the accounts given of the former, in two recent publications. The comparison will be found to establish the interesting fact, that the fishery has continued in nearly the same state during a period of five centuries, and consequently that, with careful management, it is likely to prove a permanent source of advantage to this country. Its existence is noticed by Ptolemy.

1259 "The depth of water over the different banks" says Cordiner "varies "from three to fifteen fathoms; but the best fishing is found in from six to eight "fathoms." Description of Ceylon, vol. ii, p. 41. A paper in the Asiatic Res. vol. v, p. 401, states the depth at from five to ten fathoms. At Sooloo the pearl-oysters are taken from the depth of from three to four fathoms only.

1260. It is probable that the privilege of fishing for the pearl-oysters was then farmed, as at the present day, to one or more merchant-adventurers. "Some-"times the government" says Cordiner "fishes the banks entirely at its own risk: "sometimes the boats are let to many speculators: but most frequently the right "of fishing is sold to one individual, who sub-rents boats to others." "The "fishery for the season of the year 1804 was let to a native of Jaffnapatam, who "had resided for some years previous to it on the coast of Coromandel." "Al-"though it would occasion more trouble to the servants of government, it is "probable that a greater revenue might be gained by renting the boats indivi-"dually to a multitude of adventurers." Vol. ii, p. 40–46. "They (the boats) "arrive completely equipped, and furnished with every thing necessary to conduct "the business of the fishing. They are open boats of one ton burden, about "forty-five feet in length, from seven to eight in breadth, three feet deep, have "but one mast and one sail, and, unless when heavily laden, do not draw more "than eight or ten inches water." P. 41. "Almost all of them used differently "formed, clumsy, heavy wooden anchors, large stones, &c." As. Res. vol. v, p. 395.

1261. "The crew consists of twenty-three persons, ten of whom are divers." "Each boat is supplied with five diving stones, and five netted baskets." Descr. of Ceylon, p. 41. "These Indians, accustomed to dive from their earliest "infancy, fearlesly descend to the bottom in a depth of from five to ten fathoms, "in search of treasures. By two cords a diving stone and a net are connected "with the boat. The diver putting the toes of his right foot on the hair rope of "the diving stone, and those of his left on the net, seizes the two cords with one "hand, and shutting his nostrils with the other, plunges into the water. On "reaching

" reaching the bottom he hangs the net round his neck, and collects into it the " pearl shells as fast as possible during the time he finds himself able to remain " under water, which usually is about two minutes. He then resumes his former " posture, and making a signal by pulling the cords, he is immediately lifted into " the boat." " When the first five divers come up and are respiring, the other " five are going down with the same stones. Each brings up about one hundred " oysters in his net, and if not interrupted by any accident, may make fifty trips " in a forenoon." Asiat. Res. vol. v, p. 401. The account of these operations, as given by Mr. Cordiner, is still more circumstantial; but what has been stated is sufficient to shew the correctness of our author's relation.

1262. " One boat has been known to bring to land, in one day, thirty-three " thousand oysters, and in another not more than three hundred." " At many " fisheries upwards of two millions of oysters have been brought on shore at one " time." Descr. of Ceylon, p. 57.

1263. Tavernier after speaking of the pearls of the *Bahrein* fishery in the gulf of Persia, says: " L'autre endroit de l'Orient où il y a une pescherie de perles, " est dans la mer qui vient battre un gros bourg appellé *Manar* en l'isle de Ceylan. " Ce sont les plus belles pour l'eau et pour la rondeur de toutes les autres pesche- " ries, mais rarement en trouve-t'on qui passent 3 ou 4 carats." Voyages, t. ii, p. 362.

1264. In the map of the peninsula of India given by Valentyn in his fifth volume, we find a place named *Wedale* or *Vedale*, situated at the northern extremity of the bay of *Tutakorîn* and immediately within the island of *Ramiseram*. This may be the *Betala* of Ramusio's text, which is not mentioned in any other version; nor will the substitution of *B* for *V* and of *t* for *d* be thought a violence committed against orthography, by those who know that the *vêds* or *vêdas* are in the common dialects of India pronounced *bêds*, and that the language commonly named *Tamul* (spoken in the part of the country of which we are now treating) is, in the grammar and other works of Ziegenbalg, termed " *lingua Damulica*." The banks extend in a south-western direction from that place, and at the distance of about sixty miles lies the bank on which the modern fishery is established.

1265. " The superstition of the divers renders the shark-charmers a necessary " part of the establishment of the pearl fishery. All these impostors belong to " one family, and no person who does not form a branch of it, can aspire to that " office. The natives have firm confidence in their power over the monsters of " the sea; nor would they descend to the bottom of the deep without knowing " that one of those enchanters were present in the fleet. Two of them are con-

" stantly

" stantly employed. One of them goes out regularly in the head pilot's boat: " The other performs certain ceremonies on shore." " The shark-charmer is " called in the Malabar language *Cadal-cutti*, and in the Hindostanee *Hybanda*, " each of which signifies a binder of sharks." Descript. of Ceylon, vol. ii, p. 51.

1266. " Their superstition in this particular is favourable to the interests of " government, as, from their terror at diving without the protection of the " charms, it prevents any attempt being made to plunder the oyster banks." P. 53. It may have been invented or encouraged, with that view.

1267. Our author is correct as to the duration of the fishery, being commonly thirty days, although that period is sometimes exceeded, when interruptions have taken place; but he has stated the commencement later by at least one month than is the established rule. " On the 20th of February," says M. Cordiner, " the day advertised for the fishery to commence, not one boat appeared. On " the 27th eighty had arrived, and with that number, fishing began on the 28th. " On the 3d of March the boats were nearly completed to one hundred and fifty: " on the 8th two hundred and fifty were permitted to fish; and soon after, the " number employed was increased to three hundred." P. 48. " On the 17th of " March," he adds, " the boats were stopped after setting out, by a contrary " wind, which obliged them to anchor." " After this the weather prevented fish- " ing for a fortnight. Notwithstanding these interruptions, the season permitted " the fishery to be carried on for several days after the time of agreement with " the renter was completed." This would carry the operations beyond the middle of April, which may be occasionally possible; but the author of the Account of the fishery in the Asiatic Researches observes that it " cannot well be continued " after the setting in of the southern monsoon, which usually happens about the " 15th of April, as, after that time, the boats would not be able to reach the " pearl banks, and the water being then so troubled by heavy seas, diving would " be impracticable." P. 394. If, as some suppose, there is a slow progressive variation of seasons, the monsoons might formerly have changed somewhat later than they do at present; or, there might, in the year 1292, have been something particular in the weather to retard the commencement and to favour the protraction of the fishery. It is, however, the most probable that, in his notes, our author wrote April and May by mistake for March and April.

1268. Instead of taking, as the royalty, a proportion of the produce, which is the more equitable, though less convenient mode, modern governments have been in the practice of selling the exclusive privilege, for the season, to the highest responsible bidder; but the divers and other agents employed in the fishery are remunerated in kind. " The oysters of each stone, when landed," says Cordiner, " are

" are counted by the divers into four heaps, and a person employed on the part of " the renter points out to them one of these, which they carry away as their own " wages." " The *munducs* (persons who raise the baskets) receive one-sixth of " the divers' share, each of the other persons belonging to the boat is allowed " twenty oysters per diem, and the renter's peon (officer) is allowed ten." " The " two shark-binders are allowed, between them, ten oysters." P. 55. These conjurors, it would seem, are now less liberally rewarded for their useful labours than they were in ancient times.

1269. It does not appear to what place it was, at the distance of three hundred miles, to which the vessels were accustomed to retire, upon quitting the fishery on this coast. According to Cordiner, " the boats with their crews and divers " come from Manaar, Jaffna, Ramisseram, Nagore, Tutakoreen, Travancore, " Kilkerry, and other parts on the coast of Coromandel;" but in the Asiatic Researches it is said that " the *donies* (boats) appointed for the fishery are not all " procured at Ceylon; many come from the coasts of Coromandel and *Malabar*." Vol. v, p. 400. On the latter, it may be observed, the seasons are the reverse of what they are on the eastern side of the peninsula.

1270. At some periods the kings have required that all pearls exceeding a stated size should be considered as royal property, and reserved for their use.

SECTION II.

The natives of this part of the country always go naked, excepting that they cover those parts of the body which modesty dictates.[1271] The king is no more clothed than the rest, but is honourably distinguished by various kinds of ornaments, such as a collar set with jewels, sapphires, emeralds, and rubies, of immense value. He also wears suspended from the neck and reaching to the breast, a fine silken string containing one hundred and four large and handsome pearls and rubies. The reason for this particular number is, that he is required by the rules of his religion to repeat a prayer or invocation so many times, daily, in honour of his gods; and this his ancestors never failed to perform.[1272] The daily prayer consists of these words, "*pacauca*, " *pacauca, pacauca*," which they repeat one hundred and four times.[1273] On each arm he wears three gold bracelets, adorned with pearls and jewels; on three different parts of the leg, golden bands ornamented in the

the same manner, and on the toes of his feet, as well as on his fingers, rings of inestimable value.[1274] To this king it is, indeed, a matter of facility to display such splendid regalia, as the precious stones and the pearls are all the produce of his own dominions.[1275] He has at the least one thousand wives and concubines, and when he sees a women whose beauty pleases him, he immediately signifies his desire to possess her.[1276] In this manner he appropriated the wife of his brother, who being a discreet and sensible man, was prevailed upon not to make it the subject of a broil, although repeatedly on the point of having recourse to arms. On these occasions their mother remonstrated with them, and exposing her breasts, said: "If you, my children, disgrace yourselves "by acts of hostility against each other, I shall instantly sever from my "body, these breasts from which you drew your nourishment:" and thus the irritation was allowed to subside.

The king retains about his person many knights, who are distinguished by an apellation signifying "the devoted servants of his majesty, in "this world and the next." These attend upon his person at court, ride by his side in processions, and accompany him on all occasions. They exercise considerable authority in every part of the realm. Upon the death of the king, and when the ceremony of burning his body takes place, all these devoted servants throw themselves into the same fire, and are consumed with the royal corpse; intending by this act, to bear him company in another life.[1277] The following custom likewise prevails. When a king dies, the son who succeeds him does not meddle with the treasure which the former had amassed; under the impression that it would reflect upon his own ability to govern, if being left in full possession of the territory, he did not shew himself as capable of enriching the treasury as his father was. In consequence of this prejudice it is supposed that immense wealth is accumulated by successive generations.[1278]

No horses being bred in this country, the king and his three royal brothers expend large sums of money annually in the purchase of them from merchants of Ormus, Diufar, Pecher, and Adem,[1279] who carry them thither for sale, and become rich by the traffick, as they import to the

the number of five thousand, and for each of them obtain five hundred *saggi* of gold, being equal to one hundred marks of silver. At the end of the year, in consequence, as it is supposed, of their not having persons properly qualified to take care of them or to administer the requisite medicines, perhaps not three hundred of these remain alive, and thus the necessity is occasioned for replacing them annually.[1280] But it is my opinion that the climate of the province is unfavourable to the race of horses, and that from hence arises the difficulty in breeding or preserving them. For food they give them flesh dressed with rice, and other prepared meats;[1281] the country not producing any grain besides rice. A mare although of a large size, and covered by a handsome horse, produces only a small ill-made colt, with distorted legs, and unfit to be trained for riding.

The following extraordinary custom prevails at this place. When a man who has committed a crime, for which he has been tried and condemned to suffer death, upon being led to execution, declares his willingness to sacrifice himself in honour of some particular idol, his relations and friends immediately place him in a kind of chair, and deliver to him twelve knives of good temper and well sharpened. In this manner they carry him about the city, proclaiming with a loud voice, that this brave man is about to devote himself to a voluntary death, from motives of zeal for the worship of the idol. Upon reaching the place where the sentence of the law would have been executed, he snatches up two of the knives, and crying out, "I devote myself to death in "honour of such an idol," hastily strikes one of them into each thigh, then one into each arm, two into the belly, and two into the breast. Having in this manner thrust all the knives but one into different parts of his body, repeating at every wound the words that have been mentioned, he plunges the last of them into his heart, and immediately expires.[1282] As soon as this scene has been acted, his relations proceed with great triumph and rejoicing, to burn the body, and his wife, from motives of pious regard for her husband, throws herself upon the pile and is consumed with him. Women who display this resolution are much applauded by the community, as, on the other hand, those who shrink from it are despised and reviled.[1283]

NOTES.

BOOK III. CHAP. XX. *Sect.* II. Notes.

1271. "Quelquefois leur habillement" says Sonnerat "est encore plus simple; "il n'est pas rare de voir des Indiens dont tout le vêtement n'est qu'un morceau "de toile qui sert à cacher les parties naturelles." Voy. aux Indes, &c. T. i, p. 29. "L'habito di queste genti è que vanno tutte nude, salvo que portano un "panno intorno alla parte inhoneste." Itin. di Lodovico Barthema, fol. 158-2.

1272. Rosaries or chaplets, the use of which is to assist the memory in counting the repetition of prayers, are employed for this purpose by the followers of Brahma, Buddha or Fo, and Mahomet, as well as by a part of the Christian church. The number of beads in the chaplets borne by the natives of Hindustan, as well as by the worshippers of Fo, is said to be one hundred and eight. "Les "dévots de cette secte" says a missionary "ont continuellement pendu au col ou "autour du bras une sorte de chapelet de prix composé de cent grains médiocres "et de huit plus gros... L'usage de ces chapelets dans la secte de *Fo*, est de "beaucoup de siècles plus ancien que celui du saint rosaire parmi les Chrétiens." Lett. édif. t. xviii, p. 381. It is therefore probable that the number of one hundred and four, mentioned in the text, is an error, to which the mode of notation in the old manuscripts, by Roman figures, is extremely liable; but at the same time I must avow that I have not been able to ascertain with precision the divisions of the rosary used either by a Hindu or a Mahometan.

1273. The specimens of prayers and invocations in the Tamul language, with which we have been furnished by Paolino and others, do not enable us to trace the word *pacauca*; nor can we be confident that the orthography has not been corrupted. It is not found in the Basle edition nor in the epitomes.

1274. The description of the ornaments worn by this prince is conformable to what we read in the voyage of Lodovico Barthema, who says: "Non si potria "stimare le gioie e perle che porta il Re." "Portava tante gioie nell' orrechie, "e nelle mani, nelle bracchia, ne piedi e nelle gambe, che era cosa mirabile a "vedere." Fol. 161. See also Anciennes Relations, par Renaudot, p. 123.

1275. It would appear that our author does not speak of the *raja* of a limited district contiguous to the coast of the fishery, but of a sovereign whose dominions embraced the inland country where diamonds and other precious stones are found. The king of *Narsinga*, whose capital at a subsequent period was *Bijanagar* or Golconda, ruled at this period not only the *Telinga* and *Karnata* country, but all the coast of Coromandel, as far southward as cape *Komari* or Comorin.

1276. It

1276. It would be superfluous to cite many authorities for the extent of the *harams* of eastern princes, in former times. The composition of them is thus described by Barbosa, speaking of the king of *Narsinga*: " Il re ne tiene seco " nel suo palazzo molte (donne) che sono figliuole di grans signiori del suo regno, " et oltre a queste molte altre come donzelle, et altre che sono servitrici, elette " per tuto il regno per le piu belle...Sanno cantare e sonare eccellentemente, " e non pensano mai ad altro, che à dare piacere al re." Fol. 301-2.

1277. The authorities for the practice of burning the servants, as well as the wives, of Hindoo princes, along with the bodies of their masters, are numerous; but from a passage in the narrative of Barbosa we find also a confirmation of their performing the sacrifice in consequence of a previous voluntary engagement. " Quivi " he says, speaking of the customs of the southern part of India " si " vede una grandissima pressa di molti amici e servitori domestici del re, che " vogliono abbruciarsi l'un prima dell' altro; il che è cosa maravigliosa e che dà " spavento a chi si trova presente." Fol. 302. " Questi *nairi* quando s'accordano " di star al soldo col re, si obligano di morire con lui." Fol. 307-2. " Ils " s'engagent chacun en mangeant ce ris" say the Mahometan travellers likewise " de se brusler le jour mesme que le roy mourra, ou qu'il sera tué, et ils exécu- " tent sans faute ce qu'ils ont promis, se jettant dans le feu jusqu'au dernier, de " sorte qu'il n'en reste pas un seul." Anc. Relat. p. 99.

1278. " Dicono " says Barthema, speaking of the wealth of the king of Calicut, " che questo thesoro è stato lasciato da dieci o dodici re passati, e hannolo lasciato " per li bisogni e fortezza della republica e del suo regno." Ramusio, vol. i, fol. 161*.

1279. The ports enumerated in the Latin version are *Curmos*, *Chisi*, *Durfar*, *Ser* and *Eden*. Of Curmos, Hormuz, or Ormuz, as well as of Adem, Eden, or Aden, it is unnecessary to speak in this place. *Chisi* is *Kis* or *Kês*, an island in the Persian gulf, to which the trade of *Siraf* was removed. *Diufar* and *Pecher*, which in the Basle edition are *Durfar* and *Ser*, appear to be the same places as *Escier* and *Dulfar* of chap. xli and xlii, and consequently may be supposed the towns of *Sheher* and *Durfâr* on the Arabian coast, to the eastward of Aden.

1280. Even at the present day there is no breed of horses in the southern part of the peninsula, and all the cavalry employed there are foreign. " No horses, " asses, &c." says Dr. F. Buchanan " are bred in *Malayala*." Journey from Madras, &c. vol. ii, p. 383. The circumstances appear to have been the same in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. " Li cavalli " says Barbosa " costano da " trecento fin a mille ducati...Vivono poco tempo questi cavalli, e non nascono

BOOK III. CHAP. XX. *Sect.* II. Notes.

" in questo paese: ma tutti vengono condotti dai regni d'Ormuz e di Cambaia, " per la gran nescessità che hanno di quelli nella guerra vagliono tanti danari." Fol. 301-2. This demand for horses is also noticed by Abulfeda, who, mentioning " *el Mabari*," says " quo pervehuntur undecunque terrarum equi." Tab. xiv. India. Büsching, p. 271.

1281. However extraordinary it may be thought, the fact is certain, that on the coast of Coromandel, in addition to *gram* (*dolichos bifloris* L.) and the roots of grass, the horses are occasionally fed with meat, chiefly of boiled sheeps' heads, made up into balls. Similar expedients are employed in other places. " In " questo paese " says Barbosa speaking of the coast of Sind, " mangiano li " peschi secchi et ancho li danno a mangiare alli cavalli e ad altri bestiami." Fol. 295.

1282. In various modern accounts we have indubitable authority for the practice of self-immolation amongst the people of India, at the feasts of *Jagarnat'ha* and other idols, where the victims of fanaticism throw themselves before the wheels of ponderous machines, to be crushed to death. In the writings of Barbosa (who travelled about the commencement of the sixteenth century) we are furnished with an instance of self-devotion directly in point. " In questa provincia di Quilacare " (the *Kilcare* of our maps, situated near the banks of the pearl fishery) è una " casa d'oration di gentili ove sta uno idolo diabolico che essi hanno in grandis- " sima veneratione, et ogni dodici anni gli fanno una gran festa . . . dove si spen- " dono gran quantità di denari in dar da mangiare à i bramini, che quivi tutti " concorrono: il re fa far un palco alto di legnami tutto coperto di panni di " seta . . . il che fatto se ne viene all'idolo à far la sua oratione, la qual compita " ascende sopra il palco, e quivi in presenza di tutti il popolo, con un coltello " tagliente, si comincia à tagliar il naso, e poi le orrechie et i labri, e cosi gli " altri membri, e tutta la carne che si leva da dosso, la gitta con gran furia verso " lo idolo, et uscendo tanto sangue che gli comincia à mancar la virtù, all'hora " egli medesimo si taglia la canna della gola, e fa di se sacrificio all'idolo." Fol. 314-2. In the Relations also of the Arabian travellers we find a passsage to the same effect. " Dans le royaume du *Balhara* et dans tous les autres royaumes des " Indes, on trouve des gens qui se bruslent. Cette coustume est fondée sur l'opi- " nion de la métempsycose, qu'ils croyent fermement." " Une personne dit avoir " veu brusler un de ces Indiens, et que lors qu'il fut près du bucher, il tira un " *cangiar* dont il se fendit la poitrine jusqu'au bas ventre; après cela il tira avec " sa main gauche un morceau de son foye dont il coupa une partie avec le *cangiar*, " et la donna à un de ses frères, parlant cependant tousjours, et faisant paroistre " un grand mépris de la mort et une patience extraordinaire dans ces tourmens; " et enfin il sauta dans le feu, pour aller en enfer." Anciennes Relations, p. 99-100.

Of

Of these three extraordinary relations it must be allowed that, in point of credibility, that of our text is the least exceptionable, inasmuch as the immolation there described was the desperate act of a person already condemned to death, and who, at the moment of execution, was urged by fanatics to convert his ignominious punishment into a triumphant martyrdom.

1283. Every account of the Hindu people and their manners furnishes us with a description of the ceremony of wives burning themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands, of the arts that are employed to stimulate their enthusiasm, and of the disgrace and abandonment that attends their refusal to comply with this horrible custom. Under the Mahometan and European influence it is supposed to be much less common than it was in former times. "Dans les états "gentils," says Sonnerat, "elle ne se pratique plus que dans la caste des Brames "et dans celle des militaires." T. i. p. 93. Major Rennell informs me that from his observation whilst residing in Bengal, the custom appeared to be wearing out. At Dacca, where there was a population of 120,000 Hindûs, only one woman had burnt herself in the course of several years; and in all his travels across Bengal he never had another opportunity of witnessing the horrid ceremony. On the other hand, Mr. Ward, a learned Baptist Missionary at Serampore, states in his "View of the history, literature, and religion of the Hindoos," that "not less than five thousand of these unfortunate women, it is supposed, are im-"molated every twelve months." P. liii.

SECTION III.

THE greater part of the idolatrous inhabitants of this kingdom shew particular reverence to the ox, and none will from any consideration be induced to eat the flesh of oxen.[1284] But there is a particular class of men termed *gaui*, who although they may eat of the flesh, yet dare not to kill the animal; but when they find a carcase, whether it has died a natural death or otherwise, the *gaui* eat of it;[1285] and all descriptions of people daub their houses with cow-dung.[1286] Their mode of sitting is upon carpets on the ground; and when asked why they sit in that manner, they reply that a seat on the earth is honourable; that as we are sprung from the earth, so we shall again return to it; that none can do it sufficient honour, and much less should any despise the earth. These *gaui* and all their tribe are the descendants of those who slew Saint Thomas the Apostle, and on this account no individual of them

them can possibly enter the building where the body of the blessed apostle rests, even were the strength of ten men employed to convey him to the spot, being repelled by the supernatural power of the holy corpse.[1287]

The country produces no other grain than rice and sesamé.[1288] The people go to battle with lances and shields, but without clothing, and are a despicable unwarlike race.[1289] They do not kill cattle nor any kind of animals for food, but when desirous of eating the flesh of sheep or other beasts, or of birds, they procure the Saracens, who are not under the influence of the same laws and customs, to perform the office.[1290] Both men and women wash their whole bodies in water twice every day, that is, in the morning and the evening. Until this ablution has taken place they neither eat nor drink; and the person who should neglect this observance, would be regarded as a heretic.[1291] It ought to be noticed, that in eating they make use of the right hand only, nor do they ever touch their food with the left. For every cleanly and delicate work they employ the former, and reserve the latter for the base uses of personal abstersion and other offices connected with the animal functions.[1292] They drink out of a particular kind of vessel, and each individual from his own; never making use of the drinking pot of another person. When they drink they do not apply the vessel to the mouth, but hold it above the head, and pour the liquor into the mouth; not suffering the vessel on any account to touch the lips.[1293] In giving drink to a stranger, they do not hand their vessel to him, but, if he is not provided with one of his own, pour the wine or other liquor into his hands, from which he drinks it, as from a cup.[1294]

Offences in this country are punished with strict and exemplary justice, and with regard to debtors the following customs prevail. If application for payment shall have been repeatedly made by a creditor, and the debtor puts him off from time to time with fallacious promises, the former may attach his person by drawing a circle round him, from whence he dares not depart until he has satisfied his creditor, either by payment or by giving adequate security. Should he attempt to make his escape, he renders himself liable to the punishment of death, as a violator

violator of the rules of justice.[1295] Messer Marco, when he was in this country on his return homeward, happened to be an eye-witness of a remarkable transaction of this nature. The king was indebted in a sum of money to a certain foreign merchant, and although frequently importuned for payment, amused him for a long time with vain assurances. One day when the king was riding on horseback, the merchant took the opportunity of describing a circle round him and his horse. As soon as the king perceived what had been done, he immediately ceased to proceed, nor did he move from the spot until the demand of the merchant was fully satisfied. The by-standers beheld what passed with admiration, and pronounced that king to merit the title of most just, who himself submitted to the laws of justice.[1296]

These people abstain from drinking wine made from grapes, and should a person be detected in the practice, so disreputable would it be held, that his evidence would not be received in court.[1297] A similar prejudice exists against persons frequenting the sea, who, they observe, can only be people of desperate fortunes, and whose testimony, as such, ought not to be admitted.[1298] They do not hold fornication to be a crime.[1299] The heat of the country is excessive, and the inhabitants on that account go naked. There is no rain excepting in the months of June, July, and August, and if it was not for the coolness imparted to the air during these three months by the rain, it would be impossible to support life.[1300]

In this country there are many adepts in a science denominated physiognomy, which teaches the knowledge of the nature and qualities of men, and whether they tend to good or evil. These qualities are immediately discerned upon the appearance of the man or woman.[1301] They also know what events are portended by meeting certain beasts or birds. More attention is paid by these people to the flight of birds, than by any others in the world, and from thence they predict good or bad fortune.[1302] In every day of the week there is one hour which they regard as unlucky, and this they name *choiach;*[1303] thus, for example, on Monday the (canonical) hour of *mezza terza*, on Tuesday the hour of *terza*, on Wednesday the hour of *nona;*[1304] and on these hours they do not

BOOK III. CHAP. XX. Sect. III.

not make purchases, nor transact any kind of business, being persuaded that it would not be attended with success. In like manner they ascertain the qualities of every day throughout the year, which are described and noted in their books.[1305] They judge of the hour of the day by the length of a man's shadow when he stands erect.[1306] When an infant is born, be it a boy or a girl, the father or the mother makes a memorandum in writing of the day of the week on which the birth took place; also of the age of the moon, the name of the month, and the hour. This is done because every future act of their lives is regulated by astrology.[1307] As soon as a son attains the age of thirteen years, they set him at liberty, and no longer suffer him to be an inmate in his father's house; giving him to the amount, in their money, of twenty to twenty-four groats. Thus provided, they consider him as capable of gaining his own livelihood, by engaging in some kind of trade and thence deriving a profit. These boys never cease to run about in all directions during the whole course of the day, buying an article in one place and selling it in another.[1308] At the season when the pearl fishery is going on, they frequent the beach, and make purchases from the fishermen or others, of five, six, or more (small) pearls, according to their means, carrying them afterwards to the merchants, who, on account of the heat of the sun, remain sitting in their houses, and to whom they say: "These "pearls have cost us so much; pray allow such a profit on them as you "may judge reasonable." The merchants then give something beyond the price at which they had been obtained. In this way likewise they deal in many other articles, and become excellent and most acute traders. When business is over for the day, they carry to their mothers the provisions necessary for their dinners, which they prepare and dress for them; but these never eat any thing at their fathers' expense.[1309]

NOTES.

1284. "The people in this part of the country," says Buchanan in the journal of his route through the southern Carnatic, "consider the ox as a living god, who "gives them their bread; and in every village there are one or two bulls, to "whom weekly or monthly worship is performed." "On the north side of the "Cavery

" Cavery this superstition is not prevalent. The bull is there considered as " respectable, on account of *Iswara's* having chosen one of them for his steed." Vol. ii, p. 174. " Nel mio ritorno a *Puducèrè*" says Paolino " io osservai una " cosa assai singolare. Vidi passare per le strade pubbliche il dio *Apis*. Questo " era un bue di altezza mezzana, bello, grasso, di color rossicchio. Egli si cus- " todiva dai Brahmani nelle vicinanze del loro tempio, ed in quel giorno egli fu " prodotto al pubblico con una grande solennità." Viaggio, p. 13. " Their " superstitious veneration for these animals," says Grose, " is too well known to " insist on here; but by all the discourse I have had with Brahmins on that head, " it appeared very clearly to me, that the spirit of that law of theirs, which forbids " the slaughter of them, is chiefly gratitude; from their arguing against the cruelty " of such a retribution, or killing a creature so serviceable to mankind." Voy. to the East Indies, vol. i, p. 184.

1285. From this account of the manners of the *gaui*, our author may be supposed to speak of the out-cast tribe generally named *pariah* and *chandala*, but who are known also by other appellations in different parts of India. " Le vili " tribù" says Paolino " sono *nisha* o *ciandála*, cioè, vili, cattivi, immondi . . . che " sono veri schiavi, miserabili ma utili, perche guardano la campagna, arano, " custodiscono le bufale colle quali si ara, &c." P. 248.

1286. " When the dung is recent" says Grose " they make a compost of it, " with which they smear their houses, pavements, and sides of them, in the style " of a lustration." P. 185. " Les brames et les gens pieux " says Sonnerat " enduisent le pavé de bouze de vache, et quelquefois même les murs." P. 32. " Il piano della casa " says Barthema " è tutto imbrattato con sterco di vacche " per honoroficentia." Ramusio, fol. 161*.

1287. " About this mount" says Fryer " live a cast of people, one of whose " legs is as big as an elephant's, which gives occasion for the divulging of it to be " a judgment on them, as the generation of the assassins and murtherers of the " blessed Apostle St. Thomas, one of whom I saw at Fort St. George." New Account of East India and Persia, p. 43. The circumstances attending the death of this personage will be found in a subsequent part of the present chapter. With respect to the miracle here stated, it would be unfair to examine it with philosophical rigour, and it is sufficient to say, that it stands on the same footing with all others that are not sanctioned by the authority of the sacred writings. They were not subjects upon which those who report them presumed to exercise any judgment or to entertain any doubts.

1288. The *sesamum indicum*, called *til* in the Hindustani language, is extensively cultivated in most parts of India, for the sake of the oil obtained from its seeds. "Nell paese di Calicut si trova gran quantità di zerzelino del quale ne "fanno oglio perfetissimo." Barthema, fol. 162.

1289. The effeminacy of the natives of India, and particularly of the southern provinces, has been in all ages a subject of observation. "Les habitans de la "côte de Coromandel" says Sonnerat "sont appellés *Tamouls*; les Européens "les nomment improprement *Malabars*: ils sont noirs, assez grands et bien faits, "mais mous, lâches et efféminés; les Mogols les tiennent assujétis avec une "facilité qui prouve leur peu de courage." P. 27.

1290. In Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory, vol. i, p. 49, we find a list of the Hindu *castes* which are restricted from eating animal food of any kind, and also of those which are permitted to eat certain kinds. Amongst the latter are enumerated "*Woriar Brahmineys*," who may eat fish, mutton, and game, but not fowls; and also "*Rajahs*." None, however, of any caste (as is generally believed) are allowed to eat beef, and to kill a cow is an offence inferior only to the murder of a brahman. Upon the subject of this religious abstinence see Moor's Hindu Pantheon, where, under the head of "Brahmans" it is fully discussed. He informs us that "many Mahratas and other Hindus bring their sheep and fowls "to Mahomedans (at Poona) to be *hallalled* (killed with religious ceremonies), "and then eat them with increased satisfaction." P. 357. It may be doubted whether the object, in carrying their domestic animals to persons of a different religion, was any other than that of avoiding the act of shedding blood by their own hands.

1291. "According to the rules of their religion they ought to pray thrice a "day... They should at the same time perform their ablutions, and when they "have an opportunity, should prefer a running stream to standing water. But "it is an indispensible duty to wash themselves before meals." Hindoo Sketches, vol. i, p. 221. "Prima che si metta a mangiare" says Barbosa "va in uno "stagno d'acqua, e quivi nudo fa la sua oratione con molte ceremonie... e tre "volte si butta sotto l'acque sommergendosi." Fol. 306.

1292. "All'hora il re" says the same writer "comincia a mangiare con la "mano dritta, pigliando del riso a man piena senza cucchiaro, e con la mano "sinistra non può tocca cosa alcuna di quei che ei mangia." Fol. 306.

1293. This mode of pouring water into the mouth is represented in a plate, p. 87, of Knox's Account of Ceylon. "When they drink" he says, almost in the

the words of our author "they touch not the pot with their mouths, but hold it at "a distance and pour it in." This practice is common, likewise, in other parts of the east. "In drinking" says the History of Sumatra, "they generally "hold the vessel (a *labu* or *calabash*) at a distance above their mouths, and catch "the stream as it falls: the liquid descending to the stomach without the action of "swallowing." Ed. 3, p. 61.

1294. Sonnerat (t. i, p. 257) mentions the circumstance of boiled rice being put into the hands of a mendicant who has no vessel to receive it; but it is also no uncommon practice to pour liquor into the hands of such a person, who for this purpose holds them close to his mouth.

1295. This legal process is more circumstantially described by Lodovico Barthema in the following manner: "Poniamo caso che uno mi habbia dare venti-"cinque ducati, e molte volte mi prometta di darli, e non li dia, non volendo io "piu aspettare, ne farli termine alcuno, vado al principe delli bramini, che son "ben cento, qual dapoi che si haverà molto ben informato ch'è la verità, che "colui mi è debitore, mi dà una frascha verde in mano, et io vado pian-piano "dietro al debitore, et con la detta frascha vedo di farli un cerchio in terra circon-"dandolo; e se lo posso giungere nel circolo, li dico tre volte queste parole: Io "ti commando, &c. Et egli mi contenta, over morirà prima da fame in quel "luoco, ancor che niuno lo guardi, e s'egli si partisse del detto circolo, e non mi "pagasse, il re lo faria morire." Fol. 161. "They have a good way," says Hamilton "of arresting people for debt, viz. There is a proper person sent with "a small stick from the judge, who is generally a Brahman, and when that "person finds the debtor, he draws a circle round him with that stick, and charges "him, in the king's and judge's name, not to stir out of it till the creditor is "satisfied either by payment or surety; and it is no less than death for the "debtor to break prison by going out of the circle." Vol. i, p. 316.

1296. If our author had not told us he was an eye-witness of this scene, we might have been disposed to consider it as *ben trovata*, for the purpose of exemplifying the strict impartiality with which the laws were administered in that country. As it is, it would be difficult to view it in any other light than that of a plan prepared by the *raja* for the laudable purpose of impressing the bye-standers with an advantageous idea of his justice.

1297. In the Latin text the words are: "Vini usus apud eos interdictus est;" nor is it by any means probable that our author should have spoken of *grape* wine, specifically, as being prohibited, in a country where it could scarcely have been known. What he meant in this and several other places where the term "wine"

BOOK III. CHAP. XX. *Sect.* III. Notes.

is used, is any intoxicating liquor, but more especially that made by fermentation from the juice of the palm, and by distillation from that juice together with rice. "No Hindoo of any of the four casts," says Craufurd "is allowed by his religion "to taste any intoxicating liquor; it is only drunk by strangers, dancers, players, "and *chandalahs* or outcasts." Sketches, vol. i, p. 140.

1298. Although there are navigators amongst the Hindus, and particularly in vessels from the coast of Coromandel to Achin and the straits of Malacca, yet the natural disposition of the people is abhorrent of the sea, nor can persons of any respectable *caste* embark on it without the risk of pollution, both in respect to contact and food, whatever precautions may be taken to avoid it. Our author, however, attributes their dislike of seafaring people to an opinion that none but those of desperate fortunes and relaxed morals, would devote themselves to a profession where domestic comfort is sacrificed and life exposed, in the pursuit of precarious advantage.

1299. "In cases of fornication, if the parties differ much in degree, the higher "loses his or her rank: . . . yet, if a Bráhmen fornicate with a *Nayr* woman, he "shall not thereby lose his cast." Asiat. Res. vol. v, p. 18. Punishment seems to attach only to the disparity of rank in the offenders, and not to the act. In some places the temples are chiefly supported by the profits arising from licensed courtesans. In the Latin version a different idea appears to be conveyed, where it is said: "Sunt autem hujis regionis homines tam immundi, ut nullam luxuriæ "speciem putent esse peccatum."

1300. The rainy season here described is that which prevails on the Malabar coast. "L'aria dei Malabar è salubre, calda, umidetta, eccettuato negli eccessivi caldi, che sogliono essere nell'Aprile e Maggio prima che entri l'inverno o "il tempo delle pioggie, le quali incominciano verso i quindici di *Giugno*, e "finiscono dopo i venti di *Agosto*. In quelli caldi l'aria si rarefà all'eccesso, e "renderebbe questo paese inabitabile se non ci fossero tanti fiumi, e un venticello "periodico, che vien ogni giorno dall'alto mare nelle ore le più calde, e rinfresca "e purifica il clima." Viaggio de Paolino, p. 71.

1301. The art here dignified with the scientific appellation of "*fisionomia*," appears to be no other than that of fortune-telling by observation of the lineaments of the face, as in palmistry by inspecting the lines or creases of the hand.

1302. "Les Indiens," say the Mahometan travellers, "ont des religieux . . . "des astrologues, des philosophes, des devins, et des hommes qui observent le "vol des oyseaux, des magiciens, des gens qui se meslent de dire l'horoscope."

Anc.

Anc. Relat. p. 107. " On consulte encore l'avenir," says Sonnerat, " par le vol, " le cri ou le chant des oiseaux." " Savoir si la rencontre ou la vûe de tel objet " est de bon ou de mauvais augure, &c. tout cela s'appelle *science*." T. i, p. 313.

1303. The word *Choiach* or *Koiach* (probably much corrupted) is not to be recognised amongst the barbarous astrological terms of the south of India. " Par- " mi les *natchétrons*, les *yogons*, les *tidis*, les *laquènons*, les *carenons*, et les jours " de la semaine" as we are informed by Sonnerat " il y en a de bons et de mau- " vais." " Je n'ai jamais pu savoir d'aucun Brame ce que c'étoit qu'un *yogon* " et un *carenon*." " Les jours bons ou mauvais, les heures funestes ou heureuses, " le retour d'un voyage, la guérison d'un malade, la perte de quelques effets, " enfin, tout donne matière à recourir aux devins." P. 305-313.

If this were the proper place, the foregoing terms, disfigured as they are by the peculiarities of the *Tamul* dialect and bad European orthography, might be restored to a purer form, and their astronomical significations explained from the original Sanskrit. M. Sonnerat, however, did much, for the period at which he wrote, when the study of Hindu literature had but just commenced. His work was published in 1782, and the *Bhagvat Gîtâ*, the first genuine translation immediately from the Sanskrit, in 1785. A term in that language for " ill-omened " or " unlucky " is *ku-lakshana*.

1304. Having searched in vain through several learned publications for a precise definition of the Canonical hours of the ancient Romish church, I had recourse to the unremitting kindness of my friend Mr. Grenville to procure me information on the subject from living authorities within the scope of his acquaintance, and to him I am indebted for the following communication (amongst others to the same purport) from Signor Foscolo, a gentleman eminently distinguished amongst the *literati* of his country: " Les Italiens du tems de Marco Polo " he observes " n'avoient pas pour mesure de la journée civile les deux points fixés " dans le midi et dans la minuit. Leur journée était divisée en 24 heures: la " première heure commençait soixante minutes après les crépuscules du soir, et " la vingt-quatriéme finissoit aux dits crépuscules. La vingt-quatrième heure " était par conséquence le seul point fixé; car c'était le moment de l'obscurité et " de la fin des travaux de la journée. Mais n'ayant point encore des horloges; " et quand même ils en eussent eu, n'ayant le point du midi, c'était par pratique " et à peu près que l'on fixait selon le changement des saisons l'heure vingt- " quatrième, et alors on sonnait une cloche pour en avertir le public. A l'heure " douzième, c'est à dire au lever du soleil dans l'équinoxe, on sonnait la cloche " du matin pour avertir que la partie première du jour commençait, et on l'ap- " pelait *Prima*. A l'heures quinzième, c'est-à-dire un heure après le lever du " soleil, on sonnait un autre cloche, et l'on disait *terza*. Six heures après le lever " du

" du soleil, c'est à dire à midi, on sonnait la cloche de la *sesta*. Trois heures " après on sonnait la *nona*; enfin, trois heures après, ce qui tombait à la vingt- " quatrième heure du jour, au moment de l'obscurité, l'on sonnait *vesper*. " Voici l'horloge de ce tems là, et je prens pour en faciliter l'intelligence le " moment de l'équinoxe. L'on verra que *terza* veut dire trois heures après le " soleil levé; *mezza terza*, une heure et demie; *sesta*, six heures; *mezza sesta*, " quatre et demie; *nona*, neuf heures, &c."

1305. The books here spoken of are almanacs, called *panjangan* in the language of the *Tamuls*. "Ce sont les brames du Tanjaour et du temple Canjivaron, qui " fixent tous les ans les instans où l'année et les mois commencent; ils font et " distribuent les pandjangans, que suivent tous les habitans du Carnate." " Le " *pandjangan* qui est 'almanach des Tamouls, annonce les *varons* ou jours de la " semaine... On y voit s'ils sont heureux." Sonnerat, vol. i, p. *303-312*.

1306. The original Indian method of ascertaining the altitude of the sun and latitude of a place, is by measuring the length of the shadow thrown by a perpendicular gnomon of a determined height, or by the absence of that shadow when the sun is in the zenith. Upon this principle, in places situated within the tropics, and especially near the equator, a man may form a tolerably correct judgment of the hour of the day, by observing his own shadow, which, for example, when equal to the height of his person, would shew the altitude to be forty-five degrees, and the hour, consequently, about nine in the morning or three in the afternoon.

1307. " Si trovano tra loro " says Barbosa " grandi astrologi (che si chiama " *caniun*) che indovinano molte cose che hanno da venire, e fanno giuditij veri " sopra le natività de gli huomini." Fol. *309*. " The *cunian* " says Buchanan " are a cast of *Malayala*, whose profession is astrology." Vol. ii, p. *528*.

1308. " Li lor figluioli " says Barbosa " come passano dieci anni, vanno facendo " il medesimo come li padri, di andar comprando monete piccole, et imparare il " mestiere." Fol. *310-2*.

1309. " Sono persone " he adds " molto moderate nel viver e spendere, e del " tutto tengono particolar conto, e sono molto sottili nel negotiare." Fol. *310-2*

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Not only in this kingdom but throughout India in general, all the beasts and birds are unlike those of our own country; excepting the quails, which perfectly resemble ours. The others are all different.[1310] There are bats as large as vultures, and vultures as black as crows, and much larger than ours. Their flight is rapid, and they do not fail to seize their bird.[1311]

In their temples there are many idols, the forms of which represent them of the male and the female sex, and to these, fathers and mothers dedicate their daughters. Having been so dedicated, they are expected to attend whenever the priests of the convent require them to contribute to the gratification of the idol; and on such occasions they repair thither, singing and playing on instruments, and adding by their presence to the festivity. These young women are very numerous, and form large bands.[1312] Several times in the week they carry an offering of victuals to the idol to whose service they are devoted, and of this food they say the idol partakes. A table for the purpose is placed before it, and upon this the victuals are suffered to remain for the space of a full hour, during which the damsels never cease to sing, and play, and exhibit wanton gestures. This lasts as long as a person of condition would require for making a convenient meal. They then declare that the spirit of the idol is content with its share of the entertainment provided, and ranging themselves around it, they proceed to eat in their turn; after which they repair to their respective homes. The reason given for assembling the young women and performing the ceremonies that have been described, is this: The priests declare that the male divinity is out of humour with and incensed against the female, refusing to have connexion or even to converse with her; and that if some measure were not adopted to restore peace and harmony between them, all the concerns of the monastery would go to ruin, as the grace and blessing of the divinities would be withheld from them. For this purpose it is, they expect the votaries to appear in a state of nudity, with only a cloth round their waists, and in that state to chaunt hymns to the god

god and goddess. These people believe that the former often solaces himself with the latter.[1313]

The natives make use of a kind of bedstead or cot of very light cane-work, so ingeniously contrived that when they repose on them, and are inclined to sleep, they can draw close the curtains about them by pulling a string. This they do in order to exclude the tarantulas, which bite grievously, as well as to prevent their being annoyed by fleas and other small vermin; whilst at the same time, the air, so necessary for mitigating the excessive heat, is not excluded.[1314] Indulgences of this nature, however, are enjoyed only by persons of rank and fortune. Others of the inferior class lie in the open streets.[1315]

In this province of *Maabar*[1316] is the body of the glorious martyr, Saint Thomas the Apostle, who there suffered martyrdom. It rests in a small city, not frequented by many merchants, because unsuited to the purposes of their commerce; but from devout motives a vast number both of Christians and Saracens resort thither.[1317] The latter regard him as a great prophet, and name him *Ananias*, signifying a holy personage.[1318] The Christians who perform this pilgrimage collect earth from the spot where he was slain, which is of a red colour, and reverentially carry it away with them; often employing it afterwards in the performance of miracles, and giving it, when diluted with water, to the sick; by which many disorders are cured.[1319] In the year of our Lord 1288, a powerful prince of the country,[1320] who at the time of gathering the harvest had accumulated (as his proportion) a very great quantity of rice, and had not granaries sufficient wherein to deposit it all, thought proper to make use of the religious house belonging to the church of Saint Thomas, for that purpose. This being against the will of those who had the guardianship of it, they beseeched him not to occupy in this manner a building appropriated to the accommodation of pilgrims, who came to visit the body of this glorious saint. He, notwithstanding, obstinately persisted. On the following night the holy Apostle appeared to him in a vision, holding in his hand a small lance, which he pointed at the throat of the king, saying to him: "If thou "dost not immediately evacuate my house which thou hast occupied, "I shall

"I shall put thee to a miserable death." Awaking in a violent alarm, the prince instantly gave orders for doing what was required of him; declaring publicly that he had seen the Apostle in a vision. A variety of miracles are daily performed there, through the interposition of the blessed saint.[1321] The Christians who have the care of the church possess groves of those trees which produce the Indian nuts, and from thence derive their means of subsistence;[1322] paying as a tax to one of the royal brothers, a groat, monthly, for each tree.[1323] It is related that the death of this most holy apostle took place in the following manner. Having retired to a hermitage, where he was engaged in prayer, and being surrounded by a number of pea-fowls, with which bird the country abounds, an idolater of the tribe of the *Gaui*, before described, who happened to be passing that way and did not perceive the holy man, shot an arrow at a peacock, which struck the apostle in the side. Finding himself wounded, he had time only to thank the Lord for all his mercies; and into His hands he resigned his spirit.[1324]

In this province the natives, although black, are not born of so deep a dye as they afterwards attain by artificial means; esteeming blackness the perfection of beauty. For this purpose, three times every day, they rub the children over with oil of sesamé.[1325] The images of their deities they represent black, but the devil they paint white, and assert that all the demons are of that colour.[1326] Those amongst them who pay adoration to the ox, take with them when they go to battle, some of the hair of a wild bull, which they attach to the manes of their horses; believing its virtue and efficacy to be such, that every one who carries it about with him is secure from all kind of danger. On this account the hair of the wild bull sells for a high price in these countries.[1327]

NOTES.

1310. This assertion may appear too general, but is in a great measure justified by the observations of Dr. F. Buchanan, who informs us that neither horses, asses, swine, sheep, nor goats are bred in the southern part of the peninsula, or at least that their number is perfectly inconsiderable, and that the original natives

had no poultry, even the common fowls, as well as geese, ducks, and turkies, having been introduced by Europeans. Vol. ii, p. 383.

1311. The former of these is the *vespertilio vampyrus* of L., the wings of which are four feet in extent; the latter, "le vautour royal de Pondicheri, dont le dos, "le ventre, les ailes et la queue sont noirs." Sonnerat, t. ii, p. 182.

1312. This account of females attached to the service of the temples, and contributing by the prostitution of their persons to the support of the establishment, will be amply corroborated by the following authorities. "Il y a dans les Indes" say the Mahometan travellers of the ninth century "des femmes publiques, "appellées, femmes de l'idole, et l'origine de cette coustume est telle. Lors "qu'une femme a fait un vœu pour avoir des enfans, si elle met au monde une "belle fille, elle l'apporte au *bod*, c'est ainsi qu'ils appellent l'idole qu'ils "adorent, auprès duquel elle la laisse. Cette fille étant venuë en âge, prend un "logis dans cette place publique... Elle s'abandonne pour un certain prix, et "elle met tout ce qu'elle peut ainsi amasser entre les mains du prestre de l'idole, "afin qu'il l'employe au bastiment, et à l'entretien du temple." Anc. Relat. p. 109. "Elles se consacrent" says Sonnerat "à honorer les dieux, qu'elles "suivent dans les processions, en dansant et chantant devant leurs images. Un "ouvrier destine ordinairement à cet état la plus jeune de ses filles, et l'envoie à "la pagode avant qu'elle soit nubile. On leur donne des maîtres de danse et de "musique: les brames cultivent leur jeunesse, dont ils dérobent les prémices; "elles finissent par devenir filles publiques. Alors elles forment un corps entre "elles, et s'associent avec des musiciens, pour aller danser et amuser ceux qui "les font appeller." Vol. i, p. 41. "Their dancing women and their musicians" says Buchanan "now form a separate kind of cast; and a certain number of them "are attached to every temple of any consequence... All the handsome girls are "instructed to dance and sing, and are all prostitutes, at least to the Bráhmans. "... When a dancing girl becomes old, she is turned out from the temple without "any provision, and is very destitute unless she has a handsome daughter to "succeed her." Vol. ii, p. 267.

1313. That amongst the idols of Hindu mythology there are representations of female as well as male divinities, is well known; but it may be conjectured that what our author alludes to in this place is the *lingam* or symbol of the generative powers of nature, under which combined form *Siva* or *Mahadeva* is so commonly worshipped. "The *Sacti*, or energy of an attribute of any god" Mr. Colebrooke observes "is female, and is fabled as the consort of that personified attribute." Asiat. Res. Vol. vii, p. 280.

1314. What

1314. What is here described is the musquito curtain, formed of a kind of gauze, and so contrived as effectually to exclude gnats and other flying insects. The tarantulas and fleas mentioned in Ramusio's (but not in the Latin) text, must have been imagined by some of our author's ingenious translators.

1315. In Banares and other ancient cities, where the thoroughfares are narrow and the circulation of air confined, it is common for the inhabitants, during the hot weather, to bring their beds to the outside of the houses, and to sleep with their families in the public streets.

1316. It appears from this passage that our author considered the kingdom of *Mābar* as extending from the southern extremity of the peninsula, along the Coromandel coast, as far as the Tamul language prevails, which is to some distance northward of Madras: a tract which the Hindu geographers term *Drávida-desa*. The Latin versions speak here of a kingdom of *Var* or *Vaar* as forming a portion of *Maabar*. If this is a genuine distinction it may refer to the small territory of *Maravar* or *Marawar*, near the southern extremity of the peninsula.

1317. The place here spoken of is the small town of *San Thomé*, situated a few miles to the southward of Madras, where, on a mount, as it is termed, or elevated rock (the more remarkable from the general flatness of the neighbouring country) stands an ancient Christian church. It was formerly a city of some consequence, called by the natives *Maliapur*, or, perhaps more correctly, *Mailapur*. By the Arabians it is denominated *Beit-tuma* or temple of Thomas. "Les vaisseaux" say the Arabian travellers, "se rendent ensuite, après dix jours de navigation à "un lieu appellé *Betouma*, où on fait de l'eau, si l'on veut. Delà ils passent en "dix jours à *Kadrenge*." Anc. Relat. p. 13-143. Barbosa speaks of the place in the following terms: "Avanti per la costa, passata la costa di Coromandel, vi si "trova una città quasi dishabitata molto anticha, che si chiama Malepur, che nel "tempo passato fu città grande del re di Narsinga: quivi è sopolto il corpo dal "glorioso apostolo San Tommaso, in una piccola chiesa vicina al mare." "Li "Christiani suoi discepoli gli edificarono quella chiesa, e li gentili l'hebbero in "somma veneratione." "Questa sepoltura è posta in una piccola capella di una "chiesa, dove risplende d'infiniti miracoli. Li mori e gentili l'hanno in gran "devotione, e ciascuno pretende che ella sia sua. La fabrica della chiesa e molto "vecchia, e mezza ruinata." Fol. 315.

It has been, and still is, matter of controversy with the writers of church history and other learned persons, whether the first preacher of the Gospel to the people of India, who appears to have fallen a sacrifice to his pious zeal, and whose body is believed to have been buried at this place, was actually St. Thomas the Apostle or a Syrian missionary of the same name. Whatever may be consi-

dered as authorities tend to support the former opinion, whilst the arguments against it rest chiefly upon the improbability of the Apostle having performed so extraordinary a journey, and the insufficiency of popular tradition as proof of the fact, whilst vanity may have been a motive with these remote Christians, for building, in later times, upon a slight and equivocal foundation (such as the resemblance of names) a legend calculated to give celebrity to the origin of their church and a sanction to its particular doctrines.

The ablest and most zealous opponent of its apostolical claim is V. La Croze, in his "Histoire du Christianisme des Indes," whose words I shall here transcribe; and on the other hand, in support of those pretensions I shall adduce the authority of the learned and able (however petulant, self-sufficient, and illiberal) P. Paolino da S. Bartolomeo. "J'entreprens ici" says the former "d'écrire sur "de bons mémoires l'histoire de ces Chrêtiens des Indes, et je ne saurois mieux "commencer que par le témoignage de Cosmas, témoin oculaire d'une partie de "ce qu'il avance. 'Il y a, dit il, dans l'ile Taprobane (Ceylon), dans l'Inde "'intérieur, dans la mer des Indes, une église de Chrêtiens, avec des clercs et "'des fidelles: je ne sai s'il n'y en a point au delà. De même dans les païs "'de Malé (Malabar) où croît le poivre, et dans la Calliane (Calicut), il y "'a un evêque qui vient de Perse, où il est ordonné.' Nous avons dans ces "paroles un témoignage certain de ce Christianisme établi dans les Indes dans le "sixième siècle. Cosmas écrivoit environ l'an 547 de N. S., et ces Chrêtiens "se sont conservez jusqu'à nôtre tems dans un état assez florissant." "Ces "Chrêtiens se donnent eux-mêmes une antiquité bien plus reculée que celle dont "je viens de faire mention. Ils prétendent que l'Apôtre Saint Thomas est le "fondateur de leur église, et cette tradition passe pour si certaine chez eux que "ce seroit un crime d'autant plus grand de la contredire, que les Portugais, leurs "oppresseurs, l'ont appuiée de leur consentement. Voici comment les Chrêtiens "Malabares racontent la chose."

"Dans la repartition de toutes les parties du monde qui se fit entre les Saints "Apôtres, les Indes échurent à Saint Thomas, qui après avoir établi le Christi-"anisme dans l'Arabie Heureuse et dans l'île Dioscoride, appellée aujourd'hui "Socotora, arriva à Cranganor, où residoit alors le principal roi de la côte de "Malabar. Ce fut là que lui arrivèrent les avantures fabuleuses que chacun peut "lire dans sa Vie écrite par le prétendu Abdias Babilonien. Le Saint Apôtre "aïant établi plusieurs églises à Cranganor, passa à Coulan, ville célèbre de la "même côte, où il convertit plusieurs personnes au Christianisme. Etant allé "sur la côte opposée, connue aujourd'hui sous le nom de Coromandel, il s'arrêta "à Meliapour, que les Européens appellent S. Thomas, où il convertit le roi et "tout le peuple. Il alla de là à la Chine, &c." "Saint Thomas retourna de "la Chine à Meliapur, où les conversions nombreuses qu'il avoit faits excitèrent "contre lui la haine et l'envie de deux bramines, qui sont les prêtres de la reli-

"gion

"gion païenne des Indes. Ces deux personnages firent soulever le peuple, qui
" s'étant joint à eux lapida le Saint Apôtre. Après l'exécution un des bramines
" qui remarqua en lui quelque reste de vie, le perça d'un coup de lance qui
" l'acheva." "Je ne perdrai point le tems à refuter cette narration de la mort du
" Saint Apôtre, qui apparemment n'est pas moins fabuleuse que la venuë de Saint
" Thomas dans les Indes. Quelque antiquité qu'on attribue à cette tradition,
" elle ne peut avoir aucune autorité, ne devant, selon toutes sortes d'apparences,
" son origine qu'aux fables des Manichéens, qui avoient autrefois supposé divers
" Actes sous le nom des Apôtres, entre autres ceux de S. Thomas et l'histoire de
" ses courses dans les Indes. Ces Actes fabuleux subsistent encore aujourd'hui
" dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque du Roi de France...Il paroit que c'est
" de là que le prétendu Abdias Babilonien a puisé toutes les fables qu'il débite
" dans la Vie de ce S. A.; et il n'est pas surprenant que les Chrêtiens de Malabar,
" gens extrêmement simples et credules, aient adopté la fable de cette mission,
" aussi bien que beaucoup d'autres narrations apocryphes, comme nous le verrons
" autre part." P. 37-41.

"Nel mio ritorno a *Mailapuri*," says the learned Carmelite "io visitai il
" *monte piccolo* fuori della città, ove secondo la tradizione degl' Indiani fu ucciso
" S. *Tommaso* Apostolo." "Tutti gl'Indiani tanto Christiani quanto Gentili
" affermavano, che quel monte era il sito in cui fu ammazzato *S. Tommaso* Apos-
" tolo, non *Tommaso* discepolo de *Manete*, di cui essi giammai intisero parlare.
" *Il* P. Norberto nella sua Storia delle Missioni Indiche, il Sig. William Hodges,
" Travels in India, il Sig. La Croze, Nain de Tillemont, l'autore d'un libretto
" intitolato, Tablettes chronologiques, historiques et ecclésiastiques, stampato
" nel 1705 in Aosta, e molti altri scrittori sono di opinione, che la predicazione
" e il martirio di S. *Tommaso* Apostolo nella città di *Mailapuri* sia una favola,
" una invenzione de'Portoghesi, una credenza senza criterio e senza esame.
" Vorrei che questi Signori producessero qualche buon argomento, e che dimos-
" strassero la falsità di questo fatto. Frottole e congetture che essi adducono non
" concludono nulla. Gli antici viaggiatori di tutte le nazioni e religione, prima
" che arrivassero i Portoghesi nell'India, hanno trovata quella tradizione Indica
" già stabilita. I due Arabi viaggiatori nel secolo ix, appresso Renaudot nelle
" relazioni antiche, Mandeville, Marco Polo, che vide l'India prima de'Porto-
" ghesi, Ugo Lynscoten, Georgio Spilberg benchè Protestante, ed altri viaggiatori
" insigni riferiscono la tradizione degl'Indiani, Arabi, idolatri e Christiani, ed
" affermano che in *Mailapuri* fu ucciso S. *Tommaso* Apostolo, non Tommaso
" discepolo di Maneti, come vanamente congettura il calido cervello de Sig. De la
" Croze." "La loro fede che S. *Tommaso* morì a *Mailapuri*, è tanto costante
" e viva, quanto quella de'Cattoloci d'Europa, che S. Pietro morì in Roma. I
" breviari e messali quasi di tutte le chiese orientali affermano il martirio di *S.*
" *Tommaso* nell'India, come ben osservò il dotto Abate Renaudot, e Marco Polo
" nel suo viaggio notò la tradizione degl'Indiani su questo fatto." "Tutti li
" Christiani

BOOK III. CHAP. XX. *Sect.* IV. Notes.

" Christiani dell'oriente Cattolici ed Eretici, come Nestoriani, Giacobiti Armeni, " i Cattolici di Bengala, di Pegu, Siam, di Ceilan, Malabar, ed'Indostan vi " vengono per fare le loro divozioni; e questo solo basta per confermare la tradi- " zione antica ed universale, che *S. Tommaso* morì a *Mailapuri*." Viaggio, p. 59-61. See also an " Account of the St. Thomé Christians on the coast of Malabar," in the Asiat. Researches, vol. vii, p. 364, and a " Memoir of the expediency of an " ecclesiastical establishment for British India, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan.

But we have evidence of a higher nature than any afforded by the arguments of modern writers, for the early belief at least, if not for the fact, of an apostolic mission to India. We find it adverted to in the works of Saint Jerom, the most eminent of the Fathers of the Church, who died in the year 420, at the age of eighty, not as a point of faith that he wished to establish, but in the way of illustration, as a matter of history, known and admitted. In one of his epistles, addressed to a pious lady, he says in his scholastic style: " Divina quippe natura, " et Dei Sermo, in partes secari non potest, nec locis dividi: sed cum ubique sit, " totus ubique est. Erat igitur uno eodemque et cum Apostolis quadraginta " diebus, et cum Angelis, et in Patre, et in extremis maris finibus erat; in " omnibus locis versabatur; cum *Thoma in India*, cum Petro Romæ, cum Paulo " in Illirico, cum Tito in Creta, cum Andrea in Achaia, cum singulis apostolis " et apostolicis viris, in singulis cunctisque regionibus." S. Hieronymi Opera, studio Dominici Vallarsii, Venetiis 1766, 4to. Epistola lix ad Marcellam, p. 330. Benedictinæ editionis, inter Criticas, tom. 4, iv. This curious document serves at the same time to shew that the Christians of St. Thomas could not have been in their origin Nestorians, as the bishop, from whom that sect or heresy derived its appellation, but who was not the effective establisher of it, flourished almost half a century later than St. Jerom.

[1] 1318. Admitting the reading of this passage in Ramusio's text to be correct, it must be observed that the name of *Ananias* has not in Hebrew nor Arabic the meaning here given to it; but the internal evidence is strongly in favour of a very different reading presented by the Latin of the Basle edition, where it is said, " Incolæ regionis illius dicunt Apostolum prophetam magnum fuisse, vocantque " cum *Avarijam*, hoc est, sanctum virum." Here the native Hindus, and not the Mahometans, are stated to be those who bestowed upon St. Thomas the appellation of a holy personage, and in their writings we find the word *Avyar* to have been the appellation of a celebrated Tamul philosopher.

1319. This pilgrimage is noticed by all who have written on the subject of the Malabar or San Thomé Christians. " Li Christiani dell' India" says Barbosa " tutti vi vanno in peregrinaggio, et quando si partono, portano per gran reli- " quia un poco di quella terra, che è appresso la sepoltura del detto glorioso " apostolo."

" apostolo." Fol. 315. " Questi stessi Cristiani benchè Nestoriani," observes Paolino, " facevano continui pellegrinaggi al sepolcro di S. *Tommaso* in *Maila-*" *puri*, e riportavano pezzetti di quella terra per divozione, la quale serviva a " fare l'acqua benedetta, colla quale si aspergevano quando entravano od uscivano " dalla chiesa. Queste cose si praticavono nel Malabar dai Nestoriani da tempi " immemorabili, e non da una o due persone, mà da una nazione intera, consis-" tente di cerca centomila e più persone." Viag. p. 60.

1320. It is commonly understood that the eastern side of the peninsula was at this period ruled by the kings of *Narsinga*, whose capital was *Vijaya-nagara*, or, in the vulgar dialect, *Bija-nagar*; but we learn from the researches of Dr. F. Buchanan, that the celebrated city so named was not founded until the year 1335-6, and that the southern part of the coast (called *Drávada* by Hindu geographers) was subject to princes whose seat of government was *Woragulla* (*Warancul* of the Mussulmans and *Warangole* of our maps) the chief place in *Andray* or *Telingana*. The king who reigned from 1268 to 1322, which includes the year mentioned in the text, was named *Pratápa Rudra*, and it is remarkable, that in 1309, or about sixteen years after our author's visit to this part of India, *Telingana* was invaded by the arms of *Ala-ed-din*, the Mahometan emperor of *Dehli*, and the Raja of *Woragulla* obliged to become his tributary. It may be, however, that the prince here spoken of was only a *raja*, who governed the country under a superior lord.

1321. It has already been observed that our author cannot in fairness be held responsible for the truth or falsehood of miracles which he only reports as they were related to him. It is sufficient for his credit that they were believed not only upon the spot, but amongst all the Christians of Malabar, and that they have been implicitly received as matter of faith, from his time to the present day. In the Travels of Barbosa (about 1500) a circumstantial account is given of a miracle wrought by this saint, for the purpose of founding a church at a place on the Malabar coast. Ramus. vol. i, fol. 312-2. " From Negapatan" says Cæsar Fredericke, who travelled about 1567, " following my voyage towards the east " an hundred and fifty miles, I found the house of blessed St. Thomas, which is " a church of great devotion, and greatly regarded by the gentiles for the great " miracles they have heard to have been done by that blessed Apostle." Asiat. Miscel. vol. i, p. 421. " A Monte grande" says Paolino, in 1796 " altra chiesa, " ove è un concorso grandissimo di pellegrini, intesi narrare molti miracoli, " operativi da Dio per intercessione di S. Tommaso Apostolo." P. 61.

1322. ". Nelle vicinanze" says the same writer, speaking of the church where the saint was buried, " vidi molti alberi di *coco*." P. 59.

1323. For

1323. For "groat" it is probable we should read *fanam*, the common currency of the place, in value about two pence halfpenny. This would make the yearly tax, half a crown. In Sumatra the produce of a coconut tree is commonly estimated at a Spanish dollar or about five shillings.

1324. The circumstances of his death are thus related by Barbosa: "In questà "città havendo egli cominciato a predicare del N.S. Giesu Christo, convertiva "molti alla fede Christiana, per il che alcuni gentili lo cominciarono à persegui- "tare, cercandolo far morire, e per questa causa il detto allontanandosi dalle "genti se ne andava per li boschi e monti facendo vita solitaria: per che un "giorno un gentile andando alla caccia con un' arco, vide sopra un monte che "erano posti insieme molti pavoni, e nel mezzo vi era una cosa alta tutta splen- "dente, posta supra una pietra piana, ma per lo splendore non poteva discerner "cio che fosse, qui fatto animo tirò con una frezza nel mezzo, e li pavoni si "levarono à volo; ma egli sentì di haver dato come nel corpo di un' huomo, per "laqual cosa corse subito, e lo vido cadere in terra morto: e venuto nella città, "e raccontato per ordine alli governatori, cio che gli era avvenuto, quelli anda- "rono a videre, e conobbero essere il corpo del glorioso apostolo, e che sopra "la pietra dove ei cadde, era restata la forma delli piedi impressa nel sasso." Fol. 315.

In giving the etymology of the names of places in this part of the Indian peninsula, Paolino writes: "*Maïlapuri* o *Maïlapuram*, città de pavoni, *Meliapur* "o St. *Tomè* degli Europæi." Admitting this explanation to be correct, it may be questioned whether the legend, of which the peacocks are so conspicuous a feature, may not have been suggested by the name of the place. The bird itself is very common in India. "We have here" says Mr. Reeder, whose journal is given in Cordiner's Descr. of Ceylon, "peacocks and other most beautiful birds, "crossing us in all directions: I walked with my gun for a quarter of an hour, "and shot two, the tail of one of which measures one yard and a half in length. "Had I been anxious to destroy them, I might with ease have killed fifty." Vol. ii, p. 147. With respect to the tribe of *gaui* see Note 1285.

1325. The original inhabitants of the southern part of the peninsula are in general extremely dark, and it is probable that our author was mistaken in his supposition that there was any thing artificial in their degree of blackness. The practice of rubbing their children with oil may have been for a different purpose. It is customary indeed in most parts of India, for persons of all ages to anoint their bodies frequently, excepting in cases of fasting or mourning. "Ogni setti- "mana" says Paolino speaking of the females "ungono il loro corpo con olio di "coco." P. 111.

1326. The Hindu idols are most commonly either of copper, or, when large, of a kind of black granite; but be the material what it may, they all acquire a sooty colour from the smoke of lamps or of incense burnt within the temples, as well as from the practice of smearing them with oil. And here we cannot but entertain a suspicion that it is the idols, and not the children, of which our author means to speak, when he says that they were rendered blacker by anointing. The notion of the Devil being painted white by those of the human race who are themselves black, has been very prevalent, and may be justified by particular instances of *asûrs* or demons of the Hindu mythology being represented of that complexion; but there is no personage in that mythology answering to the description of *Satan* or *Eblis*. In Persian romances we read of the *Dîv Sefêd* or white demon, a celebrated antagonist of *Rustam*.

1327. There is no setting bounds to the variety of matter of which charms may be composed, and the hair of some animal of the ox kind may have been as efficacious heretofore in India, as the old horseshoe in England; but there is reason to presume that in this instance our author has mistaken for an amulet what was in fact a military ensign or standard carried with them to battle by these people, and that the hair of the wild bull here spoken of is no other than what is called the *chamara* or *chowry*, being the fine tail of that celebrated animal, the *yak* of Tartary, to which our naturalists have given the appellation of *bos grunniens*, from its peculiar noise, and which had been already described by him in chap. li. of Book i. It is possible at the same time that superstition may have had some share in the adoption of this standard, as possessing an imaginary virtue in repelling the influence of hostile spirits.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the kingdom of Murphili or Monsul.

THE kingdom of *Murphili* is that which you enter, upon leaving the kingdom of *Maabar*, after proceeding five hundred miles in a northerly direction.[1328] Its inhabitants worship idols, and are independent of any other state. They subsist upon rice, flesh, fish, and fruits. In the mountains of this kingdom it is that diamonds are found.[1329] During the rainy season the water descends in violent torrents amongst the rocks and caverns, and when these have subsided, the people go to search for

 diamonds

diamonds in the beds of the rivers, where they find many.[1330] Messer Marco was told that in the summer, when the heat is excessive and there is no rain, they ascend the mountains with great fatigue, as well as with considerable danger from the number of snakes with which they are infested.[1331] Near the summit it is said there are deep vallies full of caverns and surrounded by precipices, amongst which the diamonds are found, and here many eagles and white storks, attracted by the snakes on which they feed, are accustomed to make their nests. The persons who are in quest of the diamonds take their stand near the mouths of the caverns, and from thence cast down several pieces of flesh, which the eagles and storks pursue into the vallies, and carry off with them to the tops of the rocks. Thither the men immediately ascend, drive the birds away, and recovering the pieces of meat, frequently find diamonds sticking to them. Should the eagles have had time to devour the flesh, they watch the place of their roosting at night, and in the morning find the stones amongst the dung and filth that drops from them.[1332] In this country they manufacture the finest cottons that are to be met with in any part of India.[1333]

NOTES.

1328. The kingdom here called *Murphili* or *Monsul* (perhaps for *Mousul*), in the Basle edition *Murfili*, and in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, *Muthfili*, but omitted entirely in the epitomes, is no other than *Muchli-patan* or, as it is more commonly named, *Masuli-patam*; the name of a principal town, by a mistake not unusual, being substituted for that of the country. "This" says Rennell "is a "city and port of trade, near the mouth of the *Kistna* river; and appears to be "situated within the district named *Mesolia* by Ptolemy." Memoir (1793), p. 210. It belongs to what was at one period termed the kingdom of *Golconda*, more anciently named *Telingana*.

With respect to *Maabar* our author is consistent with himself, (whatever may be thought of his geographical correctness), as he had already told us that it included the place where St. Thomas was buried, not far from the modern city of Madras. It is evident that he considered it to extend as far to the northward as the *Tamul* language is spoken, or, in other words, to the line where the *Telinga* commences (near the *Pennar* river), which we shall find to be little less than five hundred miles from cape *Komorin*. It seems, indeed, not very improbable that

that the application of the name of *Maabar* to that part of the coast of Coromandel, may have given rise to the practice amongst Europeans (who confounded the two words) of denominating the natives on the eastern side of the peninsula, so improperly, *Malabars*. On the subject of *Maaber*, as a country distinct from that of *Malabar* (in the *Ayin Akbary* written معبر and ملیبار) see Note 1256.

1329. *Golconda*, of which *Masulipatam* is the principal sea port, is celebrated for the production of diamonds. In the astronomical observations of Mr. Topping, printed in Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory, mention is made of the famous diamond mines of Golconda, at a place named *Malvellee*, not far from *Ellore*. vol. i, p. 435. Cæsar Fredericke, who was at *Bijanagur* in 1567, mentions that the diamond mines were six day's journey from that city.

1330. Tavernier, speaking of the mines of *Sumbhulpur*, in another part of the country, says: "Voicy de quelle manière on cherche les diamans dans cette "rivière. Après que les grandes pluyes sont passées, ce qui est d'ordinaire au "mois de Décembre, on attend encore tout le mois de Janvier que la rivière "s'éclaircisse, parce qu'en ce temps-là en plusieurs endroits elle n'a pas plus de "deux pieds... On commence à chercher dans la rivière au bourg de Soumel-"pour, et on va toujours en remontant jusques aux montagnes d'ou elle sort." Voy. des Indes, liv. ii, p. 346. Mr. Thomas Motte, who visited this place in 1766, learned from a person on the spot, that "it was his business to search in "the river, after the rains, for red earth washed down from the mountains, in "which earth diamonds were always found." Asiat. Miscellany, vol. ii, p. 58.

1331. "Disons aussi quelque chose" adds Tavernier "des chemins qu'il faut "tenir pour aller aux mines (de *Golconda* à *Raolconda*). Quelques relations "modernes un peu fabuleuses les font comme j'ay dit, dangereux et difficiles, et "nous les remplissent de tygres, de lions et d'hommes cruels, mais je les ai trouvé "tout autres qu'on ne me les avoit dépeints." P. 351. But whatever may have been the case at that particular time and spot, it is certain that the natives do in general endeavour to prevent travellers from visiting the mines, and in order to deter them without using violence, it is highly probable that they should invent stories of imaginary dangers. "I requested permission" says Mr. Motte "to go "to the places where the diamonds were found, but the minister made many "scruples. He first said that the river was so full, there was nothing to be seen; "next that the country was unsettled, the manners of the inhabitants were so "rude and their dispositions so mischievous, they were not to be trusted." P. 58. With regard to *snakes*, this traveller had an opportunity of seeing one that may be considered as the dragon stationed to guard the treasure of the mines. "On my "return from this place" he says "I paid a visit to the Naik Buns (*naga vang-*

BOOK III. CHAP. XXI. Notes.

" *sa*), the great snake worshipped by the mountainous rajahs, which they say is " coeval with the world, which at his decease will be at an end. His habitation " was the cavern at the foot of a rock, at the opening of which was a plain of 400 " yards, surrounded by a moat... About nine in the morning his appearance " was announced to me... He was unwieldy, thicker in proportion to his length " than snakes usually are, and seemed of that species the Persians call *ajdha*. " There was a kid and some fowls picquetted for him. He took the kid in his " mouth, and was some time squeezing his throat to force it down, while he threw " about his tail with much activity. He then rolled along to the moat, where he " drank and wallowed in the mud. He returned to his cavern. Mr. Raby and I " crossed the water in the afternoon, and supposed, from his print in the mud, " his diameter to be upwards of two feet." P. 59.

1332. A more than ordinary degree of ridicule has attached to this relation of the mode of obtaining precious stones from an inaccessible valley; although perhaps not so much on account of its obvious want of probability, as from its resemblance to one of the entertaining adventures of *Sinbad* the sailor in the Arabian Tales. These tales, as appears from the mention of persons and circumstances in the course of the narrative, must have been composed chiefly in the thirteenth century, and one of them in particular is fixed, by an astronomical observation, taken by a singular personage, to the year 1255. Our author, therefore, who was born about 1252 might possibly have availed himself of the perusal or recital of them, in his returning journey through Asia (although they were unknown in Europe for centuries after) to enrich the history of his own travels with a remarkable description. It is however much more probable that the story of the valley of diamonds was current in India and other parts of the eastern world, long before the date of the inimitable compilation referred to, and that the witty collector did no more than exaggerate its wonders, and dress up the incidents in his own way, as it is evident that he has done with respect to other stories indisputably borrowed from the Odyssey of Homer. The antiquity of this tale is indeed satisfactorily shewn by Mr. Hole, in his ingenious work, intitled " Remarks on the Arabian " Nights' Entertainments," from which, as an instance of the kind of evidence he brings forward, I shall transcribe a part of his quotation from Epiphanius " de duodecim lapidibus rationali sacerdotis infixis." " Ibi igitur in eremo magnæ " Scythiæ penitiori vallis est quæ hinc atque indemontibus lapideis veluti muris " cincta, hominibus est invia, longèque profundissima: ita ut e sublimi vertice " montium tanquam ex mœnibus despectanti non liceat vallis solum intueri, sed " ob loci profunditatem densæ adeo sunt tenebræ, ut chaos ibi quoddam esse vi- " deatur. A regibus qui illuc aliquando sunt profecti, quidam rei ad illa loca " damnantur, qui mactatos agnos in vallem, detractâ pelle, projiciunt. Adhæ- " rescunt lapilli, seque ad eas carnes agglutinant. Aquilæ vero, quæ in illorum

" montium

" montium vertice degunt, nidorem carnium secutæ devolant, agnosque quibus " lapilli adhæserunt, exportant. Dum autem carnibus vescuntur, lapilli in cacu- " mine montium remanent. At ii qui ad ea loca sunt damnati, observantes ubi " carnes aquilæ depaverint, accurrunt feruntque lapillos." In a Note he adds: " Epiphanius was bishop of Salamis, and died in the year 403. He is spoken of " in terms of great respect by many ecclesiastical writers; and St. Jerom styles " the little treatise from which I have quoted, 'egregium volumen, quod si " 'legere volueris plenissimam scientiam consequeris.' "

Thus it appears incontrovertibly, that so early as the fourth century of our era, the tale was current, divested, it is true, of the extraordinary incident of the adventurous sailor's escape, but in conformity with what was related to our author; with the exception of the scene being laid in Scythia or western Tartary, where, in fact, diamonds are not found. The question of locality is however determined by another oriental navigator, Nicolo di Conti, who visited the coast of the peninsula in the fifteenth century, and informs us, that, " Oltra la citta di *Bisi-* " *nagar* per quindici giornate di camino verso la parte di settentrione, gli *fu detto* " esservi un monte detto Abnigaro, circondato tutto da lagune piene di bestie " velenose ed il monte di serpi, nel quale si ritrovano i diamanti, e non si " potendo per questo rispetta accostarvisi persona. L'astutia de gli huomini vi " ha trovato rimedio, che è, che essendo un altro monte piu alto, vicino à questo, " in certo tempo dell' anno gli huomini del paese pigliano de' bovi, i quali fatti in " pezzi, cosi caldi, e pieni di sangue con le balestre fatte à questo effetto, buttano " sopra quel monte di diamanti, dove cadendo in terra se gli attaccono di detti " diamanti, e quando l'aquile ed avoltori che ivi passano veggono la carne, si " calano ad esso, e la portano ad un altro monte, ove sicuri da i serpi, se la " possino mangiare; e dipoi gli huomini che ivi stanno à far la guardia, riveggono " i luoghi, ne i quali detti uccelli hanno mangiata la carne, se ne vanno à pigliare " i diamanti che cadettero da quella." Ramusio, vol. i, p. 344. It is here deserving of remark that this traveller mentions the name of *Bisinagar* or *Bijanagar*, which was in his time the Hindu capital, whilst our author, who travelled two hundred years earlier, is silent respecting it: but it has been shewn in Note 1320, that this celebrated city, so highly spoken of by Cæsar Fredericke, and commonly supposed from the state of its extensive ruins to have boasted of considerable antiquity, was not built before the year 1335, or about forty years subsequent to the period of MARCO POLO's voyage.

1333. At all periods the coast of Coromandel has been celebrated for the finest and most perfect manufacture of cotton cloths, to which the name of " calico " has been given by Europeans, and Masulipatam, in particular, for chintzes.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the province of Lac, Loac, or Lar.

LEAVING the place where rests the body of the glorious apostle Saint Thomas, and proceeding westward, you enter the province of *Lac*, from whence the Bramins who are spread over India, derive their origin.[1334] These are the best and most honourable merchants that can be found.[1335] No consideration whatever can induce them to speak an untruth, even though their lives should depend upon it. They have also an abhorrence of robbery or of purloining the goods of other persons.[1336] They are likewise remarkable for the virtue of continence, being satisfied with the possession of one wife.[1337] When any foreign merchant, unacquainted with the usages of the country, introduces himself to one of these, and commits to his hands the care of his adventure, this bramin undertakes the management of it, disposes of the goods, and renders a faithful account of the proceeds, attending scrupulously to the interests of the stranger, and not demanding any recompense for his trouble, should the owner uncourteously omit to make him the gratuitous offer.[1338] They eat meat and drink the wine of the country. They do not, however, kill any animal themselves, but get it done by the Mahometans.[1339] The bramins are distinguished by a certain badge, consisting of a thick cotton thread which passes over the shoulder and is tied under the arm, in such a manner that the thread appears upon the breast and behind the back.[1340] The king is extremely rich and powerful, and has much delight in the possession of pearls and valuable stones.[1341] When the traders from *Maabar* present to him such as are of superior beauty, he trusts to their word with respect to the estimation of their value, and gives them double the sum that each is declared to have cost them. Under these circumstances he has the offer of many fine jewels. The people are gross idolaters, and much addicted to sorcery and divination. When they are about to make a purchase of goods, they immediately observe the shadow cast by their own bodies in the sunshine, and regulate their proceedings according to the established rules.[1342] They are very abstemious in regard to eating and live to an advanced age.

age. Their teeth are preserved sound by the use of a certain vegetable which they are in the habit of masticating. It also promotes digestion, and conduces generally to the health of the body.[1343]

Amongst the natives of this region there is a class peculiarly devoted to a religious life, who are named *tingui*, and who in honour of their divinities lead most austere lives.[1344] They go perfectly naked, not concealing any part of their bodies, and say there can be no shame in that state of nudity in which they came into the world; and with respect to what are called the parts of shame, they observe, that not being with them the organs of sin, they have no reason to blush at their exposure.[1345] They pay adoration to the ox, and carry a small figure of one, of gilt brass or other metal, attached to their foreheads.[1346] They also burn the bones of oxen, reduce them to powder, and with this make an unguent for the purpose of marking various parts of the body, which they do in a reverential manner. If they meet a person with whom they are upon cordial terms, they smear the centre of his forehead with some of these prepared ashes.[1347] They do not deprive any creature of life, not even a fly, a flea, or a louse; believing them to be animated with souls; and to feed upon any animal, they would consider as a heinous sin. They even abstain from eating vegetables, herbs, or roots, until they have become dry; holding the opinion that these also have souls.[1348] They make no use of spoons nor of platters, but spread their victuals upon the dried leaves of the Adam's apple, called likewise apples of paradise.[1349] When they have occasion to ease nature, they go to the sea-beach, and having dropped their burthen in the sand, immediately scatter it in all directions, to prevent its giving birth to vermin, whose consequent death by hunger would load their consciences with a grievous offence.[1350] They live to a great age, some of them even to an hundred and fifty years, enjoying health and vigour; although they sleep upon the bare earth. This must be attributed to their temperance and chastity.[1351] When they die their bodies are burned.

NOTES.

NOTES.

BOOK III. — CHAP. XXII Notes.

1334. Amongst the places on the continent of India noticed by our author, there is none so little capable of being identified from any resemblance of orthography, as that which is the subject of the present chapter; nor does it appear that it was actually visited by him. *Lac*, *Loac*, or *Lar*, as it is variously written in Ramusio's text, *Lahe* in the early Italian epitomes, *Laë* in the Basle, and *Lach* in the older Latin, is said to be a province or district lying westward from the burial place of St. Thomas, and consequently should be that part in which stands the city of Arcot (*Arrukati*) and also the celebrated temples or pagodas of Conjeveram (*Kanjipuram*), where there is, at the present day, a considerable establishment of Brahmans. See Buchanan's Journey from Madras, &c. vol. i, p. 12. Whether any tradition or record exists of this being the spot from whence the sacred tribe dispersed themselves throughout the peninsula, is a point for others to determine; but in the map annexed to D'Anville's "Antiquité de l'Inde," we find the word *Brachmé* (on the authority of Ptolemy) placed near *Arcatis* and in the situation of *Conjeveram*; which is about forty miles westward, inclining to the south, from St. Thomé. In the text also of that learned geographer we meet with the following passage: "Les Brachmani Magi, et leur ville appelée Brachmé, entre Arcate et "la mer dans Ptolémée, fixent notre vue sur *Canjé-varam*, distante à-peu-près "également et d'environ dix lieues d'Arcate comme de la mer; et dans laquelle "les Brahmènes conservent une des plus fameuses écoles de leur doctrine." P. 129. To the district that forms the subject of this chapter he assigns a more southern position. "Ptolémée" he observes "fait mention sur cette côte d'une ville sous "le nom de *Cottiara*, qu'il qualifie du titre de métropole d'une nation, dont le "nom est Αἴοι ou *Aii*. Je ne fais aucune difficulté de voir reparoître ce nom "dans celui de *Laë*, sous lequel Marc Pole parle d'une royaume situé au cô"chant du *Maabar*, qu'il ne faut pas croire être le *Malabar*, mais le côte oriental "de la presqu'isle, en y plaçant, comme il le fait positivement, la ville que le "nom de S. Thomas a décorée." P. 115. With due deference to M. D'Anville's judgment, I should yet be inclined to look rather to the site of Conjeveram and Arcot for the *Lac*, *Loac*, or *Lar* of our text.

1335. Such occupations may seem inconsistent with the sacred character supposed to belong to this caste; but we have abundant authority to shew, not only that brahmans are not necessarily devoted to the offices of the priesthood, but that many of them employ themselves in worldly pursuits. "The greater part of the "Bráhmans in the lower *Carnatic*" says Dr. Buchanan "follow secular profes"sions."* "The proper duty of a Bráhman is meditation on things divine, and "the proper manner of his procuring a subsistence is by begging. This mode of

"living

" living is considered as very agreeable to the gods; and all industry is deemed " derogatory to the rank of a man, and more especially to that of a Brahman. " The lower classes of society, however, in this degenerate age (meaning the *kali-* " *yugam*) not being sufficiently charitable, nor quite so willing to part with their " money as the noble cast of Bráhmans could wish, many of that sacred order " have been obliged to betake themselves to what they consider as unworthy " employments, such as being governors and judges of cities, collectors of " revenue, and accomptants; nay some even condescend to cultivate the earth " by means of slaves." P. 18–20.

1336. Many, perhaps, will not be disposed to subscribe to this favourable character of the brahmanical order, yet our author is not singular in his opinion of their virtues: " On the whole," says Moor, " the Brahmans are, I think, the " most moral and best behaved race of men that I ever met with." Hindu Pantheon, p. 359. " Summarily," observes the liberal author of the Ayin Akbari, " the Hindoos are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, chearful, enamoured " of knowledge, fond of inflicting austerities upon themselves, lovers of justice, " given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of un- " bounded fidelity in all their dealings." Vol. iii, p. 2. " Impartiality must " allow," adds the same Mahometan writer, " that those among them who " dedicate their lives to the worthip of the deity, exceed men of every other " religion (he knew little of Christians) in piety and devotion." P. 81.

1337. " Questi bramini " says Barbosa " e cosi parimente brancani (*baniani*), " tolgano moglie all' usanza nostra, et ciascuno piglia una sola, et una volta " solamente." Fol. 295-2. Amongst our modern writings on the subject of the order of brahmans, or translations from the Hindu ordinances, I have not been successful in discovering any direct assertion that polygamy is forbidden to them, and that a brahman should be " the husband of one wife," although it is everywhere implied, and particularly in the Institutes of *Menu*, where the propriety of abstaining from a second marriage, upon the loss of a first wife, is likewise inculcated. " For the first marriage of the twice-born (holy) classes, a woman of the " same class is recommended; but for such as are impelled by inclination to " marry again, women in the direct order of the classes are to be preferred." P. 53. That the restriction is not imperative appears, indeed, from a passage in " La Porte ouverte," where the writer says: " Un jour parlant de cela avec le " bramine *Padmanaba*, il disoit, qu'il estimoit que c'estoit mieux fait de n'avoir " qu'une femme; et que ceux qui vouloient estre les plus moderez parmy eux, se " contentoient d'une. Que ce n'estoit pourtant pas péché de prendre plus d'une " femme, veu que cela n'estoit pas défendu dans le *Vedam*." P. 68.

 1338. Some

1338. Some parts of this description seem to apply to a class of people wholly engaged in commerce, and there is much reason to believe that in this chapter our author treated, not of *brahmans* only, but also of the class of traders called *banyans*, or in the Italian, *baniani*, which his translators, mistaking them for the same word, have confounded; a conjecture that is rendered the more probable from the striking variation in the orthography of what might be considered a familiar term; for although written *bramini* by Ramusio, and *bragmani* in the Italian epitome, it is in the Basle edition *abrajamim*, and in the manuscripts, *abrajani*. Paolino speaks of the "*baniani* e *cetti*, mercanti astuti, diligenti, laboriosi, sobrj, "frugali, ricchi." P. 79.

1339. It has already been shewn in Note 1290, that nearly all classes of Hindus do occasionally eat more or less of animal food, with the exception only of beef and perhaps domestic pork, and it will be sufficient here to produce the authority of Mr. Wilkins, who, in a note to his translation of the *Hitopadēsa*, observes that "although the brahmans are by no means confined to a vegetable "diet, as is generally supposed, still, like the Jews and Mussulmans, they are "forbidden to taste of many kinds of flesh and fish." P. 318. This, of course, must apply more extensively to the inferior castes.

1340. "The *zennar* or sacred string" says Craufurd "is hung round the body "from the left shoulder." Sketches, vol. ii, p. 41. "Tous les brames" says Sonnerat "portent un cordon en écharpe qui va de gauche à droite, placé sur la "chair." "La ligne ou cordon des brames est composée d'un nombre déterminé "de fils de coton, que l'on observe scrupuleusement." T. i, p. 47.

1341. If this was in fact a separate kingdom, it must still have been dependent upon the king of *Telingana* mentioned in Note 1320, whose dominions, after being overrun by the *Patan* emperor of *Dehli*, appear to have subsequently merged in those of the Hindu king of *Narsinga*, as he is commonly styled, whose capital was *Bijanagar* or *Vijaya-nagara*. Hugo Linschoten, whose voyages commenced in 1589, speaks of the "regnum *Narsingæ*, cujus rex nunc vulgariter "rex *Bisnagar* appellatur, a metropoli et regia urbe." Navigatio ac Itinerarium, p. 17.

1342. By the observing their shadows, when about to conclude a bargain or do any other act, no more is meant than that they ascertain the hour of the day, from the altitude of the sun, in order to judge whether it be propitious or otherwise. For the practice of making their upright bodies serve the purpose of a gnomon, see Note 1306. In "La Porte ouverte" of Abraham Roger (a work of authenticity and of great merit) the reader will find an enumeration of all the acts to be performed

performed or avoided, in each of the thirty Indian hours of the day and night, for every day of the week.

1343. The composition called *betel* is here meant, consisting of the leaf of the betel plant, the *areca* nut, and lime of calcined shells, which is too generally known to require any further description. As to the effects attributed to the practice of chewing it, Grose observes: "They pretend that this use of betel sweetens the "breath, fortifies the stomach, though the juice is rarely swallowed, and pre- "serves the teeth, though it reddens them; but I am apt to believe that there is "more of a vicious habit than any medicinal virtue in it." Vol. i, p. 238. "The "Areca-nut" says Cordiner "corrects the bitterness of the betel-leaf, and the "*chunam* prevents it from hurting the stomach. United together they possess an "extremely wholesome, nutritious, and enlivening quality." Vol. i, p. 98. The Latin version after mentioning the custom adds: "Nunquam per phlebotomiam sanguinem minuunt."

1344. This name of *tingui*, which in the early Venice epitome is *cuigni*, but does not appear in the Latin versions, is certainly intended for those ascetic philosophers or, as others would term them, religious mendicants, one class of whom are called *jogi* or *yogi*, and another *sannyasi*. They are often termed also *fakîrs*, but improperly, as that word should apply only to mendicants of the Mahometan religion.

1345. From this state of absolute nudity they were by the ancients denominated gymnosophists. "Calanus" as Craufurd observes "who burnt himself in the "presence of Alexander, has by some been called a brahman; but it is evident "that he was one of those devotees who travel about the country. He is said to "have gone naked; but the brahmans never go naked, nor commit any acts of "extravagance." Vol. i, p. 247. "At present indeed" says Grose "when they "occasionally travel into Christian or Moorish (Mahometan) jurisdictions, they "dispense with this last, and wear, out of deference to their customs, a scant rag "that covers their parts, to which their own opinions annex no idea of shame or "turpitude." Vol. i, p. 196.

1346. The ox is held in veneration chiefly by the *Saivas* or sect who are worshippers of *Siva* and *Bhawáni*, whose *vahana*, *monture*, or vehicle that animal is; but what they most generally wear appended to their necks, is not the figure of the ox, but of the *linga* and *yoni*, which, from delicacy, our author or his translators may have been unwilling to describe. Asiat. Res. vol. vii, p. 281. "*Lingam* o fallo del dio *Shiva*" says Paolino "simbolo della virtù generativa

" del Sole. Alcuni lo portano al collo, alteri al braccio, altri dipinto sulla " fronte." P. 300.

Notes.

1347. All the different sects of Hindus are distinguished by peculiar marks worn on the forehead and breast. " Una buona parte della religione e superstizione " degl' Indiani consiste in certi segni geroglifici, che esse portano dipinti sulla " fronte e sul petto, con i quali essi professano la loro divozione verso certi dei, " o la setta di filosofia e di religione a cui sono addetti." P. 297. The ashes used in the composition employed for this purpose are most commonly of cow-dung, or of whatever is burnt upon the sacrificial hearth, which they mix, or vary, with the dust of sandal-wood and other ingredients. " As well as the fore-" head " says Moor " it will have been observed that Hindus paint their arms and " breasts also, and sometimes their throats: sandal powder, turmeric, *chuna* or " lime, ashes from a consecrated fire, cow-dung, and other holy combustibles, " made adhesive by a size of rice-water, or sometimes rubbed on dry, are the " ingredients and usages on this occasion. Several lines of white, ashen, or " yellow hue, are commonly seen drawn across the arms and breasts; and I " understand that *yogis* and *sannyasis*, and other pious persons, frequently " carry about them a little packet of these holy pigments, with which they mark " those who show them respect in repayment of their attentions." Hindu Pantheon, p. 409.

1348. " Les mesmes raisons qui ont incité *Pytagoras* à défendre de manger de " la chair " says Abraham Roger " sont les mesmes aussi que le bramine *Padma-*" *naba* apportoit, et disoit qu'il n'estoit pas permis de manger de la chair, à cause " que cela ne se pouvoit pas faire, sans chasser les ames dehors leurs corps, ce " qu'il estimoit péché; et que comme c'estoit péché de tuer un homme, à cause " que celuy que tuoit un homme estoit cause de la séparation de l'ame avec le " corps, que, pour la mesme raison, c'estoit péché de tuer une beste, à cause " qu'en tuant une beste, on separoit aussi l'ame du corps, et que par ce moyen " elle estoit obligée d'aller dans un autre... car ils estoient d'opinion que les " ames des hommes n'estoient pas seulement dans les bestes, mais aussi dans les " arbres, et dans les herbes, et pensoient que les hommes, les bestes, les arbres, " et les herbes ont tous une mesme ame, et qu'il n'y a point de différence entre " eux tous, qu'au regard des corps." Porte ouverte, p. 107.

1349. The plantain, *musa paradisiaca* of L., formerly named *pomum paradisiacum*, is remarkable for the size of its leaf, a part of which is commonly used by the natives, as a dish, for holding their boiled rice.

1350. The

1350. The sandy shores of the great rivers are much frequented for the same purpose by those who live at a distance fron the sea, and in such numbers, at the same hour, as to render it remarkable.

1351. Strong proofs are mentioned by various writers, as well of the general austerity of their lives, as of their chastity in particular, or of the degree to which the sensual feelings of these *yogis* or *sannyasis* are subdued. See Thevenot, Voyages des Indes, liv. iii, chap. vi. Grose, Voy. to the East Indies, vol. i, p. 196. With respect to their longevity, it is difficult to find any direct evidence, but it is strongly implied in the *Ayin Akbari*, where, in describing the *char asherum* or *four* Hindu degrees, and the severities of ascetic discipline, generally confined to the fourth or last stage, it is said: "Some perform all these austerities in the first and "second degrees; some allow *twenty-five years* for each of these states." Vol. iii, p. 222–225

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the island of Zeilan.

I AM unwilling to pass over certain particulars which I omitted when before speaking of the island of *Zeilan*, and which I learned when I visited that country in my homeward voyage.[1352] In this island there is a very high mountain, so rocky and precipitous that the ascent to the top is impracticable, as it is said, excepting by the assistance of iron chains employed for that purpose. By means of these some persons attain the summit, where the tomb of *Adam*, our first parent, is reported to be found. Such is the account given by the Saracens.[1353] But the idolaters assert that it contains the body of *Sogomon-barchan*, the founder of their religious system, and whom they revere as a holy personage.[1354] He was the son of a king of the island, who devoted himself to an ascetic life; refusing to accept of kingdoms or any other worldly possession, although his father endeavoured, by the allurements of beauty and every other imaginable gratification, to divert him from the resolution he had adopted.[1355] Every attempt to dissuade him was in vain, and the young man fled privately to this lofty mountain, where, in the observance of celibacy and strict abstinence, he at length terminated

terminated his mortal career.[1356] By the idolaters he is regarded as a saint. The father, distracted with the most poignant grief, caused an image to be formed of gold and precious stones, bearing the resemblance of his son, and required that all the inhabitants of the island should honour and worship it as a deity. Such was the origin of the worship of idols in that country; but *Sogomon-barchan* is still regarded as superior to every other. In consequence of this belief, people flock from various distant parts, in pilgrimage to the mountain on which he was buried. Some of his hair, his teeth, and the bason he made use of, are still preserved, and shewn with much ceremony. The Saracens, on the other hand, maintain that these belonged to the prophet Adam, and are in like manner led by devotion to visit the mountain.[1357]

It happened that in the year 1281, the Grand *khan* heard from certain Saracens who had been upon the spot, the fame of these relics belonging to our first parent, and felt so strong a desire to possess them, that he was induced to send an embassy to demand them of the king of Zeilan. After a long and tedious journey, his ambassadors at length reached the place of their destination, and obtained from the king two large back-teeth, together with some of the hair, and a handsome vessel of porphyry.[1358] When the Grand *khan* received intelligence of the approach of the messengers, on their return with such valuable curiosities, he ordered all the people of *Kanbalu* to march out of the city to meet them, and they were conducted to his presence with great pomp and solemnity.[1359] Having mentioned these particulars respecting the mountain of *Zeilan*, we shall return to the kingdom of *Maabar*, and speak of the city of *Kael*.

NOTES.

1352. It is remarkable that this chapter, in which our author interrupts the course of his description, and steps back to notice a circumstance respecting the island of *Zielan* or Ceylon, which he had omitted on a former occasion, is not found either in the early Italian epitomes or in the Basle edition: yet there is nothing in the matter or the style that exhibits any mark of its being apocryphal.

1353. It

1353. It is not uncommon to suppose that the lofty and remarkable mountain in Ceylon, known by the name of Adam's Peak, acquired that appellation from the Portuguese or other European navigators; but we have indubitable evidence that however designated by the Singalese or their Hindu neighbours, the Mahometans, from an early period, connected it with the name and legend of the prophet Adam. "Au delà de ces isles," says the Arabian traveller of the ninth century, "dans la mer de Herkend est *Serendib* ou Ceylan... Elle est toute entourée de la "mer, et il y a des endroits de sa coste, où on pesche les perles. On trouve plus "avant dans les terres une montagne appellée *Rahoun*, sur laquelle on croid "qu' Adam est monté, et qu'il a laissé un vestige de son pied sur une roche, au "haut de la mesme montagne." Anc. Relat. p. 3. By Abulfeda it is spoken of in nearly the same terms: "Insula *Sarandib*, aut ut alii efferunt Sancadib (i. e. "*Lanca-dib)* quasi sic Indi efferent, habet, &c. Pervadit eam mons magnus sub "ipso æquatore, *or-Rahun* dictus, in quem decidisse asserunt Adamum ex para- "diso." Tab. xvi. Insulæ maris orientalis. Büsching iv. Theil, p. 297. According to Sale, "the Mahometans say, that when they were cast down from paradise, "Adam fell on the island of Ceylon or *Serendib*, and Eve near *Joddah* in Arabia." The Koran, p. 5. Note. In a Malayan translation of the Hindu poem called the *Ramayana* (in my possession), there is a passage to the same effect, in the following words: "*Maka kata tuan putri seti dewi hei hanuman pergi-lah angkau naïk* "*ka-atas gunong serendib de-sana-sana ada suatu batu itam tampat adam turun deri-* "*dalam surga.*" "Then said the princess *Seti Dewi*, O *Hanuman*, go thou and "ascend the mountain of Serendib, upon which there is a black stone, the spot "where Adam alighted in his descent from heaven."

1354. By the holy personage here described is meant *Buddha*, the founder of the religious system of the Singalese, who amongst a number of appellations given to him, from his supposed attributes, is most commonly known by that of *Saka* or *Sakya-muni*, signifying the "astute sage." "Boodh, who first taught "this religion" says the Ayin Akbari "has various names, and amongst them "*Shakmun* and *Shakmuny*." Vol. iii, p. 157. To this our author has annexed the word *barchan*, for *burchan*, signifying the "deity," in the language of the Mungal Tartars; and there seems little reason to doubt that by the emperor *Kublaï* and his court, who, equally with the people of Ceylon, acknowledged the divinity of *Buddha*, he was styled *Saka-muni-burchan*, here corrupted to *Sogo-mon-barchan*.

Of his worship in this island we have ample testimony. "There is another "great god," says Knox, after speaking of the Creator of heaven and earth, "whom they call Buddou, unto whom the salvation of souls belongs. Him they "believe once to have come upon the earth... He departed from the earth from "the top of the highest mountain on the island, called Pico Adam: where there

"is

BOOK III. CHAP. XXIII. Notes.

" is an impression like a foot, which they say is his." Relation of Ceylon, p. 72. " Ils ont des idoles de différentes figures," says Ribeyro, " mais il y en a une " qui est au dessus de toutes les autres, qu'ils appellent *Budu*, pour laquelle ils " ont une très-grande vénération. Ils la représentent sous la figure d'un homme, " mais d'une taille gigantesque. Ils tiennent par tradition que cette homme a " demeuré long-tems dans l'ile de Ceylan, et qu'il a mené une vie très-pénitente " et très-sainte." Histoire de l'Ile de Ceylan, p. 112. " It is generally believed," says Cordiner, " that there exists upon the top of it (Adam's Peak) a carved " stone, called an impression of the foot of Buddha, in some respects similar to " those in the kingdoms of Ava and Siam." Description of Ceylon, vol. i, p. 8. Hence it appears that what the Mahometans believe respecting *Adam*, is by the Indians attributed to *Buddha*.

1355. According to some accounts, and those entitled to the most consideration, his birth-place was *Gaya* in the province of *Bahár*; according to others, *Kashmir*; but authorities (if such they can be termed) are not wanting for his being a native of Ceylon. " Le père de *Sommonocodom* " (says M. La Loubere, speaking of the object of worship in Siam, who is unquestionably the *Buddha* or *Sakya-muni* of other parts of the East) " étoit, selon ce même livre, Bali, un roy de *Teve* " *Lancà*, c'est à dire un roy de la célèbre Ceylan." Du Royaume de Siam, t. i, p. 525. " Pour ce qui concerne la personne de *Xaca*," says la Croze, " dont " l'idole a été nommée *Foë* après son apothéose, il est originaire des Indes, et, " selon le sentiment le mieux établi, il est né dans l'ile de Ceylan." Hist. du Christianisme des Indes, p. 505.

1356. There is a degree of minute correctness in this account of the father's endeavours to allure his son from the life of retirement to which he had devoted himself, that will not a little surprise the reader, when he compares it with a passage in the " Account of the Incarnation of Boodhŭ " translated from the Burman language by Mr. F. Carey, and recently given to the world, at Serampore in Bengal, by Mr. W. Ward, of the Baptist Mission, in his " View of the history, " literature, and religion of the Hindoos." " The king, reflecting &c. said, " ' O Son! I will bestow upon thee the elephant-drivers, the charioteers, the " ' horsemen, and arrayed footmen, with delightful horses: I will also give thee " ' the maidens adorned with all sorts of ornaments; raise up progeny by them, " ' and thou shalt become our sovereign. Virgins well versed in dancing and " ' singing, and perfected in the four accomplishments, shall delight thee with " ' their attractions. What dost thou in this wilderness? ' " " To shew his dis- " regard of the kingdom, *Mŭha-sŭtwŭ* (*Maha-satwa*, the great saint) replied, " ' O Sire! why temptest thou me with perishing wealth, dying (mortal) beauty, " ' and youthful bloom? O king! what is love, the pleasant look, present delight,

" ' anxiety

" ' anxiety in pursuit of wealth, sons, and daughters, and wives, to me who am " ' released from the bonds of iniquity? I know that death will not forget me; " ' therefore of what use are pleasures and riches? ... Return, return, O king! " ' I have no desire for the kingdom.'" P. 407–409. " In the manner and " precisely at the time predicted by the astrologers " says the *Ayin Akbari* " it " came to pass that he turned his mind from the affairs of the world, and made " choice of a life of retirement." " He died at the age of one hundred and " twenty years." Vol. iii, p. 157.

1357. These pilgrimages have been noticed by many travellers. " Nel mezzo " di questa insula," says Barbosa, " vi è un' altissima montagna, in cima della " quale si vede un sasso assai alto, ed ivi vicino un stagno d'acqua chiara che di " continuo risorge: nel detto sasso è fatta la forma delli piedi d'un' huomo che " gl'Indiani dicono esser la pedata del nostro primo padre Adam, che essi " chiamano Adam Baba, et de tutte quelle parti et regni vengono i Mori in " peregrinnaggio, dicendo che di li ascese in cielo il padre Adam; e vanno vestiti " in habito di peregrini." P. 314. Mr. Duncan, in his historical remarks on the coast of Malabar, speaking of the conversion of a king of that country (during the life time of Mahomet) says, on the authority of a native historian, " that it " was effected by a company of dervises from Arabia, who touched at Crungloor " or Cranganore (then the seat of government in Malabar) on their voyage to " visit the *Footstep* of *Adam*, on that mountain in Ceylon which mariners distin- " guish by the name of Adam's Peak." In a Note he adds: " This Footstep of " Adam is, under the name of *Sreepud* or the " holy foot," equally reverenced and " resorted to by the *Hindus*." Asiat. Res. vol. v, p. 9. With regard to the arti- cles shewn, it is matter of course, that where there is a popular shrine there must be relics to gratify, by imposing on, ignorant credulity.

1358. It is not stated that this extraordinary embassy proceeded to India by sea. Its route must therefore have been either through the province of *Yun-nan* to Ben- gal, or by the way of Tibet, to Hindustan and the peninsula. So extensive at that time were the dominions of the Moghul Tartar family, that even in the ordi- nary transaction of political business, their people were accustomed to the per- formance of journies of great distance and duration. In regard to its object it is not without its parallel in the histories of other countries.

It appears that one at least of these sacred teeth escaped the cupidity of *Kublaï*, or was subsequently restored to the king of Ceylon, from whose descendant it was wrested at so late a period as the Portuguese conquest of the island: but as a relic of *Buddha* (or perhaps of *Hanumân*) and not of Adam. " Ad insulæ " Ceilani regem " says P. Couplet " dens unus dono missus (he does not mention " from what quarter): quem deinde Constantinus Brigantini ducis frater, dum res

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" et arma Lusitanorum in India procurat, cætera inter spolia fortè captum flammis " tradi jussit, ac redactum in cineres in profluentem dispergi, immensâ vi auri, " quam ei redemendo per legatum suum rex barbarus offerebat, Christiano regi- " oque animo contemptâ. Quod antem dicatur à Maffeo cæterisque nostratibus " historicis, simiæ cujusdam, quæ magnâ superstitione coleretur, eum dentem " fuisse, non errori tribuendum est; sed quod nefarius ille dæmon, cum aliis " atque aliis formis ac nominibus alibi colatur, tum in eis terris, unde Lusitani " dentem sustulerunt simiæ figura in veneratione sit." Confucius Sinarum philos. Proem. Declar. p. xxix.

359. This ceremonious introduction of a relic to the palace of the emperor, is likewise not a new circumstance in the Chinese annals. " L'année quatorzième " de son regne (says Du Halde, speaking of the seventeenth prince of the dynasty " of the *Tang)* il fit porter avec pompe dans son palais, un os de l'idole *Foë*." T. i, p. 456.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the city of Kael.

CHAP. XXIV. *Kael* is a considerable city,[1360] governed by *Astiar*, one of the four brothers, kings of the country of *Maabar*, who is rich in gold and jewels, and preserves his country in a state of profound peace.[1361] On this account it is a favourite place of resort for foreign merchants, who are well received and treated by the king. Accordingly all the ships coming from the west, as from *Ormus*, *Chisti*, *Adem*, and various parts of Arabia, laden with merchandise and horses, make this port, which is besides well situated for commerce.[1362] The prince maintains in the most splendid manner not fewer than three hundred women.

All the people of this city, as well as the natives of India in general, are addicted to the custom of having continually in their mouths the leaf called *tembul;* which they do, partly from habit and partly from the gratification it affords.[1363] Upon chewing it they spit out the saliva to which it gives occasion. Persons of rank have the leaf prepared with

with camphor and other aromatic drugs, and also with a mixture of quick lime.[1364] I have been told that it is extremely conducive to health. If it is an object with any man to affront another in the grossest and most contemptuous manner, he spits the juice of this masticated leaf in his face. Thus insulted, the injured party hastens to the presence of the king, states the circumstances of his grievance, and declares his willingness to decide the quarrel by combat. The king thereupon furnishes them with arms, consisting of a sword and small shield; and all the people assemble to be spectators of the conflict, which lasts till one of them remains dead on the field. They are, however, forbidden to wound with the point of the sword.[1365]

NOTES.

1360. In the *Tamul* language the word *Kael* or *Koil* signifies a temple, and forms the terminating syllable in the names of several places in the southern part of the peninsula. It was also, preeminently, the name of a considerable town and port of trade, in what we now term the *Tinevelly* country, not many miles from *Tutacorin*. Its situation may be seen in the map prefixed to Valentyn's Beschryving van Choromandel (vol. v.), where its ancient consequence is denoted by the addition of the word *patnam*; but having disappeared in modern maps, we may conclude that *Kael-patnam* no longer exists, even as a town; yet in Dalrymple's collection of Plans of Ports we find one (from Van Keulen) which lays down the situation not only of *Cayl-patnam*, but also of *Porto Cayl*, and of a place termed old *Cayl*.

1361. It would seem that the king of *Narsinga* or *Telingana* placed the southern provinces of his extensive dominions under the immediate rule of his several brothers, who exercised the full authority of kings within their respective territories. The name of *Astiar* is probably a corruption, but the imperfect remains of Hindu annals that have come to our knowledge, afford little chance of ascertaining the genuine orthography. It will appear that at a subsequent period this part of the country was wrested from the kings of *Narsinga* by those of *Koulam* or *Kolam*, on the Malabar coast.

1362. Barbosa, who visited this place about the beginning of the sixteenth century, speaks of it in the following terms. "Lasciando questa isola di Zeilam, "e tornando sopra terra ferma, dove volta capo Cumeri si trova subito la terra

" del re di Coulam e di altri signori che gli sono soggetti, e vivono in quella la " qual si chiama Quilacare (the *Kilkare* of Rennell and *Kilkerry* of Cordiner). " Vi sono molti gran luochi habitati da gentili, con molti porti di mare... A questi " porti vengono li Mori di Malabar à contrattare, e portar mercantie da Cambaia, " che quivi vagliono molto, ed alcuni cavalli, e carieano gran quantità di riso, e " panni, per Malabar." " Passata la provincia di Quilacare, avanti per la costa " verso il vento di greco vi è un altra città che si chiama Cael, quale è del re di " Coulam, popolata da Gentili e Mori gran mercatanti, ed è porto di mare, dove " ogni anno capitano molte navi di Malabar, di Coromandel, di Bengala... Le " genti di questà città sono valenti gioiellieri, e che attendono alla mercantia di " perle minute, perchè quivi se ne pigliano gran quantità, e questa pescagione " è del re di Coulam." " Molte volte detto re suole haver guerra col re di Nar- " singa, che gli vuol torre lo stato, ma si difende molto bene." Fol. *314-2, 315.* It has been already observed that by *Chisti* or *Chisi* is meant the island of *Kês* or *Keish*, in the Persian gulf, to which the commerce of *Siraf* had been transferred.

1363. On the subject of masticating *betel*, see Note 1343, where it will appear that the opinion of Grose with respect to the motive for the practice (gratification of the palate, accompanied with a slight exhilaration of spirits) nearly corresponds with that of our author. We here find the leaf called by its true Persian name, *tembul* تنبول.

1364. Besides the ordinary ingredients it is not unusual to mix in the composition, cardamoms, *gutta gambir*, and other articles of a pungent and aromatic flavour, but I am not aware, nor is it probable from the qualities of the drug, that camphor is ever employed in this manner. It may therefore be suspected that there has been a substitution of the name of one article of the composition for another, and it is to be observed that in the Malayan language (which was more familiar to the traders of the coast of Coromandel, in early times, than it is at present) the word *kapûr* (the kafur كافور of the Arabs) is applied not only to camphor, but also to lime (*calx viva*), which is an essential ingredient in the preparation of *betel*.

1365. The circumstances of this juridical practice of duelling are particularly detailed by Barbosa, in speaking of Batacala, a place on the opposite coast of Malabar, near *Onore*. " In questo regno " he says " costumano molto lo sfidarsi " a combattere, e per ogni minima cosa che accade tra loro: e subito il re da lor " il campo, l'armi, ed assegna il tempo, ed anco gli da i padrini, che favorisca " ciascuno il suo campione...Le loro armi sono spada e targa d'una medesima " misura, che gli da il re, e con grande allegrezza entrano in campo che è serrato, " havendo prima fatte le loro orationi, e cominciano a menar con gran destrazza " i colpi,

" i colpi, ma non di punta, perche è prohibito; dura questo lor combattere sin " tanto ch'un di loro, ò tutti duoi rimanghino morti in presentia del re, e di tutto " il popolo." Fol. 300. The only reason for prohibiting the striking with the point, seems to have been, that the combat might be protracted, and the greater amusement afforded to the spectators.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the kingdom of Koulam.

Upon leaving *Maabar* and proceeding five hundred miles towards the south-west, you arrive at the kingdom of *Koulam*.[1366] It is the residence of many Christians and Jews, who retain their proper language.[1367] The king is not tributary to any other. Much good sappan-wood grows there,[1368] and pepper in great abundance, being found both in the woody and the open parts of the country. It is gathered in the months of May, June, and July; and the vines which produce it are cultivated in plantations.[1369] Indigo also, of excellent quality and in large quantities, is made here. They procure it from an herbaceous plant, which is taken up by the roots and put into tubs of water, where it is suffered to remain till it rots: when they press out the juice. This upon being exposed to the sun, and evaporated, leaves a kind of paste, which is cut into small pieces of the form in which we see it brought to us.[1370]

The heat during some months is so violent as to be scarcely supportable,[1371] yet the merchants resort thither from various parts of the world, such, for instance, as the kingdom of *Manji* and Arabia,[1372] attracted by the great profits they obtain both upon the merchandise they import and upon their returning cargoes. Many of the animals found here are different from those of other parts. There are tigers entirely black,[1373] and various birds of the parrot kind, some of them as white as snow with the feet and the beak red, others whose colours are a mixture of red and azure, and others of a diminutive size. The peacocks also are handsomer and larger than ours, as well as of a different

different form, and even the domestic fowls have a peculiar appearance.[1374] The same observation will apply to the fruits. The cause of such diversity, it is said, is the intense heat that prevails in these regions. Wine is made from the sugar yielded by a species of palm. It is extremely good, and inebriates faster than the wine made from grapes.[1375] The inhabitants possess abundance of every thing necessary for the food of man excepting grain, of which there is no other kind than rice; but of this the quantity is very great. Among them are many astrologers and physicians, well versed in their art. All the people, both male and female, are black, and with the exception of a small piece of cloth attached to the front of their bodies, they go quite naked.[1376] Their manners are extremely sensual, and they take as wives their relations by blood, their mothers-in-law, upon the death of their fathers, and the widows of their deceased brothers.[1377] But this, as I have been informed, is the state of morals in every part of India.

NOTES.

1366. *Koulam* or *Kolam*, the *Coulan* of our maps, was a place of much celebrity when India was first visited by the Portuguese, who received assistance from its princes against the king of *Calicut*, or the *Samorin* as he was styled. In modern times its importance, as a place of trade, seems to be lost in that of *Anjengo*, in its neighbourhood. The name signifies a tank, pool, or bason, in the Tamul language. "Caulam est, ut ait Saidi filius, in extremis terris piperis "in orientem, unde navi eatur Adanam." Abilfedæ Geographia, p. 274. "Col- "*lam*," says Paolino, "malamente scritto *Coelan*, *Coilon* e *Coulan* dagli Europei, "giace sotto il grado nono di latitudine, città celebre nei tempi passati, fondata "nell' 825 dell' era Christiana, dalla di cui fondazione i Malabaresi Gentili e "Christiani fissano la loro era civile." P. 75. The distance from *Kael*, however, is more nearly two hundred than five hundred miles.

1367. "Andando avanti sopra la medesimo costa verso mezzo di," says Barbosa "vi è un porto principal di mare con una città, che si chiama Coulan, nel qual "vivono molti Mori, Gentili, e Christiani, che sono grandissimi mercatanti, e "hanno molte navi." Fol. 312-2. No mention is here made of Jews, but it is well known that colonies of that nation have been settled, from an early period, on the Malabar coast, principally in the city of *Cochin*. "Gli Ebrei, i Baniani e li

"*Cettes*

" *Cettes* o Canarini, i Muhamedani," says Paolino, speaking of the latter place " vi hanno molti magazeni." P. 83. Barbosa also, in his account of Crangalor, near Cochin, says, " Habitano in quello Gentili, Mori, Indiani, Giudei, Chris- " tiani della dottrina di San Tomaso." Fol. 311-2.

1368. " Narravit mihi aliquis qui eo suscepit iter. . .ibi esse arborem ol Bakkami " (seu Brasillam) cujus lignum simile sit ligno granati mali." Abilfedæ Geographia, p. 274. Sandal-wood is more frequently mentioned as the produce of the mountains in the interior of the country.

1369. " Nasce in questo luogo " says Barbosa, speaking of Koulam " molto " pepe, del quale se ne caricano molte navi." Fol. 312-2. It would be superfluous to multiply authorities for the purpose of shewing that pepper is cultivated in the Travancore country, within which *Koulam* is situated. Our author is mistaken, however, in regard to the seasons, as on the Malabar coast the pepper-vine flowers about the month of June, and the berries ripen in December.

1370. A tolerably correct account is here given of the rude process of manufacturing indigo. The plant itself grows, and is made use of as a dye-stuff in almost every part of India. The word is *endigo* in Ramusio and the epitomes, and *eudici* (for *endici*) in the Basle edition.

1371. The nature of the climate is well described by Paolino in the following words: " L'aria dei *Malabar* è salubre, calda, umidetta, eccetuato negli eccessivi caldi, che sogliono essere nell' Aprile e Maggio prima che entri l'inverno, o " il tempo delle pioggie, le quali incominciano verso i quindici di Giugno, e " finiscono dopo i venti di Agosto. In quelli caldi l'aria si rarefà all' eccesso, e " renderebbe questo paese inabitabile se non ci fossero tanti fiumi, e un venticello " periodico, che vien ogni giorno dall' alto mare nelle ore le più calde, e rinfresca " e purifica il clima." P. 71.

1372. At the present day, and since the period of modern acquaintance with the seas of India, it has rarely happened that vessels from southern China (the *Manji* of our author) have been seen to the westward of the straits of Malacca and Sunda; yet there are strong grounds for believing that in earlier times the Chinese did (reciprocally with the Arabians) trade, not only to the peninsula of India, but also to the Persian gulf. This was the deliberate opinion of Dr. Robertson, who had studied the subject: see Historical Disquisitions, &c. p. 95. The Arabian travellers of the ninth century leave it in some measure doubtful whether the ships employed in the trade between *Siraf* and Canton, might not have been wholly Arabian, although called in Renaudot's translation " vaisseaux Chinois,"

as

BOOK III. CHAP. XXV. Notes.

as we term those employed in the same trade, China ships: but the authority of Edrisi, who wrote in the twelfth century, is direct to the point. "Ex ipsa" he says of a port in *Yemen* "solvuntur navigia Sindæ, Indiæ, et Sinarum, et ad "ipsam deferuntur vasa Sinica." Geographia, p. 25. Of the fact we have a corroboration on the part of the Chinese themselves. "Nous trouvons" says the elder De Guignes "dans les annales Chinoises des viie. et viiie. siècles, une "route par mer depuis la Chine jusqu'à l'embouchure de l'Euphrate. Les "vaisseaux partoient de *Kuang-tcheou*, aujourd'hui Canton, où les Arabes avoient "un comptoir très-considérable: cette route est très-bien suivie jusqu'à l'île de "Ceylan; le temps que l'on emploie pour aller d'un lieu à l'autre est indiqué. "Ceylan, dit on, est situé au midi du *Tien-tço* méridional, c'est-à-dire de l'Inde; "de-là en suivant la côte occidentale on passoit devant le pays de *Molai* ou de "Malabar, ensuite vers le nord-ouest on côtoyoit dix petits royaumes, qui con-"duisoient aux frontières occidentales du pays des Brahmes, &c." Mém. de Littérat. t. xxxii, p. 367.

To these authorities I may add the assertion of a respectable friend that he has himself seen a Chinese vessel, navigated by Chinese, on the coast of Coromandel, and has often met them in the China sea (fully as perilous as that of India) quite out of sight of, and at a great distance from land. It appears indeed that the spirit of commercial enterprise, as well of the Chinese as of the other eastern people, was materially checked by the domineering conduct of the Portuguese, who, whilst their influence prevailed, seem to have been engaged in a state of general warfare with infidels of all descriptions, whether Moors or Gentiles, whose ships they stopped and plundered, without any regard to the law of nations.

1373. It has already been noticed that our author on all occasions applies the name of *lion* to the tiger or the *leo*-pard, and of such, although the word is *leoni* in the text, he means to speak on this occasion. Of the existence of black tigers or leopards, there is no doubt, as one, lately brought from Bengal, is now (1817) exhibiting in London; but whether a distinct species, or accidental variety, I cannot determine. Paolino, in his chapter on the animals of Malabar, says: "Il *puli* o la tigre commune Malabarese ha la pelle gialletta tendente all'oscuro "sulla schiena con varie tacche negre. La pantera Malabarica dei monti di "Ghattes è qual tigre reale, ma di pelo negro tendente al color di castagne." Viaggio, p. 152.

1374. The birds here described may perhaps be intended for the *kokatua*, *lury*, and paroquet; although the former are not natives of the place at which he saw them. Peacocks have been already mentioned (in Note 1324) as a common bird in

in India. Of domestic fowls there are some species of a much larger size than those bred in Europe. See Hist. of Sumatra, ed. 3, p. 125.

1375. What our author terms wine in this place is properly an ardent spirit, distilled from the coarse, imperfectly granulated sugar called *jaggri* or *jagory*, which is itself an inspissation of the juice (*tari* or toddy) drawn from the borassus flabelliformis, vulgarly called the *brab* palm in the peninsula of India. "In "questa terra" says Barbosa "si fanno vini in diverse maniere, e principal- "mente del zucchero di palma, e d'alcune altre cose che nascono nel paese. "Questi tali vini piacciono marabilmente alle donne, e sono infra loro molto "usati." Fol. 316.

1376. "Il popolo minuto" says Lodovico Barthema, speaking of the subjects of the king of *Narsinga* "vanno tutti nudi, salvo che intorno le parti inhoneste, "portano un panno." Fol. 159-2 "These higher ranks of people in *Malayala* "(Malabar) use very little clothing, but they are remarkably clean in their "persons." Buchanan, vol. ii, p. 353. "The women of these countries" says Grose "are not allowed to cover any part of their breasts, to the naked display "of which they annex no idea of immodesty." Vol. i, p. 244.

1377. However sensual the manners in general of these people may be, I find no direct proof of incestuous marriages amongst them; but it is probable that some confusion and mistake on this subject may have arisen from certain extraordinary customs peculiar to them, and especially to the class of *nairs*, who follow, for the most part, the profession of arms. According to these, it is the nephew by the eldest sister, and not the son, who succeeds to the property of the father, or, in the royal family, to the crown: a practice connected with another of a licentious character, that will be best explained in the words of Dr. F. Buchanan. "Having "assembled the most respectable of the *Nairs* in this neighbourhood," says this intelligent observer, "they gave me the following account of their customs. "The *Nair*, or in the plural the *Naimar*, are the pure *Súdras* of *Malayala*, and "all pretend to be born soldiers; but they are of various ranks and professions." "The *Nairs* marry before they are ten years of age...; but the husband never "afterwards cohabits with his wife. Such a circumstance indeed would be con- "sidered as very indecent. He allows her oil, clothing, ornaments, and food; "but she lives in her mother's house, or after her parents' death, with her bro- "thers, and cohabits with any person that she chooses of an equal or higher rank "than her own. If detected in bestowing her favours on any low man, she "becomes an outcast. It is no kind of reflection on a woman's character to say, "that she has formed the closest intimacy with many persons; on the contrary, "the *Nair* women are proud of reckoning among their favoured lovers many

" *Brâhmans*, *Rájás*, and other persons of high birth." " In consequence of this " strange manner of propagating the species, no *Nair* knows his father; and " every man looks upon his sisters' children as his heirs. He, indeed, looks " upon them with the same fondness that fathers in other parts of the world have " for their own children." " A man's mother manages his family; and after her " death his eldest sister assumes the direction. Brothers almost always live under " the same roof; but, if one of the family separates from the rest, he is always " accompanied by his favourite sister." Journey from Madras, &c. vol. ii, p. 408—412. In such a domestic arrangement it is not surprising that a traveller, who had not the means of close investigation, should suspect an incestuous intercourse.

Although it is not necessary that Dr. Buchanan's authority should be corroborated by any other, yet, for the credit of an early writer whom I have frequently had occasion to quote, I shall observe that Barbosa gives circumstantially the same account, but seems to confine the custom to the royal line. " Gli heredi di " detto re " he says " sono suoi nepoti, figliuoli di sue sorelle, perche questi " tengono per loro successori, sapendo che nascono del ventre di lor sorelle, le " quali non si maritano, nè hanno mariti certi, per esser molto libere, ed essenti " di poter far del corpo loro ciò che vogliono." Fol. 304-2. Grose, on the other hand, makes it general to the whole class of *nairs*, and concludes his remarks with saying: " It is owing however to the doubtful paternity, which such a practice " must necessarily create, that inheritances descend by the females, and that the " nepotism by the sister's side constantly takes place, in quality of the surest " proximity of blood." Vol. i, p. 243.

If I may hazard a conjecture on a subject to which many others are more competent, I should say that this extraordinary custom has its source in the peculiar situation of the *nairs* with respect to *caste*. Standing as they do in the place of the *kshetriyas*, or *rajaputras* who affect to be *kshetriyas*, they are yet avowedly no other than *sudras* or persons of the third grand division of Hindus, and such, in point of estimation they must have remained had their marriages been contracted, in the regular way, with equals or inferiors; but by this mode of succession in the line of their nephews, whose fathers are generally brahmans (for the women may chuse a connexion from amongst their superiors, although the men cannot) the race is progressively meliorated, and each individual, at the present day, must have in his veins much more of brahmanical than of baser blood. That this improvement can elevate them to a higher caste, is not presumed, as it would be contrary to the original principle of separation, but it must be allowed to have a tendency to increase the popular respect for their persons, and to establish them as the virtual representatives of the ancient, exterminated *khsetriyas*, for whom they have been commonly mistaken by Europeans.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of Kumari.

Kumari[1378] is a province where a part of our northern constellation, invisible at *Java* and to within about thirty miles of this place, may be just seen, and where it appears to be the height of a cubit above the horizon.[1379] The country is not much cultivated being chiefly covered with forests, which are the abode of a variety of beasts, especially apes, so formed and of such a size as to have the appearance of men.[1380] There are also long-tailed monkies, very different from the former in respect to magnitude. Tigers, leopards, and lynxes abound.

NOTES.

1378. *Kumari* or, as it appears in the Latin version, *Comari*, is the correct name of the extreme southern promontory of India, mentioned by Ptolemy as the Κομαρια ἄκρον promontarium Komariæ, and called by modern Europeans Cape *Comorin*. In the course of our author's route from the eastern to the western coast of the peninsula, this place ought to have been noticed before the city of *Koulam*, an inacuracy that may have arisen from the transposition of detached materials.

1379. In some parts of the work *la tramontana*, or *nostra tramontana*, appears to denote, as it properly should, the north polar star, but in others, the constellation of the Great Bear. Being here described as *partly* visible, the latter must of course be understood, and our author's unscientific remark can be explained only on the supposition that *ursa major* was below the horizon, at night, during most part of the time employed in his navigation of these seas; which is the case in low latitudes, for about six months of the year. This solution may be equally applied to a passage in Pliny (lib. vi, cap. 24), where it is said that a navigator who had been driven into the Indian ocean and landed at *Hippuri* in the island of Taprobane, reported on his return to Rome, that the septemtrio or Great Bear was not visible on the island. But if, on the other hand, his observation was meant to apply to the polar star itself, the expression might be taken in this sense: that although invisible from *Java* minor, yet when within a few miles of

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Cape *Comorin* (in latitude 8°), it was occasionally distinguishable at a small height above the horizon; where a star of the third magnitude is not readily seen, unless the atmosphere in that part be more clear than it is in common. The mode of estimating its altitude by cubits or fathoms, instead of degrees, however rude, appears, from the travels of Cada Mosto in the fifteenth century, to have been then still in use. "Nelli giorni che noi stemmo sopra la bocca di questo "fiume" speaking of a place on the coast of Africa, "non vedemmo piu che "una volta la tramontana, e ne pareva molto bassa sopra il mare: e però la "convenivamo vedere con tempo molto chiaro, e ne pareva sopra il mare l'altezza "di *una lancia*." Ramusio, vol. i, p. 107.

1380. The worship of *Hanuman*, a rational and very amusing ape, of the Hindu mythology, who, with an army of his own species, assisted *Rama* in the conquest of Ceylon, after having rescued his wife *Sita* from the power of *Ravana*, its tyrant, by whom she had been carried off, has produced a feeling of veneration for the whole race, but particularly for those of the larger class, whose form approaches nearest to the human. The consequence of this superstition is, that the breed, being unmolested, multiply exceedingly, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants of villages. It has been conjectured with much plausibility, that the monkies of *Rama's* army were in fact the half-savage mountaineers of the country near Cape Comorin.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the kingdom of Dely.

CHAP. XXVII.

LEAVING the province of *Kumari* and proceeding westward three hundred miles, you reach the kingdom of *Dely*, which has its proper king and peculiar language.[1381] It does not pay tribute to any other state. The people worship idols. There is no harbour for shipping, but a large river with a safe entrance.[1382] The strength of the country does not consist in the multitude of its inhabitants, nor in their bravery, but in the difficulty of the passes by which it must be approached, and which render its invasion by an enemy nearly impossible.[1383] It produces large quantities of pepper and ginger, with many other articles of spicery.[1384] Should a vessel be accidentally driven within the mouth

of

of its river, not having intended to make that port, they seize and confiscate all the goods she may have on board, saying: "It was your "intention to have gone elsewhere, but our gods have conducted you "to us, in order that we may possess your property."[1385] The ships from *Manji* arrive here before the expiration of the fine-weather season, and endeavour to get their cargoes shipped in the course of a week, or a shorter time if possible; the roadsted being unsafe in consequence of sand banks along the coast, which often prove dangerous, however well provided they may be with large wooden anchors, calculated for riding out hard gales of wind.[1386] The country is infested with tigers and many other ferocious animals.

NOTES.

1381. The *Dely* of Ramusio's text, which in the Basle edition is *Eli*, in the older Latin, *Hely*, and in the early Venice epitome, *Elli*, is the Mount *Dilla* of the English, and *Delli* of the Dutch maps, in the latitude of about 12° N., where, according to Paolino, who names it Monte *D'Illi*, the country of Malabar or Malayala terminates, and that of *Kanara* commences. Buchanan, however, extends the boundary of the former to the *Chandra-giri* river, about half a degree further north than M. *Dilla*, which he describes as "a hill separated from the "continent by salt water creeks, and forming on the coast a remarkable promon- "tory, the native name of which" he observes "is extremely harsh, and can "hardly be pronounced by an European, or expressed in our characters. It is "somewhat like *Yesay Malay*." Vol. ii, p. 559.

1382. The river here noticed is one that discharges itself immediately to the southward of M. *Dilla*, not far from *Cananore*, after running through the country of the *Cherical* or *Colastry rajas*, whose kingdom flourished at the period of which our author speaks. "It derives its name" says Buchanan "from a town called "*Valya-pattanam*." "At the mouth it is very wide, and immediately within "the bar divides into two branches, both navigable in boats to a considerable "distance." P. 555. "Sigue *Baliapatnam* o *Valiapatnam*" says Paolino "*Valia* "grande, *patnam* città, cosichè *Valiapatnam* gran città, oggidì un borgo oscuro, "anticamente insigne mercato, città e porto, che vi fu formato da un fiume che "vi sbocca in mare, ma oggidì mezzo chiuso. Questa città e porto è il *Balepatna* "di Tolemeo, e *Palepatna* di Arriano." P. 90.

1383. "La

1383. "La montagna," says Barbosa, speaking of the *Ghats*, "e molto aspera "e difficile, che pare che vada fin al cielo: e non vi si può montare, se non per "alcune parti, e con difficultà, che è causa di gran fortezza alli Malabari, con- "ciosia cosa che se non vi fosse questa difficultà d'entrar nel lor paese, già il re "di *Narsinga* gli haveria soggiogati." Fol. 300-2. The opinion of our author is still more particularly confirmed by that of Paolino, who says: "Questo paese "... è quasi inespugnabile, essendo coperto da alte montagne, e tutto tagliato "da'fiumi, che impediscono la cavalleria, il passo delle truppe, il tragitto veloce "d'un esercito, e la permanenza sicura d'un inimico che non è pratico del paese. "Questo è il vero motivo per cui giammai fu conquistato." P. 71 "The *rájás* of "Malabar" observes Buchanan "do not seem to have ever trusted to fortifica- "tions for the defence of their country." P. 462.

1384. After a circumstantial account of the mode of cultivating pepper in these districts, Dr. Buchanan proceeds to say: "In the gardens of this neighbourhood "much ginger and turmeric are cultivated." "The ginger intended for sale is "scraped with a knife to remove the outer skin; and having been sprinkled with "the ashes of cow-dung, is spread out on mats, and dried eight or ten days; when "it is fit for sale." P. 469. Cardamoms are also an article of produce.

1385. Although this particular species of plunder is not ascribed to him, it is consistent with the principles and conduct of "a formidable prince" mentioned by Hamilton, whose dominions lay on the part of the coast of which we are now speaking. He was visited by that active navigator, but not very scrupulous merchant, about the year 1720, and by his hospitality on the occasion, gained an apologist. "This prince and his predecessors" says the Captain "have been "lords of the seas, time out of mind, and all trading vessels between Cape "*Comorin* and *Damaan* were obliged to carry his passes." "He keeps some "light gallies, that row and sail very well, which cruize along the coast, from "October to May, to make prize of all who have not his pass." Vol. i, p. 299. He styles him the *Ballanore Burgarie* (from the place which is named *Barragurry* or Vadacurray) and observes that his country produces pepper and the best cardamoms in the world.

1386. The circumstances of the anchorage here described are the same at *Tellicherry*, *Mahé*, and *Anjengo*, from whence the pepper for Europe is put on board the East India Company's ships, in the open road, where they not unfrequently part their cables. With respect to the trade from *Manji*, see Note 1372.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of Malabar.

Malabar is an extensive kingdom of the Greater India, situated towards the west; concerning which I must not omit to relate some particulars.[1387] The people are governed by their own king, who is independent of every other state, and they have their proper language. In this country the north star is seen about two fathoms above the horizon.[1388] As well here, as in the kingdom of *Guzzerat*, which is not far distant, there are numerous pirates, who yearly scour these seas with more than one hundred small vessels, seizing and plundering all the merchant ships that pass that way.[1389] They take with them to sea their wives and children of all ages, who continue to accompany them during the whole of the summer's cruise. In order that no ships may escape them, they anchor their vessels at the distance of five miles from each other; twenty ships thereby occupying a space of an hundred miles. Upon a trader's appearing in sight of one of them, a signal is made by fire or by smoke; when they all draw closer together, and capture the vessel as she attempts to pass.[1390] No injury is done to the persons of the crew; but as soon as they have made prize of the ship, they turn them on shore, recommending to them to provide themselves with another cargo, which, in case of their passing that way again, may be the means of enriching their captors a second time.[1391]

In this kingdom there is vast abundance of pepper, ginger, cubebs, and Indian nuts; and the finest and most beautiful cottons are manufactured, that can be found in any part of the world.[1392] The ships from *Manji* bring copper as ballast, and besides this, gold brocades, silks, gauzes, gold and silver bullion, together with many kinds of drugs not produced in *Malabar*; and these they barter for the commodities of the province.[1393] There are merchants on the spot who ship the former for *Aden*, from whence they are transported to Alexandria.[1394]

Having

BOOK III. CHAP. XXVIII.

Having now spoken of the kingdom of *Malabar*, we shall proceed to describe that of *Guzzerat* which borders on it. Should we attempt to treat of all the cities of India, the account would be prolix and prove tiresome. We shall therefore touch only upon those respecting which we have particular information.[1395]

NOTES.

1387. The name of *Malabar* (in the other versions *Melibar*) though commonly applied to the whole western coast of the peninsula, properly belongs only to that part of it which lies to the southward of M. *Della*, called by the natives *Malayala* and *Malayalam*. Our author is guilty, therefore, of no small inaccuracy, in giving the name, on the contrary, to the portion of the coast that extends northward from that promontory, which is in fact what we term the province of *Canara* and the *Concan*, instead of the tract extending northward from Cape *Comorin*, estimated by him, correctly, at about three hundred miles. It is not probable that he made a long stay in any place on this coast, and he may have misapprehended some geographical points, but as we find him well informed in regard to the productions of the soil and habits of the people, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the misapplication of names may be imputable to his transcribers. At all events it is not for those who are in the practice of calling the *Tamul* language and the people by whom it is spoken on the coast of Coromandel, "*Malabars*," to find fault with a traveller, who only misplaces the name in respect to the particular portion of that coast to which, in a general sense, it actually belongs. It should be observed also, in his justification, that Abulfeda considers the coast of *Manibar* (for *Malibar* or *Malabar*) as commencing at *Guzzerat*, and particularly speaks of *Mangarur* (for *Mangalore*) as one of its principal cities.

1388. See Note 1379, on the subject of this rude method of estimating the elevation of the pole and the progress of the observer towards the north. Even at the present day it is not an uncommon expression amongst seamen, that the sun was about a hand-spike's or boat-hook's length above the water.

1389. "This multitude of small ports, uninterrupted view along shore, and "elevated coast, favourable to distant vision, have fitted this coast" says Rennell "for the seat of piracy; and the alternate land and sea-breezes that prevail "during a great part of the year, oblige vessels to navigate very near the shore. "No wonder then, that Pliny should notice the depredations committed on the "Roman East India trade in his time; and although a temporary check has been "given

" given to them by the destruction of Angria's fleets, &c. yet we may expect the " practice will be continued while commerce lasts. The pirates are protected by "the shallowness of their ports, and the strength of the country within." Memoir, ed. 1793, p. 30. " It appears from the earliest antiquity" says Grose " that the inhabitants had the strongest propensity to piracy ; and at this day all " the different principalities on the coast employ vessels to cruize upon those of " all other nations which they can overpower." Vol. ii, p. 211.

1390. With the introduction of artillery the mode of attack must have varied considerably, but it will appear from the following account that the nature of the force and the operations of these piratical states were essentially the same in the last century as in the days of our author: " Eight or ten grabs (square-rigged " vessels, with long prows) and forty or fifty gallivats (large boats of about " seventy tons, rowing forty or more stout oars, and) crowded with men, generally " composed *Angria's* principal fleet destined to attack ships of force or burthen. " When the vessel came in sight of the port or bay where the fleet was lying, they " slipped their cables and put to sea. If the wind blew, their construction enabled " them to sail swiftly; if it was calm, the gallivats rowed and towed the grabs. " As soon as they came within gun-shot of the chace, they generally assembled " in her stern, and the grabs attacked her at a distance with their prow-guns... " If the chace was dismasted, they came nearer, and battered her on all sides till " she struck: but if the defence was obstinate, they sent a number of gallivats " with two or three hundred men in each, who boarded from all quarters sword " in hand." Grose's Voyage, vol. ii, p. 214.

1391. It does not appear that *Angria's* people treated their captives with any severity, and when his forts at *Gheriah* were taken by Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, in 1756, only eleven European prisoners were found. The reader will feel an interest in comparing (in Grose's work, vol. ii, p. 224) the circumstances of this spirited and successful enterprize, with those of Lord Exmonth's brilliant achievement before Algiers, in 1816.

1392. In speaking of *Rajapore*, a place near *Gheriah*, and consequently on what is termed the pirate-coast, Hamilton observes that the country thereabouts produced the finest muslins and *betillas* in India. P. 243.

1393. This was probably Japan copper, which has always been in high request. The other articles enumerated are well known to be the produce of the respective countries.

BOOK III. CHAP. XXVIII. Notes.

1394. It appears from a passage in Barbosa's travels that these merchants were partly at least, if not chiefly, *Parsîs*, as we have been accustomed to call those natives of Persia and their descendants, who, on account of their adherence to the religion of their ancestors, which was that of Zerdusht or Zoroaster and, termed fire-worship, were driven from their own country by the Mahometans. He, however, ignorantly calls them Moors, and seems to confound them with Arabian and other traders whose commercial operations he describes in the following manner. " Caricano molto pepe, gengevo, garofani, cannella, sandolo, " verzino, lacca, cardamomo, mirabolani, tamarindi, cassia fistola, e tutte le sorti " di gioie, perle, muschio, ambracan, riobarbaro, legno di aloe, molti panni di " bambagio finissimi, e molte porcellane, e cosi caricate si partivano ogni anno " dieci ò dodici navi del mese di Febraro, et facevano il lor viaggio verso il mar " rosso, et alcune per la città di Adem, et anche al porto del Zidem (*Jiddah* or " *Juddah*) dove vendevano le lor mercantie ad altri, che le portavano poi in " navili piu piccoli al Sues, e di li per terra al Cairo, e dal Cairo in Alesandria." Fol. 310-2. The returning cargo is then circumstantially described, with which they make the port of Calicut in the month of August, or from that time to the middle of October, of the same year.

1395. In passing up the coast, and stopping occasionally to procure refreshments for the ships, he would naturally acquire more information respecting maritime places, than of others in the interior of the country. It is possible at the same time, that the names of many towns may have been entered in his notes, which were subsequently omitted in the composition of the work, in order to avoid what the readers of his day might consider as an uninteresting detail.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of the kingdom of Guzzerat.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE kingdom of *Guzzerat*, which is bounded on the western side by the Indian sea, is governed by its own king and has its peculiar language.[1396] The north-star appears from hence to have six fathoms of altitude.[1397] This country affords harbour to pirates of the most desperate character,[1398] who, when in their cruises they seize upon a travelling merchant, immediately oblige him to drink a dose of sea water

water, which by its operation on his bowels discovers whether he may not have swallowed pearls or jewels, upon the approach of an enemy, in order to conceal them.[1399]

Here there is great abundance of ginger, pepper, and indigo.[1400] Cotton is produced in large quantities from a tree that is about six yards in height, and bears during twenty years; but the cotton taken from trees of that age is not adapted for spinning, but only for quilting. Such, on the contrary, as is taken from trees of twelve years old, is suitable for muslins and other manufactures of extraordinary fineness.[1401] Great numbers of skins of goats, buffaloes, wild oxen, rhinoceroses, and other beasts are dressed here; and vessels are loaded with them, bound to different parts of Arabia. Coverlets for beds are made of red and blue leather, extremely delicate and soft, and stitched with gold and silver thread.[1402] Upon these the Mahometans are accustomed to repose. Cushions also, ornamented with gold wire, in the form of birds and beasts, are the manufacture of this place; and in some instances their value is so high as six marks of silver. Embroidery is here performed with more delicacy than in any other part of the world.[1403] Proceeding further we shall now speak of the kingdom named *Kanan*.

NOTES.

1396. The name of *Guzzerat*, as it appears in Ramusio's text, as well as in our modern maps, has suffered less by transcription than most others, being *Gozurath* in the Basle and also the older Latin editions, *Guzuracli* in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, and *Gesurach* in the early epitomes. In the Persian and Arabic writings it is گجرات *Gujrât* or *Gujurât*. It seems doubtful whether what is now termed the peninsula of Guzerat, was anciently an integral part of the kingdom so named, of which *Nehrwaleh* or *Puttan* was the capital.

1397. See Notes 1379 and 1388.

1398. The territory of *Guzerat* having fallen under the dominion of the Moghul emperors of *Dehli*, who adopted active measures for restraining the inhabitants of that part of the coast from their piratical habits, the navigators of the fifteenth

and sixteenth centuries do not speak of depredations further to the north than *Tanah*, on the island of Salsette. Yet we learn from Major Rennell that, within our own time, "Capt. Joseph Price had the misfortune to be carried up to the "head of the gulf of *Cutch* (on the north side of Guzerat) by pirates; who "captured his ship, after a most gallant and obstinate defence of two days: "but he was afterwards treated with great respect and tenderness, and permitted "to depart by land, for Bombay." Memoir, ed. 1793, p. 229.

1399. It is not pirates alone who practise this mode of detecting jewels that have been swallowed for the purposes of concealment.

1400. On the subject of Indigo see Note *1370*, and chap. xxxi. of this Book.

1401. According to the words of the text our author may be thought to have mistaken the *bombax* or silk-cotton tree, which grows commonly to the height of from fifteen to twenty feet, for the *gossipium arboreum*, a shrub, or the *gossipium herbaceum*, an annual plant; but with these latter, being the produce of the Levant and probably cultivated in some parts of Italy, both he and his countrymen must have been well acquainted, and his object could only have been to describe a species of cotton-bearing tree that was new to them. Such was probably the case with respect to the *bombax*. He proceeds, however, to inform them that its cotton is not adapted to the purposes of the loom, and is only used for quilting, or, he might have added, for stuffing pillows. When, in the sequel, he is made to say, that if taken from the tree at the age of only twelve years, it was fit to be employed in the manufacture of fine muslins, which is contrary to the fact, there is the strongest reason to believe that his sense has been perverted. No expression to that purport is found in any other version of the work, and it is evident that he here means to speak of the common annual or shrub cotton, as contrasted with the beautiful but almost useless sort he had just been describing. The passage in the Basle edition is simply as follows: "Sunt etiam ibi arbores de quibus bombyx "(bambacium in the manuscripts) in magna colligitur copia. Hæc arbor crescit "sex passibus in altum, et fructum producit per viginti annos; deinde ad nihilum "valet ultra." In the early epitome, the subject of cotton is omitted altogether.

1402. This may be thought an extraordinary traffic for an Indian port, but Linschoten (whose voyages commenced in the year 1583), speaking of the country between Guzerat and the Indus, notices the manufacture of leathern articles in the following terms: "Ex corio item peritè quædam facta, floribusque ex byssó "(silk, in the Dutch copy) variis coloribus ornata, Hisque utuntur in tapetorum "vicem, et lectis mensisque imponunt." Navig. ac Itiner. cap. vii, p. 12. No mention

mention is made of the preparation of the skins; but Dr. F. Buchanan, in the course of his journey through the central parts of the peninsula, describes minutely the process used by the natives in dressing, tanning, and dying, not only the skins of goats and sheep, but also the hides of oxen and buffaloes. Vol. i, p. 227.

1403. "Eadem arte" Linschoten adds "stragula faciunt serico filo exornata, "et acu picta. . . lectica Indica, mulierum sellas, aliaque minuta." Cap. ix, p. 13.

CHAPTER XXX.

Of the kingdom of Kanan.

Kanan is a large and noble kingdom situated towards the west.[1404] We say towards the west, because Messer Marco's journey being from the eastern side, he speaks of the countries in the direction in which he found them. It is governed by a prince who does not pay tribute to any other. The people are idolaters, and have a peculiar language. Neither pepper nor ginger grows here, but the country produces a sort of incense, in large quantities, which is not white, but on the contrary of a dark colour. Many ships frequent the place in order to load this drug, as well as a variety of other articles.[1405] They likewise take on board a number of horses to be carried for sale to different parts of India.[1406]

NOTES.

1404. A more than ordinary want of conformity appears in the modes of writing the name of this place, which in Ramusio's text is *Canam* or *Kanan*, in the Basle edition *Tana*, in the older Latin *Chane* and *Chana*, in the B. M. and Berlin manuscripts, *Caria*, and in the early epitomes *Toma*. It is probable that among these, *Toma* is the true reading, and such it is considered by D'Anville, who after noticing that a place of that name appears in the Tables of *Nasr-eddîn* and *Ulugh-beg*, observes that "Marc-Pol en parle comme d'un royaume, qu'il joint à ceux "de

BOOK III. CHAP. XXX. Notes.

" de Cambaeth et de Semenat." P. 101. " Per lungo la detta costa " says Barbosa " andando avanti vi trova una fortezza del detto re (di Guzzerati) che si " chiama *Tana Maiambu* (probably for *Mumbaia*)." Fol. 298. Some difficulty in regard to the relative situation presents itself, as the place spoken of by our author ought, according to the course of his description, to be in the vicinity of Guzerat; whereas *Tana* or *Tanah* is much to the southward of any part of the peninsula so named. " Bombay, Salsette, and the neighbouring shores of the " continent," says Rennell " form a large sound, in which are several other " islands, particularly *Caranjah* and *Elephanta*." " On the east side of Salsette, " and on the borders of the sound just mentioned, stands the fort of *Tannah*." Memoir (ed. 1793), p. 31. To explain this it must be understood that the name of Guzerat was not confined to that peninsula (if it belonged to it) but extended to a considerable distance along the coast; and accordingly Abulfeda says: " Tanah est in al Guzurat, ipsi ab oriente, ab occidente l'Maibadzi. Filius " Saidi dicit eam esse ultimam urbem provinciæ 'lLar (an ancient name of that " kingdom) celebratam sermonibus mercatorum." Tab. xiv, p. 271. Had D'Anville been aware that *Caria* was one of the names attributed to this place, he would not have omitted to avail himself of the coincidence of sounds, in proof of its being the *Calliena* or *Calliana* of the Periplus. There is however, a place named *Callian* on the coast opposite to *Tanah*.

1405. Pepper is not produced so far to the northward as Bombay, nor is there any considerable cultivation of it, beyond the province of *Kanara*. The incense here spoken of is evidently gum benzoin; which, indeed, is not the growth of any part of the continent of India, but would be seen in large quantities in the warehouses of the merchants, by whom it is imported from Sumatra, in order to supply the markets of Arabia, Persia, Syria, and Asia minor. It is generally of a dark brown colour, the finest sort only being mixed with veins of white.

1406. Horses were carried from the Red sea, Persian gulf, and places in their vicinity, to the northern ports of India, from whence their breed was exported to the southern provinces. Such at least appears to have been the course of the traffic before it was disturbed by European influence.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the kingdom of Kambaia.

THIS also is an extensive kingdom situated towards the west, governed by its own king, who pays no tribute to any other, and having its proper language.[1407] The people are idolaters. In this country the north-star is seen still higher than in any of the preceding, in consequence of its lying further to the north-west. The trade carried on is very considerable, and a great quantity of indigo is manufactured.[1408] There is abundance of cotton cloth, as well as of cotton in the wool.[1409] Many skins well dressed are exported from hence,[1410] and the returns are received in gold, silver, copper, and tutty.[1411] There not being any thing else deserving of notice, I shall proceed to speak of the kingdom of *Servenath.*

NOTES.

1407. In Notes 1396 and 1404 it was observed that where mention was made of *Guzerat*, the account seemed to apply, not to the peninsula of that name, but to the more southern part of the kingdom, which includes the city of *Surat*, and extended along the coast as far as *Tanah* or Bombay. Consistently with this idea, and with our author's progress towards the north, he now treats, in order, of *Kambaia*, a celebrated port of trade, situated at the bottom of the gulf to which it gives name. This place is enumerated in the *Ayin Akbari*, by the name of *Kambayet*, amongst the principal cities of *Gujerat*, of which *Nehrwaleh*, commonly termed *Puttan* (as shewn by Rennell) was anciently the capital. Barbosa, who gives a lively description of the magnificence of *Kambaia* and of the luxurious habits of its population, appears to consider the names as nearly synonymous, and accordingly intitles one of his chapters, " Del Re di Mori di Guzzerat che è del regno di " Cambaia." Fol. 296. It will be noticed, indeed, that what our author says of this place is little else than a repetition of what he had said of the former. In the Basle edition the name is written *Cambaeth*, in the older Latin, *Cambaech*, and in the early epitomes, which are more than commonly defective in this part, *Sebelech.*

1408. " *Annil*

BOOK III. CHAP. XXXI. Notes.

1408. " *Annil* sive indigo " says Linschoten " in Cambaia præparatur, ac per " universas orbis partes distrahitur." Navig. ac Itiner. p. 13. The *Ayin Akbari*, describing a place in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad, the modern capital, which stands not far from the port of Kambaia, says: " Here grows very fine indigo, " which is exported to Room, and other distant places." Vol. ii, p. 77.

1409. " Qui si lavorano assai tele " says Barbosa " e panni di gotton bianchi, " sottili e grossi, e di varie sorte, tessuti e dipinti." Fol. 297-2. Cotton-wool is exported in large quantities, at the present day, from Surat and Bombay to China.

1410. See Note 1402.

1411. Tutty has been already mentioned, in Book i, Chap. xix, Note 231, as a preparation from a mineral (zink or antimony) found in the eastern part of Persia. It is carried to India chiefly for the purpose of making the collyrium named *surmeh* and *anjan*, much used by the women of Hindustan.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the kingdom of Servenath.

CHAP. XXXII. SERVENATH likewise is a kingdom lying towards the west,[1412] the inhabitants of which are idolaters, are governed by a king who pays no tribute, have their peculiar language, and are a well-disposed people. They gain their living by commerce and manufactures, and the place is frequented by a number of merchants who carry thither their articles of merchandise, and take away those of the country in return.[1413] I was informed, however, that the priests who serve in the temples of the idols are the most perfidious and cruel that the world contains.[1414] We shall now proceed to speak of the kingdom named *Kesmacoran*.

NOTES.

1412. *Servenath*, which in the Basle edition is more correctly named *Semenath*, and in the older Latin, *Semenach*, but is omitted in the early epitomes, (unless *Sebelech* be intended for it and not for *Cambaeth*), is obviously the place called *Sumenát*,

Sumenât, celebrated for the ravages committed there (in the year 1025) by *Mahmud* of *Ghizni*, a Mahometan bigot, who destroyed a famous Hindu temple, broke in pieces its gigantic idol, and carried away the precious stones with which it was adorned. "*Sumenat*" says Abulfeda "est in litore maris, in solo 'l Bawazig, "urbis Indicæ." "Est ea inter urbes et regiones quas Mahmud filius Sobokte-"kini expugnavit, et cujus fregit idolum, quemadmodum in Annalibus exposui." Geographia, tab. xvi, p. 272. Annales, tom. iii, p. 67. See also Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 331.

I had been accustomed to consider the temple of *Sumenât* as having stood at the north-western extremity of the peninsula of *Guzerat*, upon or near what is named *Jigat* or Giant's point, and that its merit, as a place of Hindu pilgrimage, consisted in its being the most remote part of Hindustan, in a western direction; but Major Rennell (Memoir, p. 226) has urged strong arguments, from the authority of Ferishta's history and the Ayin Akbari, to prove that its situation was at the place called *Puttan Sumenat*, further towards the south, on the same coast, and not many miles north-west of *Diu*, which might have been its port.

1413. Abulfeda adds: "Celebratam eam ait Saida filius mercatorum sermoni-"bus. Sæpius ad eam appellunt naves Adanénses, quoniam non est in sinu. "Habet portum cujus materia descendit ex monte magno, qui est in ejus septen-"trione orientali."

1414. The cruelties exercised by the mussulmans upon the Hindu inhabitants of this place, who, according to Abulfeda, were slaughtered in great numbers "(Ea in urbe, Sumenat, ingentem Indorum numerum necabat Mahmud, omnes "auferebat divitias, et super idolo rogum accendebat)" might have produced a violent spirit of retaliation, especially amongst the priests, and occasioned their seizing opportunities of revenging the injuries they had sustained; and it is not improbable that our author may have received his information respecting their character, from his Mahometan shipmates.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the kingdom of Kesmacoran.

THIS is an extensive country, having its proper king and its peculiar language.[1415] Some of the inhabitants are idolaters, but the greater part are Saracens.[1416] They subsist by trade and manufactures. Their

food is rice and wheat, together with flesh and milk, which they have in abundance. Many merchants resort thither both by sea and land. This is the last province of the Greater India, as you proceed to the north-west, for as it begins at *Maabar*, so it terminates here.[1417] In describing it we have noticed only the provinces and cities that lie upon the sea-coast; for were we to particularise those situated in the interior of the land, it would render our work too prolix. We shall now speak of certain islands, one of which is termed the island of males, and the other, the island of females.

NOTES.

1415. The name of this place, which is *Chesmacoran* or *Kesmacoran* in Ramusio's text, *Resmacoram* in the Basle edition, *Resmacoron* in the older Latin, and *Resmaceran* in the early epitomes, seemed to present great difficulties, as no obvious resemblance to it was discovered in the name of any district contiguous to the northern side of Guzerat. Upon stating this to my friend Major Rennell, his reply convinced me that my researches had been confined within too limited a space. "I have no doubt whatever," he writes "but that the name of *Kidg-Makran* "is intended, which might have been classed at that time as belonging to India; "as *Kandahar* and other Persian provinces have, in latter times. It happens that "I had previously exercised my judgment on this place, and I now find by a note "in Astley, that the editor thought the same. In India they always join *Kidg* "and *Makran* together; as is very commonly done with regard to other places. "*Kidg* or *Kedge* may have been the former capital. It is, I doubt not, the *Ge-* "*drosia* of the ancients." *Kedge* is spoken of by Pottinger as the modern capital of *Makran*, an extensive province, near the sea, on the western side of the Indus. The places in the vicinity of this river had been the bounds of our author's previous description, on which occasion he says (Book i, chap. xxvii): "If I were to pro- "ceed in the same direction it would lead me to India; but I have judged it proper "to reserve the description of that country for a Third Book;" and he is therefore consistent in terminating his account of the coast of India, upon his reaching, in an opposite course, the province which connects it with Persia, and which has been considered, at different periods, as politically dependent on the one or the other. According to the system of the ancient geographers, *Makran* belonged to *Sind* as distinguished from *Hind*, but both were included in their definition of India, in its extensive acceptation.

In

In the Basle edition, what relates to "*Tana*, *Cambaeth*, *Semenath*, and *Resmacoram*," is comprised in a single chapter of only six lines.

Notes.

1416. "Many of the inhabitants of *Makran*" says *Ebn Haukal* "resemble "the Arabs; they eat fowl and fish: others of them are like the Curds. Here "is the extreme boundary of the land of *Islam* in this direction. Now we shall "turn back, and begin to describe Armenia, &c." P. 155. It is remarkable that our author should have adopted nearly the same grand line of division as this Arabian geographer, who preceded him by about three centuries; but it may be accounted for by his intercourse with Arabian pilots.

1417. By *Maabar* (as distinguished from *Malabar*) is meant the eastern coast of the peninsula, from near the *Kistnah*, or perhaps more strictly, from the *Pennar* river, to Cape Comorin, or that tract in which the *Tamul* language prevails. See Note 1256.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of the islands of Males and of Females.

DISTANT from *Kesmacoran* about five hundred miles towards the south, in the ocean, there are two islands within about thirty miles from each other, one of which is inhabited by men, without the company of women, and is called the island of males, and the other by women, without men, which is called the island of females.[1418] The inhabitants of both are of the same race, and are Christians regularly baptized. The men visit the island of females, and remain with them for three successive months, namely March, April, and May, each man occupying a separate habitation along with his wife. They then return to the island of males, where they continue all the rest of the year, without the society of any female. The wives retain their sons with them until they are of the age of twelve years, when they are sent to join their fathers. The daughters they keep at home until they become marriageable, and then they bestow them upon some of the men of the other island. This mode of living is occasioned by the

peculiar nature of the climate, which does not allow of their remaining all the year with their wives, unless at the risk of falling a sacrifice.[1419] They have their bishop, who is subordinate to the See of the island of *Soccotera*.[1420] The men provide for the subsistence of their wives by sowing the grain, but the latter prepare the soil and gather in the harvest. The island likewise produces a variety of fruits. The men live upon milk, flesh, rice, and fish. Of these they catch an immense quantity, being expert fishermen. Both when fresh taken and when salted the fish are sold to the traders resorting to the island,[1421] but whose principal object is to purchase ambergris, of which a quantity is collected there.[1422]

NOTES.

1418. Of what particular islands this tale of wonder was related to our author, would be difficult to ascertain with any degree of precision; but notwithstanding the objections that present themselves with regard to distances, there is reason to believe them intended for those which lie near the island of Socotra, called *Abd-al-curia* and "Les deux sœurs," in some maps, or "Les deux frères" in others. Authorities indeed are not wanting for Socotra itself being regarded as the island of females. "Diconi i Mori" says Barbosa, "che questa fu già isolo delle fe-"mine dette Amazoni, lequali poi per ispatio di tempo si mescolarono con gli "huomini." Fol. 292. But this was not the idea of our author, who treats distinctly of that island.

1419. The manner of relating these circumstances is calculated to give the idea of an extraordinary phenomenon in population, but the facts may be accounted for in a way that brings them entirely within the bounds of credibility. We have only to presume that the natives were professional fishermen, whose families were established upon an island capable of affording them sustenance, and with whom they resided during three months of the year, the least adapted to their ordinary business. Upon the expiration of this season, or change of the monsoon, they embark for another island at some distance, in the neighbourhood of which is their fishing ground; and here they are occupied in catching, curing, and disposing of their fish, during the remaining nine months, when they return to their families; in the same manner as the English fishermen were accustomed to do from the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, and as is still done by those belonging to Waterford in Ireland. What is said of the mode of bringing up and providing

viding for their male and female children, is matter of course, and what must naturally have taken place, under the circumstances of their situation. It should be observed that the Basle edition makes no mention of the names of the months during which the fishery was suspended, and the early epitomes state them to be August, September, and October. The whole was merely hearsay on the part of our author.

1420. It will be seen in the Notes to the following chapter, that Christianity was established in this quarter (as well as in Abyssinia) at a very early period. The ecclesiastical subordination to Socotra argues a contiguity, although it does not amount to proof.

1421. Salt-fish is well known to be an important article of trade in these regions, where from the excessive heat and arid quality of the soil, vegetation is rare, and the food of men and cattle procured with difficulty. On this account it was that the natives of the coast were termed by the Greeks *Ichthyophagi*, or persons whose chief sustenance was fish.

1422. "Appresso di questa isola di Zocotora," says Barbosa, "sono due altre "isole di huomini olivastri, e negri come Canarii. In queste due isole si trova "molto buono *ambracan*, e in quantità, e molte pietre dette *niccoli* di quelle, che "vagliono, e sono stimate in la Mecca." Fol. 292. See Note 1424.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Of the island of Soccotera.

Upon leaving these islands and proceeding five hundred miles in a southerly direction, you reach the island of *Soccotera*, which is very large and abounds with the necessaries of life.[1423] The inhabitants find much ambergris upon their coasts, which is voided from the entrails of whales.[1424] Being an article of merchandise in great demand, they make it a business to take these fish; and this they do by means of a barbed iron which they strike into the whale so firmly that it cannot be drawn out. To the iron (harpoon) a long line is fastened, with a buoy at the end, for the purpose of discovering the place where the fish, when

BOOK III. CHAP. XXXV.

when dead, is to be found. They then drag it to the shore, and proceed to extract the ambergris from its belly, whilst from its head they procure several casks of (spermaceti) oil.[1425]

All the people, both male and female, go nearly naked, having only a scanty covering before and behind, like the idolaters who have been described. They have no other grain than rice, upon which, with flesh and milk, they subsist. Their religion is Christianity, being duly baptized,[1426] and are under the government as well temporal as spiritual, of an archbishop, who is not in subjection to the Pope of Rome, but to a patriarch who resides in the city of Baghdad, by whom he is appointed, or if elected by the people themselves, by whom their choice is confirmed.[1427] Many pirates resort to this island with the goods they have captured, and which the natives purchase of them without any scruple; justifying themselves on the ground of their being plundered from idolaters and saracens.[1428] All ships bound to the province of Aden touch here, and make large purchases of fish and of ambergris; as well as of various kinds of cotton goods manufactured on the spot.[1429]

The inhabitants deal more in sorcery and witchcraft than any other people, although forbidden by their archbishop, who excommunicates and anathematises them for the sin. Of this, however, they make little account, and if any vessel belonging to a pirate should injure one of theirs, they do not fail to lay him under a spell, so that he cannot proceed on his cruise, until he has made satisfaction for the damage; and even although he should have had a fair and leading wind, they have the power of causing it to change, and thereby of obliging him, in spite of himself, to return to the island. They can, in like manner, cause the sea to become calm, and at their will can raise tempests, occasion shipwrecks, and produce many other extraordinary effects that need not be particularised.[1430] We shall now speak of the island of *Magastar*.

NOTES.

NOTES.

1423. This considerable island, the Socotora of D'Anville and Socotra of English geographers, is situated near Cape Guardafui, the north-eastern point of the continent of Africa. In Ramusio's text it is correctly named *Soccotera*, but in the Basle edition *Scoira*, in the older Latin *Scoyran*, and in the early Italian epitomes *Scorsia*: so inattentive have the copyists been in transcribing proper names even of well-known places. With respect to its distance from the obscure islands last mentioned, which is roundly stated at five hundred miles, and is an exact repetition of what had just been said of the distance from the coast of *Makran* to those islands, we are obliged to consider it as quite gratuitous. All the circumstances stated, of produce, manners, religion, and jurisdiction, serve, on the contrary, to shew their vicinity to each other.

" Insula Socotra" says Edrisi " est ampla limitibus, mensura præstans, nitida " tellure, ferax arborum, et pleraque ipsius germina sunt arbores aloës." Sexta pars climatis primi, p. 23. It should not pass unobserved that this drug, for which the island is chiefly celebrated, is not here alluded to amongst the articles of its trade. For such an omission it is difficult to account, and it can only be said that the mention of what was matter of notoriety from the days of Dioscorides and Pliny, and to be found in every treatise of the *materia medica*, would have added little to the authenticity of a work of the thirteenth century. With those writings our author was probably unacquainted, and as there is no reason to suppose that he visited Socotra himself, he could do no more than note down the imperfect information he acquired from navigators whom he chanced to meet, respecting this and some other places to the southward of his course.

1424. Frequent mention is made of ambergris being found in the neighbouring coast of Africa. " Plurimùm autem invenitur," says Linschoten, " in tractu " Soffalæ, Moszambicquæ, Melindæ, ac circa Maldivæ insulas." Cap. lxx, p. 75. There is no substance respecting whose nature and origin there has been more diversity of opinion. Johnson, in his dictionary, enumerates six modes of accounting for its production. " Ambarum," says Linschoten, " aliqui spumam " balenæ, alii excrementum, alii bitumen aliquod, ex fonte maris productum " definiunt. Verùm ex balenis non provenire experimenta docent." P. 75. A Paper, however, in vol. lxxiii of the Philos. Trans. for the year 1783, and another in vol. lxxxi, for the year 1791, confirm the assertion of our author, and describe the ambergris as being *fæces* contained in or discharged from the intestines of the spermaceti whale, and chiefly from such as appear to be in a torpid and sickly state. " Kæmpfer," says the writer of the former account, " who has given us so many other faithful accounts in Natural History, seems to

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" come nearer the truth (than others who had treated of the subject) with regard " to the origin of ambergrise, when he says, that it is the dung of the whale, and " that the Japanese, for this reason, call it *kusura no fuu, i. e.* Whale's Dung; " but this relation, though founded on observation, has never obtained credit, " and has been considered rather as a fabulous story, with which the Japanese " imposed upon him, who had himself no direct observation to prove the fact." P. 234. If the fact should still be doubted or disproved, our author has at least the credit of being sanctioned in his error by the opinion of very eminent naturalists.

1425. This mention of oil taken from the head of the fish, shews it to be the spermaceti whale, as stated in the Paper referred to in the preceding Note, and is a proof of accuracy on the part of our author. The mode of harpooning also is correctly described.

1426. The existence of Christianity, at an early period, in the island of Socotra, is proved by ample testimony. " Dans cette mer," says the latter of the two Arabian travellers of the ninth century, " on trouve l'isle de Socotra, où croist " l'aloës socotrin. Elle est située près du païs des *Zinge* et du païs des Arabes, " et la pluspart des habitans de cette isle sont Chrestiens, dont on rapporte cette " raison." He then proceeds to relate the circumstance of a colony of Greeks established on the island, by Alexander the Great, after the conquest of Persia, for the purpose of attending to the cultivation of that important drug, and concludes by saying: " Ils demeurèrent occupez à la garde de cette isle, jusqu'à ce " que Dieu eust envoyé Jésus-Christ au monde. Alors les Grecs de la mesme isle " ayant esté informez de ce qui regardoit son advénement, embrassèrent le Chris- " tianisme de la mesme manière que tous les autres Grecs l'avoient embrassé; et " ils sont demeurez dans la profession du Christianisme jusques à présent, de " mesme que tous les habitans des autres isles." Anciennes Relat. p. 113. Edrisi, who compiled his work about the middle of the twelfth century, adopts the authority and employs nearly the terms of the Mahometan traveller. Barbosa, whose voyages were performed about the end of the fifteenth, speaks contemptuously of the species of Christianity found there by his countrymen, the Portuguese, upon their first visits to the island; but as the inhabitants were schismatics at best, some allowance should be made for a feeling of intolerance. " Questa è isola," he observes, " habitata da gente olivastra nominati Christiani, ma manca loro " il battesimo e la dottrina christiana, che non hanno se non il nome di Christia- " ni; e mancò quivi la legge christiana già molti anni et avanti che vi na- " vigassero Portoghesi." Fol. 292. J. de Barros gives a circumstantial account of *Soccotora*, and says of the natives, Todos saõ Christiãos Jacobitas da casta dos " Abexijs (Habeshis or Abyssinians), però que muitas cousas não guardão de

" seus

" seus costumes." " Sua adoraçāo he a Cruz, e saō tāo devotos della, que per " habito todos trazem hūa ao pescoço." Dec. ii, l. i, cap. iii.

1427. It is evident that our author supposed the inhabitants to be Nestorians, *Zatolia* being a typographical mistake for *Zatolic*, which is itself a Venetian corruption of *Katholicos*, the title given to the head of the Nestorian church, whose seat was at Baghdad. More probably, however, they were Jacobites (as asserted by the Portuguese) and subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of a Patriarch who resided, in early times, at Antioch and at Alexandria, and afterwards at Maredin in Mesopotamia.

1428. That this island, before the period of its occupation by the Portuguese, should have been made a *depôt* for goods plundered by piratical vessels, is highly probable, and the conscientious salvo of the native Christians, much in character; but Abulfeda appears to have considered the latter as principals in the depredations, when he says; " Incolæ ejus sunt Christiani, piratæ." Geographia, tab. xvi, p. 278.

1429. All the journals of voyages performed in these seas take notice of the number of ships that make either the island of Socotra or cape Guardafui, near to which it lies, in their way to Aden and the Red Sea. " Tutte le navi" says Barbosa " che vengono dell'India, cioè del regno di Cambaia, e di Chaul e " Dabul, di Batticala e Malabar, e di Zeilam, Choromandel, di Bengala, Suma- " tra, di Pegu, Tarnasseri, di Malacha e China, tutte vengono a comparire al " detto capo; e di qui entrano nel mar Rosso le lor mercantie per Aden, &c." Fol. 290. " Next day," says the writer of a voyage performed in 1608, " stand- " ing off to sea (from Socotra), they met with a Guzerat ship, laden with cotton, " calicoes, and pentathoes (chintzes), bound for Aden." Astley's Collect. Vol. i, p. 342.

1430. The belief in witchcraft and the efficacy of spells to disturb the ordinary course of nature and particularly to controul the winds, was prevalent at this time, and to a much later period, even in the most civilised parts of the world. We are not, therefore, to be surprised at finding the art imputed by navigators to the inhabitants of a remote island, which, like the " still-vext Bermudas," is described as being subject to violent tempests. De Barros, a grave historian of the sixteenth century, speaks of the sorcery practised by the females of Socotora, of whom he says: " Por hoje serem ainda tāo grandes feiticeiras, que fazem " cousas maravilhosas." Dec. ii, liv. i, cap. iii. The compiler of Astley's Voyages gives some curious instances of the extreme credulity of the Portuguese with respect to this supposed præternatural agency. Vol. i, p. 63, Note.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Of the great island of Magastar, now called San Lorenzo.

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LEAVING the island of *Soccotera* and steering a course between south and south-west for a thousand miles, you arrive at the great island of *Magastar*, which is one of the largest and most fertile in the world.[1431] In circuit it is three thousand miles.[1432] The inhabitants are Saracens, or followers of the law of Mahomet.[1433] They have four *Sheikhs*, which in our language may be expressed by "elders," who divide the government amongst them.[1434] The people subsist by trade and manufacture, and sell a vast number of elephants' teeth, as those animals abound in the country, as they do also in that of *Zenzibar*, from whence the exportation is equally great.[1435] The principal food eaten at all seasons of the year is the flesh of camels. That of the other cattle serves them also for food, but the former is preferred, as being both the most wholesome and the most palatable of any to be found in this part of the world.[1436] The woods contain many trees of red sandal, and in proportion to the plenty in which it is found, the price of it is low. There is also much ambergris from the whales, and as the tide throws it on the coast, it is collected for sale.[1437] The natives catch lynxes, tigers, and a variety of other animals,[1438] such as stags, antelopes, and fallow deer, which afford much sport; as do also the birds, which are different from those of our climates.

The island is visited by many ships from various parts of the world, bringing assortments of goods consisting of brocades and silks of various patterns, which are sold to the merchants of the island, or bartered for goods in return; upon all of which they make large profits. There is no resort of ships to the other numerous islands lying further south; this and the island of *Zenzibar* alone being frequented. This is the consequence of the sea running with such prodigious velocity in that direction, as to render their return impossible. The vessels that sail from the coast of Malabar for this island, perform the voyage in twenty or twenty-five

five days, but in their returning voyage are obliged to struggle for three months: so strong is the current of water, which constantly runs to the southward.[1439]

The people of the island report that at a certain season of the year, an extraordinary kind of bird, which they call a *rukh*, makes its appearance from the southern region. In form it is said to resemble the eagle, but it is incomparably greater in size; being so large and strong as to seize an elephant with its talons, and to lift it into the air; from whence it lets it fall to the ground, in order that when dead, it may prey upon the carcase. Persons who have seen this bird assert that when the wings are spread they measure sixteen paces in extent, from point to point; and that the feathers are eight paces in length, and thick in proportion. Messer MARCO POLO conceiving that these creatures might be griffins, such as are represented in paintings, half birds and half lions, particularly questioned those who reported their having seen them, as to this point; but they maintained that their shape was altogether that of birds, or, as it might be said, of the eagle. The Grand *khan* having heard this extraordinary relation, sent messengers to the island, on the pretext of demanding the release of one of his servants who had been detained there, but in reality to examine into the circumstances of the country and the truth of the wonderful things told of it. When they returned to the presence of his majesty, they brought with them (as I have heard) a feather of the *rukh*, positively affirmed to have measured ninety spans, and the quill part to have been two palms in circumference. This surprising exhibition afforded his majesty extreme pleasure, and upon those by whom it was presented he bestowed valuable gifts.[1440] They were also the bearers of the tusk of a wild boar, an animal that grows there to the size of a buffalo, and it was found to weigh fourteen pounds.[1441] The island contains likewise camelopards, asses, and other wild animals very different from these of our country. Having said what was necessary on this subject, we shall now proceed to speak of *Zenzibar*.

NOTES.

BOOK III. CHAP. XXXVI. Notes.

1431. Of the identity of this island, (justly said to be one of the largest in the world) there can be no doubt. In Ramusio's text it is named *Magastar*, in the Basle edition, *Madaigascar*, in the older Latin, *Mandaygaster*, and in the epitomes, *Mandeigascar*. Our navigators appear to have adopted nearly the orthography of the Basle, in writing the word, *Madagascar*. The natives pronounce it *Malagash* or *Madagash*. I found it difficult to distinguish between the sound of the *l* and the *d*; but my ear inclined rather to the former. The French travellers have remarked the same uncertainty. The name is not found in the work of Edrisi, nor of Abulfeda, and there is reason to believe that our author was the first who made it known to Europe. That of San Lorenzo, which it bears in the title to this chapter, was given to it by the Portuguese, upon its discovery in 1506, and could not, therefore, have been in the original manuscript, but must have been added by Ramusio, or by some earlier transcriber, for the purpose of elucidation, as the words "*hora detta*" imply.

1432. Its actual circuit is about two, not three, thousand miles. Had our author visited the island himself, which he indirectly gives us to understand was not the case, he was by no means the more likely, on that account, to have acquired a more correct idea of its extent. His information must have been obtained either from the Arabian traders by whom it was frequented, or from those messengers (afterwards mentioned) whom Kublaï had sent to examine the state of the country.

1433. The natives in general are not Mahometans, but it will appear not only that the Arabs had established themselves and spread their religion in many districts along the coast, but that by mixture with the aborigines, there are several races of people who make profession of that faith, however imperfectly they may observe its ordinances. "In essa" says Barbosa, speaking of the island of San Lorenzo "vi sono alcune terre de Mori, ha molti re cosi Mori, come Gentili." Fol. 289–2. "L'art de l'écriture" says Rochon "a, sans doute, été apporté "dans cette île par les Arabes, qui en ont fait la conquête, il y a trois cents ans." "La langue Arabe a fait quelque progrès dans la partie du nord-ouest." "Dans "la province d'Anossi et de Carcanossi, les Zafféramini se croient originaires "des bords sablonneux de la Mecque." "Enfin il y a une troisième espèce de "blancs (olivâtres), qui se disent envoyés à Madagascar par le Calife de la "Mecque, pour instruire les Malegaches dans les secrets de la nature et dans la "religion mahométane. Ces fourbes se sont emparé de la province de Matalanes, "après avoir chassé et massacré les Zafféramini." Voyage, p. 26—30.

1434. The

1434. The Arabic word *sheikh* شيخ has the double signification of an elder (as noticed in the text) and a chief or head of a tribe. In this latter sense it is that we commonly find it used, and it is probable that the tribes mentioned in the preceding Note were governed by chiefs with the title of *sheikh*, as those on the opposite coast of Africa, where the Arabs established themselves, are known to have been. In the account given by J. de Barros of Tristano d'Acunha's transactions at the island of *Sam Lourenço*, in 1508, the chief person of the district where his ships anchored, is styled the *Xeque*, as is likewise the chief of *Oja* near *Melinda*, to which place he afterwards proceeded. Decad. ii, liv. i, cap. ii.

1435. It has already been observed that Madagascar was not amongst the places visited by our author; neither was any part of Africa. His information respecting them was derived from the report of others; and not only was he deceived, in many instances, by their misrepresentations, but he appears himself to have sometimes confounded the circumstances related of one country with those belonging to another in its vicinity. This is obviously the case with regard to elephants and ivory, which abound on the African shore (as noticed in the succeeding chapter) but certainly not upon the island of Madagascar.

1436. Some have supposed that by the camel should here be understood the Madagascar ox, or bison, which is remarkable for the protuberance or hump on its shoulder. "Les chameaux" says Flacourt "que quelques autheurs ont des-"crit, ne sont autre chose que les bœufs du païs, qui ont tous une bosse de graisse "sur le chignon du col." Hist. de l'isle Madagascar, Avant-propos. It is certain, however, that the Arabs, and probably the Mahometans in general, prefer the flesh of camels, where they can procure it, to every other meat. "The inha-"bitants of *Muscatt*" says Ovington "feed promiscuously upon either fish or "flesh ... The flesh of camels is admired by them, and is in repute as a healthful "sort of meat." Voyage to Suratt, p. 426. "I shall only add" says Park "that his (the camel's) flesh, though to my own taste dry and unsavoury, is pre-"ferred by the Moors to any other." Travels in Africa, p. 158.

1437. "L'ambre-gris" says Flacourt "se trouve sur le rivage de cette mer, "et particulièrement à l'isle Sainte Marie, après qu'il y a eu en mer grande "tourmente; c'est un bitume qui provient du fond de la mer, se coagule par "succession de temps, et devient ferme, ainsi que l'on le trouve." P. 150. Such is the hypothesis of this writer (expressed nearly in the words of the Nubian geographer, p. 29), which differs entirely from that of our author, who, on the other hand is supported by the opinion of Kæmpfer and most of the modern naturalists. See Note 1424.

1438. It

BOOK III. CHAP. XXXVI. Notes.

1438. It is here again apparent that the circumstances mentioned, apply to the opposite coast of Africa, and not to the island; where no lions, nor animals of the tiger kind, are known to exist.

1439. The currents which set to the southward through the Mosambique channel, and then taking a westerly direction, sweep round the Cape of Good Hope, are matter of notoriety to all our East Indian navigators. From hence it was that a point of the main land of Africa, situated opposite to St. Augustin's bay in Madagascar, and nearly under the tropic, was named by the Portuguese discoverers, Cabo das Correntes. Our author's notice of this remarkable circumstance, in a part of the globe which at that period had not been visited by Europeans, is repeatedly adverted to, in terms of admiration, by my late excellent friend the Dean of Westminster, who on every occasion has done justice to the intelligence and fidelity of Marco Polo. "His mention of the current between Madagascar "and the continent" says Dr. Vincent "is an *illustrious truth*, the more remark-"able as M. Polo was never on this coast himself, but must have derived his "knowledge of the fact from the Malays or Arabs, who were the only navigators "of the Indian Ocean in his age." Periplus of the Erythrean sea, Azania, p. 200. The circumstances of the current are particularly described by J. de Barros, Dec. i, liv. vii, cap. iv.

1440. All who have read the stories of the Thousand and one Nights, must be acquainted with the size and powers of this extraordinary bird, there called the *roc*: but its celebrity is not confined to that work. "*Rukh* رخ" says the Arabic and Persian dictionary "is the name of a monstrous bird, which is said to have "powers sufficient to carry off a live rhinoceros." Its existence seems, indeed, to have been universally credited in the East, and those Arabian navigators with whom our author conversed, would not hesitate to attest a fact of such notoriety; but they might find it convenient, at the same time, to lay the scene of its appearance at a place so little frequented as the southern extremity of Madagascar, because the chances were small of any contradiction from local knowledge. The circumstance, however, of its resorting thither from the southern ocean, gives room to a conjecture that the tale, although exaggerated, may not be altogether imaginary, and that it may have taken its rise from the occasional sight of a real bird of vast, although not miraculous dimensions. This may be either the albatross (*diomedea exulans*) which, although the inhabitant of more southern latitudes, may accidentally visit the shores of Madagascar, or the condor of southern Africa. Some of the former are known to measure no less than fifteen feet between the extremities of the wings, and must appear to those who see them for the first time, an extraordinary phenomenon. Of the bulk and powers of the latter bird

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we are enabled to form an idea from the account given of it by Barrow in his Tavels in South Africa. "Crows, kites, and vultures" he says "are almost the "only kinds of birds that are met with (in the Roggeveld). Of the last I broke "the wing of one of that species called by ornithologists the *condor*, of an amaz- "ingly large size. The spread of its wings was ten feet and one inch. It kept "three dogs for some time completely at bay, and having at length seized one of "them with its claws, and torn away a large piece of flesh from its thigh, they all "immediately retreated." Vol. i, p. 358, ed. 2.

If the *passi* of the text are intended for the ordinary steps of two feet and a half, the measure given to the wings of the *roc* would be forty feet. In the description of the quill-feathers the exaggeration is still greater, and those of the albatross or the condor would be diminutive in comparison; but it must be observed that with respect to the specimen said to have been produced by the messengers whom the Grand *khan* had sent to examine into the natural curiosities, as well as the political state of the country, our author expresses himself with caution, and employs the qualifying terms, "*si come intesi*" and "*la qual li fu affermato*;" as wishing it to be understood that he did not pretend to have seen the thing himself: but that he believed in the existence of the bird cannot be doubted.

1441. "The African wild boar or sus Æthiopicus" says the History of Quadrupeds "has four tusks: two very large ones proceed from the upper jaw, and "turn upwards like a horn; they are nine inches long, and full five inches round "at the base; the two other tusks, which come from the lower jaw, project but "three inches from the mouth. These tusks the animal makes use of as the "dreadful instruments of his vengeance." The tusks of boars, as well as of elephants, must differ considerably in size, according to age and other circumstances: that which was carried to China, and said to weigh fourteen pounds, may have belonged to an uncommon animal of the species.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Of the island of Zenzibar.

BEYOND the island of *Magastar* lies that of *Zenzibar*, which is reported to be in circuit two thousand miles.[1442] The inhabitants worship idols, have their own peculiar language, and do not pay tribute to any

BOOK III. CHAP. XXXVII.

any foreign power. In their persons they are large, but their height is not proportioned to the bulk of their bodies. Were it otherwise they would appear gigantic. They are, however, strongly made, and one of them is capable of carrying what would be a load for four of our people. At the same time he would require as much food as five. They are black and go naked; covering only the private parts of the body, with a cloth. Their hair is so crisp, that even when dipped in water it can with difficulty be drawn out. They have large mouths, their noses turn up towards the forehead, their ears are long, and their eyes so large and frightful, that they have the aspect of demons. The women are equally ill-favoured, having wide mouths, thick noses, and large eyes. Their hands, and also their heads, are out of proportion large.[1443] They feed on flesh, milk, rice, and dates.[1444] They have no grape vines, but make a sort of wine from rice and sugar, with the addition of some spicy drugs, very pleasant to the taste, and having the intoxicating quality of the other. In this island elephants are found in vast numbers, and their teeth form an important article of trade.[1445] With respect to these quadrupeds it should be observed, that their mode of copulating is the reverse of that of the brute creation in general, in consequence of the position of the female organ, and follows that of the human species.[1446]

In this country is found also the giraffe or camelopard, which is a handsome beast. The body is well-proportioned, the forelegs long and high, the hind-legs short, the neck very long, the head small, and in its manners it is gentle. Its prevailing colour is light, with circular reddish spots. Its height (or length of the neck) including the head, is three paces.[1447] The sheep of the country are different from ours, being all white excepting their heads, which are black;[1448] and this also is the colour of the dogs. The animals in general have a different appearance from ours. Many trading ships visit the place, which barter the goods they bring for elephants teeth and ambergris, of which much is found on the coasts of the island, in consequence of the sea abounding with whales.[1449]

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The chiefs of the island are sometimes engaged in warfare with each other and their people display much bravery in battle and contempt of death.[1450] They have no horses, but fight upon elephants and camels. Upon the backs of the former they place castles, capable of containing from fifteen to twenty men, armed with swords, lances, and stones, with which weapons they fight.[1451] Previously to the combat they give draughts of wine to their elephants, supposing that it renders them more spirited and more furious in the assault.[1452]

NOTES.

1442. The name which in Ramusio's text is *Zenzibar*, in both of the Latin versions, *Zanzibar*, and in the early epitomes *Tangibar*, is the *Zanguebar* of modern geography. This is applied particularly to a small island near the African shore, and also to a tract of coast within that island, bounded by Melinda on the north, and Cape Dalgada on the south; but it seems probable that those persons from whom our author acquired his information were in the habit of using the term in a more vague sense (like that of Ethiopia), and perhaps of applying it to the whole of the southern coast of Africa, inhabited, generally, by the people whom the Arabs denominate *Zengi* زنگي, and we, negroes or caffrees. It may be further conjectured that as the Arabic word *jezîreh* جزيرة signifies equally an island and a peninsula, they may have intended, by what our author has termed the island of *Zenzibar*, to denote the whole southern extremity, or peninsula, of Africa, the extent of which, from the northern part of what may be called Zanguebar-proper, is just thirty degrees of latitude, or about two thousand miles. Such appears to have been also the idea of Dr. Vincent, when he says: "Zanguebar is a native appellation given to the coast, from the island of the same name. It is noticed so early as the two Arabian voyagers and Marco Polo. M. Polo calls the coast the isle of Zamzibar, and gives it a circumference of two thousand miles, evidently applying it to the then undiscovered country of Lower Africa. In the two Arabians and other oriental writers we read the same name given to this tract, with the title of *Zingis* or *Zinguis* applied generally to all the inhabitants of the eastern coast of Africa." Periplus, Azania, p. 142. "Le païs des *Zinges* ou Negres," say the travellers above referred to, "est d'une grande estenduë." Anc. Relat. p. 111. De Barros also gives the name of *Zanguebar* an extensive application; nor is it likely, from its import ("the country of the Ethiopians") to have been originally confined to a small spot.

 1443. The

1443. The reader will judge for himself how far this description of the negro race, which seems to be distorted in passing through the medium of Mahometan prejudice, is conformable to his own observation. He must bear in mind, at the same time, that although with respect to the breadth and flatness of the nose, the thickness of the lips, and the woolly texture of the hair, there is a general uniformity, yet in size, figure, intensity of colour, and ferocity of aspect, the natives of one part of Africa differ materially from those of another. "La terra habitata da "gentili," says Barbosa, in his account of Mozambique, "sono huomini brutti, "i quali vanno ignudi, e tutti imbratati di terra colorita, e le lor parti vergognose "involte in una braca di drappo di bambagio azurro senza altro comprimento, e "hanno le labbra foratte." Fol. 289.

1444. The dates here spoken of were, probably, not those of the genuine kind, produced by the phœnix or palma dactylifera, unless imported as an article of food. De Barros, it is true, speaking of the country about Quiloa, says, "Ella "he mui fertil de palmeiras;" but these, although the word *palmeira* is translated in the dictionaries, "the date or palm-tree," seems to mean only the palma sylvestris of Kæmpfer, "dactylos ferens minores, rubros, quodammodo edules," or, "palma dactylifera minor, humilis, sylvestris, fructu minore," of Burmannus. This species being named by the Portuguese *palmeira brava*, the wild palm, or, as pronounced in the corrupt dialect of their eastern colonies, *braba*, has acquired amongst other Europeans, the vulgar appellation of the *brab* tree.

1445. It may be thought superfluous to bring proofs of the elephant being a native of this part of Africa, and ivory an article of trade; but the following passages are too directly in point to be overlooked. "Nella terra d'intorno a "Cefala" says Barbosa "sono molti elefanti, e molto grandi e salvatichi, e le "genti della terra non sanno di domarli." "Questi Mori raccolgono anchi molta "quantità di avorio, che medesimamente lo vendono per il gran regno di Cam-"baia." And again, speaking of Mozambique: "Nella terra ferma all' incontro "di questa isola vi sono molti elefanti molto grandi, e bestie salvatiche." Fol. 288-2, 289.

1446. All that can be urged in excuse for this unfounded story respecting the mode of copulating amongst these animals, is, that the error was ancient and very general, and remained uncontroverted in consequence of the opportunities for disproving it being rare. By Tavernier (liv. i, ch. xviii, p. 196, ed. 1679) it is expressly asserted. Mr. Corse, however, in a paper printed in the Philosophical Transactions (vol. lxxxix, for the year 1799) has shewn that elephants are sometimes found to breed in the domestic state, and that the operation of covering takes place as with other quadrupeds; but his experiments prove at the same time,

time, that much management was required, and that even to the professional keepers the sight was a novelty. "Formerly" says the *Ayin Akbari* "it was "thought unlucky to allow tame elephants to breed; but his majesty has sur- "mounted this scruple." Vol. i, p. 148.

1447. In the History of Quadrupeds we find the following account of the giraffe or cervus camelopardalis of Linnæus: "This animal (the existence of "which has frequently been called in question) is a native of the wild and unfre- "quented desarts of Ethiopia, and other interior parts of Africa...The height, "from the crown of the head to the ground, is seventeen feet, while at the rump "it measures only nine; the neck alone is seven feet long; and the length from "the extremity of the tail to the end of the nose, is twenty-two feet: the fore "and hind legs are nearly of an equal height, but the shoulders rise so high, that "its back inclines like the roof of a house: its neck is slender and elegant...The "colour of the male is light grey, interspersed with large dark brown spots over "the whole body; the spots on the female are of a pale yellow colour. It is a "timid and gentle creature, but not swift; from the great length of its fore legs "it is obliged to divide them to a distance when it grazes, &c." "His skin" says Grose "is reddish, spotted with white, or white with spots of red." Vol. i, p. 274. Specimens of this extraordinary animal have not of late years been uncommon in England.

1448. "Their sheep" says Hamilton, speaking of the coast of *Zeyla*, near Cape Guardafui "are all white, with jet black heads and small ears, their bodies "large, and their flesh delicate, their tails as broad as their buttocks." Vol. i, p. 15.

1449. See Notes 1423 and 1424.

1450. "They have large strong bodies and limbs," says Hamilton, and are very bold in war." Vol. i, p. 8.

1451. It is correctly stated that the coast of Africa does not furnish any breed of horses; but although wild elephants abound in the country, there is no reason to believe that the natives are any where accustomed, at the present day, to domesticate or employ them in their wars; but that it must formerly have been the case, is argued with much ingenuity, in the Travels of the meritorious and unfortunate Park. "It has been said" he observes "that the African elephant "is of a less docile nature than the Asiatic, and incapable of being tamed. The "Negroes certainly do not at present tame them; but when we consider that the "Carthaginians had always tame elephants in their armies, and actually trans-

" ported some of them to Italy in the course of the Punic wars; it seems more " likely that they should have possessed the art of taming their own elephants, " than have submitted to the expense of bringing such vast animals from Asia. " Perhaps the barbarous practice of hunting the African elephants for the sake of " their teeth, has rendered them more untractable and savage, than they were " found to be in former times." P. 307. Notwithstanding this, I am disposed to think that either our author was misinformed as to the fact, or that his remark on the employment of elephants may have been intended to apply to some other country than *Zanzibar*; Abyssinia perhaps, or Ceylon.

In regard to the number of fighting men that could be placed, with any effect, on the back of an elephant, I am assured by competent judges that it does not exceed eight, and that in modern Indian warfare even that number would be extraordinary. " Turres dorso imponunt," says Linschoten, in the sixteenth century, " ex quibus quinque vel sex viri balistis tormentis ac igneis patinis " instructi depugnant, et in hostes conjiciunt." Cap. xlvi, p. 55. By comparison, on the other hand, with the accounts furnished by ancient historians, our author's computation will appear moderate. " Sometimes," says Grose, describing the use made of elephants by the Persians, Syrians, and Romans, " they built upon " the backs of those monstrous creatures great wooden towers of several stories, " upon which the archers mounted, and shot in safety, having almost their whole " body under covert. In the battle which Antiochus Eupator gave to Judas " Maccabeus, that king of Syria had more than thirty elephants of this kind, on " each whereof were thirty-two archers, who shot arrows from all sides, and an " Indian who guided them." Vol. i, p. 270. In our version of the apocryphal books the words are: " And upon the beasts there were strong towers of wood, " which covered every one of them, and were girt fast unto them with devices: " there were also upon every one, two and thirty strong men, that fought upon " them, besides the Indian that ruled him." I. Maccabees, chap. vi, v. 37.

1452. *Bang*, an intoxicating juice, expressed from the leaves of hemp, is said to be sometimes given to Indian elephants, for the purpose of rendering them furious and insensible to danger: an expedient that must be attended with no small risk to the party employing it. The Syro-Macedonians appear to have used a different stimulus to produce the same effect: " To the end they might provoke " the elephants to fight, they shewed them the blood of grapes and mulberries." Verse 34.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Of the multitude of islands in the Indian sea.

In treating of the provinces of India, I have described only the principal and most celebrated; and the same has been done with respect to the islands, the number of which is quite incredible. I have heard indeed from mariners and eminent pilots of these countries, and have seen in the writings of those who have navigated the Indian seas, that they amount to no fewer than twelve thousand seven hundred; including the uninhabited with the inhabited islands.[1453] The division termed the greater India extends from *Maabar* to *Kesmacoran*, and comprehends thirteen large kingdoms, of which we have enumerated ten. The Lesser India commences at *Ziampa* and extends to *Murfili*, comprehending eight kingdoms, exclusive of those in the islands, which are very numerous. We shall now speak of the Second or Middle India, which is called *Abascia*.[1454]

NOTES.

1453. By this "multitude of islands" in the Indian sea, is plainly meant the extensive cluster called the *Maldives*, with the addition of the less numerous cluster called the *Laccadives*. Should there be an exaggeration in stating their total number at twelve thousand six hundred, not only our author, but also those experienced pilots to whose authority he refers, must stand excused, as it will be shewn to have been the general belief throughout India, and in the islands themselves, that the former alone consisted of eleven or twelve thousand, of all descriptions. "Quidam harum insularum numerum" says Linschoten "ad 11,000 "ferunt; sed non est certa ratio. Innumerabiles enim sunt." Cap. xiii, p. 16. A more circumstantial account of this extraordinary assemblage of coral islands, surrounded by reefs, of which a part only are covered with a scanty layer of vegetable mould, is given by Pyrard de Laval, who was shipwrecked upon them in 1602, and detained five years a prisoner. "Elles sont divisées" he says "en "treize provinces, qu'ils nomment *atollons*, qui est une division naturelle, selon "la situation des lieux: d'autant que chacun *atollon* est séparé des autres, et con-"tient en soy une grande multitude de petites isles." "Au dedans de chacun

"de

BOOK III. CHAP. XXXVIII. Notes.

" de ces enclos, sont les isles tant grandes que petites, en nombre presque infiny. " Ceux du pays me disoient qu'il y en avoit jusques à *douze mille.* J'estime quant " à moy, qu'il n'y a pas apparence d'y en avoir tant, et qu'ils disent douze mille, " pour désigner un nombre incroyable, et qui ne se peut conter. Bien est il vray " qu'il y a une infinité de petites, qui ne sont quasi que des mottes de sable toutes " inhabitées. Davantage le roy des Maldives met ce nombre en ses titres, car il " s'appelloit ' *Sultan Ibrahim* roy de treize provinces et de douze mille isles. ' " Voyage, p. 71.

In chap. viii. of this book, on the subject of *Lochac*, supposed to be *Kamboja*, the following sentence appeared: " From hence are exported all those porcelain " shells, which, being carried to other countries, are there circulated for money." This assertion is strictly and almost exclusively applicable to the *Maldive* islands, and was intended by our author (as I am fully persuaded) to be introduced at this place. See Note 1186. Similar instances of transposition have been already pointed out.

1454. This division of India into the Greater, the Lesser, and the Middle, does not appear to have reference either to geographical position or relative importance. By the Lesser is here understood what was termed India extra Gangem, or, more strictly, the space included between the eastern coast of the peninsula of India, and that of Kochinchina or Tsiampa. The Greater is made to comprehend the whole of Hindustan proper and the peninsula, as far westward as the province of Makran, or the country extending from the Ganges to the Indus, inclusive. The appellation of Middle or second India, our author applies expressly to Abyssinia, but seems to intend that the coast of Arabia also, as far as the Persian gulf, should be comprised in this division.

It is difficult to account for such a distribution, as more correct notions might have been obtained from Ptolemy, through the medium of the Arabian navigators; but it may have been occasioned by an ambiguity, in the first instance, respecting the name of Ethiopians, which was not uncommonly given by the ancients to the natives of India, particularly those of the Malabar coast, whom Pomponius Mela terms " atræ gentes et quodammodo Æthiopes; " and, in the next, by a custom of the Persians to apply to the people of Abyssinia the term of " black Indians." " Habasch et Habaschi " says D'Herbelot " signifie un Abissin ou " Ethiopien, le plurier de ce nom est Hobousch et Hobschán, les Ethiopiens, " que les Persans appellent *Siah Hindou*, les Indiens noirs." Herodotus also speaks of Æthiopians of Asia, but appears to Rennell to mean the people of *Makran* and other provinces in the south-eastern angle of Persia, and not the southern Indians. In the early part of the fifteenth century we find the definition of India made to comprehend nearly the same portion of the globe as that on which we so vaguely bestow the appellation of " the East Indies." " L'India

" tutta "

Notes.

" tutta," says Nicolo di Conti " è divisa in tre parti: la prima si distende dalla " Parsia, sino al fiume Indo: la seconda da questo fiume sino al Ganges: la terza " è quella che è oltra al detto fiume, e questa è la migliore, la piu ricca, et piu " civile." Ramusio, vol. i, fol. 342. In this division he evidently means to include China, although he does not mention it by name. " Fra il fiume Eufrate et " il Gange " says Barbosa " e la prima e seconda India...Passato questo fiume " verso Malacha, è la terza India;" e questo è secondo l'opinione de Mori." Fol. 315-2.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Of the Second or Middle India, named Abascia (or Abyssinia).

Abascia is an extensive country termed the Middle or Second India. Its principal king is a Christian. Of the others, who are six in number and tributary to the first, three are Christians and three are Saracens.[1455] I was informed that the Christians of these parts, in order to be distinguished as such, make three signs or marks (on the face), namely one on the forehead, and one on each cheek; which latter are imprinted with a hot iron, and this may be considered as a second baptism, with fire, after the baptism with water. The Saracens have only one mark, which is on the forehead and reaches to the middle of the nose. The Jews, who are likewise numerous here, have two marks, and these upon the cheeks.[1456]

The capital of the principal Christian king is in the interior of the country.[1457] The dominions of the Saracen princes lie towards the province of *Aden*.[1458] The conversion of these people to the Christian faith was the work of the glorious Apostle, St. Thomas, who having preached the Gospel in the kingdom of Nubia and converted its inhabitants, afterwards visited *Abascia*, and there by the influence of his discourses and the performance of miracles, produced the same effect.[1459] He subsequently went to abide in the province of *Maabar*, where, after converting an infinite number of persons, he received, as we have already mentioned, the crown of martyrdom, and was buried on the spot.

These

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These people of *Abascia* are brave and good warriors, being constantly engaged in hostility with the soldan of *Aden*, the people of Nubia, and many others whose countries border upon theirs. In consequence of this unceasing practice in arms, they are accounted the best soldiers in this part of the world.[1460]

In the year 1288, as I was informed, this great Abyssinian prince adopted the resolution of visiting in person the holy sepulchre of Christ, in Jerusalem; a pilgrimage that is every year performed by vast numbers of his subjects; but he was dissuaded from it by the officers of his government, who represented to him the dangers to which he would be exposed, in passing through so many places belonging to the Saracens his enemies. He then determined upon sending thither a bishop as his representative, a man of high reputation for sanctity, who upon his arrival at Jerusalem recited the prayers and made the offerings which the king had directed. Returning however, from that city, through the dominions of the soldan of *Aden*, the latter caused him to be brought into his presence, and endeavoured to persuade him to become a Mahometan. Upon his refusing with becoming firmness to abandon the Christian faith, the soldan, making light of the resentment of the Abyssinian monarch, had him circumcised, and then suffered him to depart. Upon his arrival and making a report of the indignity and violence to which he had been subjected, the king immediately gave orders for assembling an army, at the head of which he marched, for the purpose of exterminating the soldan; who on his part, called to his assistance two Mahometan princes his neighbours, by whom he was joined with a very large force. In the conflict that ensued, the Abyssinian king was victorious, and having taken the city of *Aden*, he gave it up to pillage, in revenge for the insult he had sustained in the person of his bishop.[1461]

The inhabitants of this kingdom live upon wheat, rice, flesh, and milk. They extract oil from sesamé, and have abundance of all sorts of provisions.[1462] In the country there are elephants, lions, camelopards, and a variety of other animals, such as wild asses, and monkies that have the figure of men; together with many birds, wild and domestic.[1463]

mestic.[1463] It is extremely rich in gold,[1464] and much frequented by merchants, who obtain large profits. We shall now speak of the province of *Aden*. BOOK III. CHAP. XXXIX.

NOTES.

1455. " Uni tamen regi" says Ludolfus " Habessinia paret; qui ob subjectos " quosdam regulos, regem regum Æthiopiæ semet vocat." Hist Æthiop. Procem. " Christianity" says Gibbon " had raised that nation above the level of African " barbarism: their intercourse with Egypt, and the successors of Constantine, " had communicated the rudiments of the arts and sciences; their vessels traded " to the island of Ceylon, and *seven* kingdoms obeyed the Negus or supreme " prince of Abyssinia." Vol. iv, p. 267. This number must have fluctuated at different periods, and accordingly we find in B. Tellez, Ludolfus, and other writers, enumerations of from fourteen to thirty provinces, which the latter however, in his History, reduces to nine principal; and in his Commentary he observes, " Quicquid sit; regnorum numerus incertus manet, quia provinciæ seu regiones, " quæ regni nomen non habent, cum regnis confunduntur." P. 87. Dapper gives the names of seven kingdoms which he considers as forming the dominions of the Abyssinian monarch of his day. P. 320.

1456. " Abyssini Christiani" says Linschoten " notabili Baptismatis genere " faciem notis quatuor in formam crucis inurunt. Crux prima supra nasum ad " mediam usque frontem cutem notat, secunda et tertia ad latera oculorum tractu " ferè usque ad aures, quarta ab inferiore labro ad mentum usque perducitur. " Ista nota illis pro Baptismo est et supplet aquæ vicem ignis." Cap. xl, p. 49. " Secondo che dicono," says Barbosa, "il lor battesimo è in tre modi, cioè di " sangue, di fuoco, e d'acqua: perche si circoncidono come Giudei, e nella " fronte ancora col fuoco, e nell' acqua si battezzano come Christiani Catholici." Fol. 290-2. This general belief of an ancient Abyssinian practice is sufficient to justify our author, whether the fact be true or false, as he only professes to relate what had been told to him. The ceremony of cauterising after baptism is however, on the authority of his native priest, denied by Ludolfus, who says: " Cre- " didere et scripsere plerique (Leonh. Rauchwolf in Itinerar. Orient. L. iii, c. 17. " Paulus Jovius, Hist. L. 18. Linschott, et alii plurimi) *stigmate* notari Æthiopes " post baptismum, implendis verbis Johannis Baptistæ: *qui post me venturus est,* " *ille vos baptizabit Spiritu Sancto et igne.* Sed Gregorius negavit: nec mentio- " nem ejus rei faciunt Patres Societatis in suis epistolis. Constat autem Africæ

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"populos, tam gentiles, quàm muhammedanos, pueris recens natis venas tempo-
"rum cauterio inurere contra catarrhos; id ab Habessinis nonnullis factum, ab
"exteris imperitis, pro more religioso habitum fuit." Hist. Æthiop. L. iii, c. 6. Notwithstanding this negative authority, it may be doubted whether the practice might not have existed at an earlier period, although fallen into disuse or perhaps become opprobrious.

It should be remarked that the orthography of the name, which is *Abascia* in Ramusio's text and that of the older Latin, *Abasia* in the Basle edition, and *Abasaia* in the early Venice, approaches much nearer to that of *Habésh* or *Habsh* حبش, as written and pronounced by the Arabians, Persians, and other eastern people, than does the latinised name of Abyssinia.

1457. The central situation here alluded to is that of *Axuma* or *Akshuma*, the ancient capital of Abyssinia and seat of the prince who, by Alvarez, Barbosa, and other early Portuguese writers, is styled *Prete João* or Prester John, of *Ethiopia*. "Dentro questo regno" says the latter, in Ramusio's Italian translation "vi è la gran città di Caxumo, appresso la quale il Prete Janni il piu del "tempo dimor, astando sempre alla compagna, il quale li Mori e Gentili chia-"mano il gran re Neguz. E Christiano, signore di molte gran provincie." Fol. 290-2. It may, by some, be thought extraordinary that an appellation of so much note, however absurdly bestowed, should not have been adverted to in our author's writings; but this is readily explained by observing that the king of Abyssinia had not yet been so designated by the people of Europe, in his days, and that it was, in fact, his own account of Prester John of *Tartary*, that gave occasion, at a period long subsequent, to its being applied to another Christian prince. This is clearly shewn by J. de Barros, Dec. iii, l. iv, c. i, "em que se "escrevem as cousas d'el rey da Abassia ou Ethiopia sobre Egypto, a que vul-"garmente chamamos Preste João: et as causas do error deste nome." It is also, more succinctly, explained by Ludolfus, who says: "Rex Habessinorum "vix alio quàm Presbyteri Johannis titulo notus hucusque fuit Europæis, quem "illi Lusitani imposuêre. Occasio talis fuit. Petrus, Petri filius Lusitaniæ prin-"ceps, M. Pauli Veneti librum (qui de Indorum rebus multa, speciatim verò de "Presbytero Johanne aliqua magnificè scripsit) Venetiis secum in patriam detu-"lerat; qui (chronologicis Lusitanorum testantibus) præcipuam Johanni regi "ansam dedit Indicæ navigationis, quam Henricus Johannis I. filius, patruus "ejus, tentaverat, prosequendæ...Cujus vestigiis insistens Johannes II. quò "rebus omnibus bene cognitis cœpta perficeret, Lusitanos duos, Arabicæ linguæ "gnaros, Petrum Covillianum et Alfonsum Payvam exploratum misit: iisque "inter alia in mandatis dedit, ut decantissimum illum Presbyterum Johannem, "Asiæ vel Indiæ, ut quidam ferebant, regem opulentissimum, investigarent, "societatem et fœdus cum illo, ceu principe Christiano facilè sperans....Petrus ex

"India,

" India, ubi Presbyterum Johannem frustra quæsierat, redux, in portibus Maris " Rubri multa audivit de Christiano Habessinorum rege potentissimo, crucem " manu gestare solitô, et populis illi subjectis Christianæ religioni addictis. Parum " igitur referre putans, in Africâ, an in Asiâ reperiretur famosus ille monarcha, " hunc ipsum esse qui quæreretur, historiarum ac geographiæ rudis, planè per- " suasum sibi habuit, idemque iteratis vicibus regi suo perscripsit; ipse verò in " Æthiopiam se contulit, celebratissimum istum imperatorem Presbyterum, quasi " alium Pontificem Maximum, oculis usurpaturus. Lusitani autem læta illa " nova, ut fieri solet, prius crediderunt, quàm ponderarunt, et ceu indubitata " per universam Europam sparserunt, credulis ad ea plerisque externarum rerum " et regionum ignaris." Hist. Æthiop. l. ii, c. i. For what relates to the original Prester John of the North, see Notes *365*, *455*, and *456*.

1458. It will appear hereafter more probable that the country here spoken of is intended for *Adel*, a kingdom adjoining to Abyssinia on the southern side, than for *Adem* or *Aden*, which is divided from it by the Red sea or Arabian gulf. The Basle edition says, more precisely: " *Contingit* hanc regionem (Abasiam) alia " quædam provincia Aden dicta." But certainly Abyssinia and the coast of Arabia, where Aden stands, do not *touch* nor in any sense confine upon each other. The latter is, however, the subject of the succeeding chapter.

1459. " Sono Christiani " says Barbosa " della dottrina del beato S. Tomaso e " S. Filippo Apostoli." Fol. 290-2. On the subject of opinions respecting the preaching of the Gospel in the East, by St. Thomas, and the circumstances of his martyrdom, see Note 1317.

1460. For the existence of inveterate enmity and perpetual warfare between the sovereigns of Abyssinia and of *Adel* (whose principal port is *Zeila*, on the south-western coast of the Red sea) we have ample authority, and particularly in the writings of Andrea Corsali, a Florentine, and Francisco Alvarez, a Portuguese, which are to be found in Ramusio, vol. i, fol. 176-260. " Capitale odium " inter Habessinos et Adelenses " says Ludolfus " a *multis seculis* viguit." " Patres Soc. in relat. ann. 1697 et 1608. p. 60. clare scribunt: Adelenses semper " habuerunt et etiamnum habent bella cum imperatore Æthiopiæ." Commentar. p. 256. " Questo re " says Alvarez, speaking of the king of *Adel*, " è molto " stimato fra Mori, e tenuto come per santo, perche continuamente fa guerra a " Christiani, et è proveduto dalli re di Arabia e signori della Mecca, et da altri " re Mori di arme e cavalli, e di tutto cio che vuole, et egli all' incontro gli " manda à donare infiniti schiavi Abissini, che piglia nella guerra." Fol. 242. The reader will apply these historical facts to the conjecture offered in Note 1458, that *Adel*, not *Aden*, was meant as the neighbouring state to Abyssinia.

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1461. Respecting this conquest made by the king of Abyssinia, whether of the capital of the soldan of *Adel*, on the African shore, or of *Aden*, on the Arabian side of the Red sea, there might have been hopes of obtaining some light from Bruce's Annals of that country, and particularly as the second chapter professes to relate transactions from the year 1283 to 1312, embracing the period of which our author speaks; but the information contained in it is of a general nature, and although it corroborates the accounts of interminable dissentions with *Adel*, does not record any specific operation. "I am inclined to think," says the celebrated traveller, "that a civil war among the brothers was the occasion of the quick "succession of so many princes; and that in the time when the kingdom was "weakened by this calamity, the states of *Adel*, grown rich and powerful, had "improved the occasion, and seized upon all that territory from Azab to Me- "linda, and cut off the Abyssinians entirely from the sea-coast, and from an "opportunity of trading directly with India from the ports situated upon the "ocean. And my reason is, that, in a reign which speedily follows, we find the "kingdom of Adel increased greatly in power, and Moorish princes from Arabia "established in little principalities, exactly corresponding with the southern "limits of Abyssinia, and placed betwixt them and the ocean; and we see at the "same time a rancour and hatred firmly rooted in the breasts of both nations, "one of the causes of which is constantly alleged by the Abyssinian princes to "be, that the Moors of Adel were anciently their subjects and vassals, had with- "drawn themselves from their allegiance, and owed their present independence "to rebellion only." Vol. ii, p. 4. No mention is here made of hostilities with the princes of *Aden*, nor is a fleet, for the embarkation of an army, which in that case would have been indispensable, any where spoken of.

1462. "Le loro vettovaglie" says Barbosa "sono carni di tutte le sorti, latte, "butiro, e mele, pan di formento e di miglio, e di queste cose ve n'è grande "abbondanza." Fol. 290-2. "The Abysssinians" says Bruce "have plenty of "wheat, and some of it of an excellent quality: they likewise make as fine "wheat-bread as any in the world, both for colour and for taste; but the use of "wheat-bread is chiefly confined to people of the first rank." Vol. v, Appendix, p. 76.

1463. "The elephant, rhinoceros, giraffa or camelopardalis, are inhabitants of "the low flat country; nor is the lion or leopard, *faadh*, which is the panther, "seen in the high and cultivated country. There are no tigers in Abyssinia, nor, "as far as I know, in Africa... Innumerable flocks of apes and baboons of "different kinds, destroy the fields of millet every where." Vol. v, Appendix, p. 84. "The number of birds in Abyssinia exceeds that of other animals beyond "proportion." P. 149.

1464. Although

1464. Although gold is enumerated amongst the articles of export from Abyssinia, and said to be found in its rivers, it is not spoken of by modern writers as abounding in the country; yet as the adjoining coasts of Africa have at all periods been celebrated for the production of gold, it is reasonable to suppose that during the flourishing days of the empire, it may have been collected there from the southward, in large quantities and at a price to afford considerable profit when disposed of to the merchants of Arabia. "On trouve" says Niebuhr, in his description of the latter country "beaucoup d'or de *Habbesch* dans les villes bien commer-" çantes." P. 124.

CHAPTER XL.

Of the province of Aden.[1465]

THE province of *Aden* is governed by a king, who bears the title of soldan.[1466] The inhabitants are all Saracens, and utterly detest the Christians.[1467] In this kingdom there are many towns and castles, and it has the advantage of an excellent port, frequented by ships arriving from India with spices and drugs.[1468] The merchants who purchase them with the intention of conveying them to Alexandria, unlade them from the ships in which they were imported, and distribute the cargoes on board of other smaller vessels, with which they navigate a gulf of the sea for twenty days, or more or less, according to the weather they experience. Having reached their port, they then load their goods upon the backs of camels, and transport them overland thirty days journey, to the river Nile, where they are again put into small vessels, called *jerms*, in which they are conveyed by the stream of that river to Kairo, and from thence, by an artificial canal, named *Kalizene*, at length to Alexandria.[1469] This is the least difficult and the shortest route the merchants can take with their goods, the produce of India, from Aden to that city. In this port of Aden likewise the merchants ship a great number of Arabian horses, which they carry for sale to all the kingdoms and islands of India, obtaining high prices for them, and making large profits.[1470]

The

The soldan of Aden possesses immense treasures, arising from the imposts he lays, as well upon the merchandise that comes from India, as upon that which is shipped in his port as the returning cargo; this being the most considerable mart in all that quarter for the exchange of commodities, and the place to which all the trading vessels resort. I was informed that when the soldan of Babylon, in the year 1200, led his army, the first time, against the city of Acre, and took it, this city of Aden furnished him with thirty thousand horses and forty thousand camels; stimulated by the rancour borne against the Christians.[1471] We shall now speak of the city of *Escier*.

NOTES.

1465. Whatever place it may have been, against which the hostility of the king of Abyssinia was directed (as mentioned in the preceding chapter), there can be no doubt of the *Adem* here described being the famous city and port of *Aden*, in the south-eastern extremity of Yemen or Arabia felix, and not far from the entrance of the Red sea. It is not, indeed, surprising that two places so nearly resembling each other in name (as *Adel* and *Aden*), and spoken of in successive chapters, should have been confounded by the translators of the work, and mistaken for the same; nor is it impossible that our author himself might have misapprehended the information he received from the Arabian pilots.

1466. De Guignes, speaking of the princes of the family of *Saladin* who reigned at *Aden* from the year 1180, says: "Après la mort de ce prince, qui a dû arriver "vers l'an 637 de l'Hegire, de J. C. 1239, un Turkoman, appellé *Noureddin* "*Omar* qui s'étoit emparé de ce pays, envoya demander au khalif *Mostanser* "une patente et l'investiture en qualité de *sulthan* de l'Yemen, ce qui lui fut "accordé." "Cette famille a possédé l'Yemen jusqu'après l'an 800 de l'Hégire, "de J. C. 1397." Tab. Chronol. liv. vii, p. 426. Consequently it was one of these sultans or soldans who reigned at the period of which our author treats.

1467. Independently of the general hatred borne by orthodox Mahometans against Christians, the antipathy was heightened in this instance, amongst the people of Yemen, by the circumstance of the country having been governed for sixty years by the family of Saladin, the celebrated hero of the crusades, who had long struggled for his existence against a romantic confederacy of Christian states.

1468. We

1468. We have many descriptions of the city of Aden, the earliest of which is that of *Sherîf Edrisi*: "Est autem Aden عدن urbs parva" he says "celebris "tamen, quia est portus utriusque maris, et ex ipsa solvuntur navigia Sindæ, "Indæ, et Sinarum, et ad ipsam deferuntur vasa Sinica . . . Hæc civitas est em- "poretica." Geographia Nubiensis, p. 25. By Abulfeda it is spoken of in less favourable terms: "*Adan*" he says "appellatur *Adan Abian;* sita super litus "maris: urbs exonerationis et velificationis navium *Al-Hend* (Indiæ), urbsque "mercatorum, sicca et squalida." Descr. penins. Arabum, p. 41. It would seem from the account given of it by Barbosa, who wrote soon after the period when the Indian and African seas began to be frequented by his countrymen, that its importance had increased since the days of the Arabian geographers. "Passate "queste terre," says the Portuguese traveller, "arrivasi alla città di Adem, che "è di Mori, e ha re da per se, et è molto bella città, con molto belle e gran "case: et è di molto traffico, et è molto ben murata di buone muraglie all'usan- "za di quà." "Vi vengono molte navi grande e piccole da diverse parti, cioè "dal Zidem (Judda)... Anchora arrivano quivi molte nave de Zeila e Barbora.. "e vi vengono le navi della città d'Ormuz à trafficare, e similmente di Cambaia "... Et anchora à questo porto d'Adem vengono molte navi di Chaul, e Dabul, "e Baticala, e del paese di Calicut... Vengonovi anche le navi di Bengala, e "Sumatra, e Malacha." Fol. 291–2. He then proceeds to mention an attack made upon the place by the Portuguese (under Affonso d'Alboquerque) who, after burning the shipping in the harbour, were repulsed with great loss in their attempt to scale the walls of the city.

1469. A correct account is here given of the progress of what we term the overland trade from India. The merchandise collected at the port of *Aden*, just without the Red sea, (as, in modern times, at *Mokha*, just within it) was from thence transported in vessels of an easy draft of water (on account of the numerous shoals) to *Koseir*, a place on the western coast of that sea, to the northward of the ancient station of Berenicé. Here it was laden on the backs of camels, and in that manner conveyed across the desert to *Kûs*, and latterly to *Kené*, on the Nile, within the territory of Egypt, where it was put into boats correctly called *jerms*, in order to its being carried down the stream of the river to Cairo, and thence, by means of the *khalij* or grand canal, to Alexandria, the emporium of eastern commodities for supplying the markets of Europe.

1470. The exportation of horses from Arabia and the gulf of Persia, to India, and particularly the southern provinces, has been already spoken of, in Notes 1279 and 1280. See also Note 1473.

1471. The

BOOK III. CHAP. XL. Notes.

1471. The date of 1200 assigned to this event must be erroneous. Acre or *Akka* was taken from the Franks by *Saladin*, in the year 1187, and as the government of Yemen, in which Aden is situated, was at the time held by his brother, he might naturally derive assistance from that quarter. The place was retaken by the Christians in 1191, and again wrested from them in 1291. It is evident, however, from the expression of "*prima volta*" in Ramusio's text, that our author, who returned to Venice in 1295, must refer to the capture of 1187, as the latter siege was too recent and of too great notoriety to admit of any uncertainty with regard to the date. It is not unlikely that a blank may have been left for the year of the former event (no longer a subject of common recollection), which was afterwards filled up by conjecture with a round number. *Saladin* or *Salah-eddîn* is improperly termed the Sultan of Babylon. His capital was *Kâhirah* قاهرة or Cairo. See Notes 38 and 1104; and in the latter, substitute Cairo for *Baghdad*.

CHAPTER XLI.

Of the city of Escier.

CHAP. XLI.

THE ruler of this city is a Mahometan, who governs it with exemplary justice, under the superior authority of the sultan of Aden. Its distance from thence is about forty miles to the south-east.[1472] Subordinate to it there are many towns and castles. Its port is good, and it is visited by many trading ships from India, which carry back a number of excellent horses, highly esteemed in that country, and sold there at considerable prices.[1473]

This district produces a large quantity of white frankincense of the first quality,[1474] which distils, drop by drop, from a certain small tree that resembles the fir. The people occasionally tap the tree or pare away the bark, and from the incision the frankincense gradually exsudes, which afterwards becomes hard.[1475] Even when an incision is not made, an exsudation is perceived to take place, in consequence of the excessive heat of the climate. There are also many palm trees, which produce good dates in abundance. No grain excepting rice and millet is cultivated

vated in this country, and it becomes necessary to obtain supplies from other parts.[1476] There is no wine made from grapes, but they prepare a liquor from rice, sugar and dates, that is a delicious beverage.[1477] They have a small breed of sheep, the ears of which are not situated like those in others of the species; two small horns growing in the place of them, and lower down, towards the nose, there are two orifices that serve the purpose of ears.[1478]

These people are great fishermen, and catch the tunny in such numbers, that two may be purchased for a Venetian groat. They dry them in the sun;[1479] and as, by reason of the extreme heat, the country is in a manner burnt up, and no sort of vegetable is to be seen, they accustom their cattle, cows, sheep, camels, and horses, to feed upon dried fish, which being regularly served to them, they eat without any signs of dislike.[1480] The fish used for this purpose are of a small kind, which they take in vast quantities during the months of March, April, and May, and when dried, they lay up in their houses for the food of their cattle. These will also feed upon the fresh fish, but are more accustomed to eat them in the dried state. In consequence also of the scarcity of grain, the natives make a kind of biscuit of the substance of the larger fish, in the following manner: they chop it into very small particles, and moisten the preparation with a liquor rendered thick and adhesive by a mixture of flour, which gives to the whole the consistence of paste. This they form into a kind of bread, which they dry and harden by exposure to a burning sun. A stock of this biscuit is laid up to serve them for the year's consumption.[1481] The frankincense before mentioned is so cheap in the country as to be purchased by the governor at the rate of ten besants (gold ducats) the quintal, who sells it again to the merchants at forty besants. This he does under the direction of the soldan of Aden,[1482] who monopolises all that is produced in the district at the above price, and derives a large profit from the re-sale. Nothing further presenting itself at this place, we shall now speak of the city of *Dulfar*.

NOTES.

BOOK III. CHAP. XLI. Notes.

1472. Although with respect to the bearings of this place from Aden, we must necessarily read north-east for south-east, and the distance is considerably more than forty miles, there is little room for doubt that *Escier* must be the *Schähhr* شحر of Niebuhr, (or *Sheher* in our orthography), the *Sahar* of D'Anville, and the *Seer* of Ovington's voyage. If pronounced with the Arabic article, *Al-sheher*, or, more correctly, *As-sheher*, it would approach still more nearly to the Italian pronunciation of *Escier*. "A place next to this, (says Ovington, who had been speaking "of *Cassîn*, the *Keschîn* of Niebuhr) much more noted for the civil deportment "of the natives, and for the convenience of a port, for a greater concourse of "people, and for traffick, is *Seer*, which is much frequented by ships from several "ports, viz. Muscatt, Gombron, Suratt, and Gella, and some other places on "the Abbasseen shore, from whence they bring butter, myrrh, and slaves; and "those from Muscatt and Suratt transport with them olibanum, aloes, and what "the port affords." Voyage to Suratt, &c. p. 456. Mention is made of it by the Arabian travellers of the ninth century, in whose Relations it is said: "Dans "cette mer qui est comme à la droite des Indes en partant de Homan (*Oman*) on "trouve le païs de *Sihar*, où croist l'encens." P. 115.

1473. Barbosa may be presumed to speak of this place and its trade in horses, where he says: "Nella medesima costa è un altra terra e porto di mare, detta "Pecher, che è del regno di Fartas; et è molto grande, e quivi è un molto gran "traffico di mercantie, che li Mori di Cambaia, e di Chaul, e Dabul, Batticola, "e di terre di Malabari portano con le lor navi." "Le quali vendono quivi alli "mercatanti della terra, che le portano di li in Adem, e per tutta quell' Arabia: "i danari gli investono poi costoro in cavalli per l'India, li quali son molto "grandi e molto buoni, et ogn'uno d'essi vale in India cinquecento ò seicento "ducati." Fol. 292. Hamilton mentions that the horses are purchased on the spot at the price of fifty or sixty pounds sterling.

1474. "*Schähhr*, ville où il y a un port d'où l'on exporte encore quelque peu "d'encens (*olibân*)." Description de l'Arabie, p. 244. "The product of the "country" says Hamilton "is myrrh and olibanum or frankincense, which they "barter for coarse calicoes from India; but they have no great commerce with "strangers." Vol. i, p. 55. The native trade of that part of the world had much declined in his days, from what it was at the period when Barbosa wrote, soon after the Portuguese discovery. "Les choses ont changé," Niebuhr observes; "l'Yemen et l'Hadramaut ne sont plus l'entrepôt des marchandises qui sortent "de l'Egypte et des Indes." Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 246. "Anciennement"

says

says the same intelligent traveller, in another place " l'Arabie n'étoit pas moins " célèbre par son encens que par son or; mais tout l'encens que les pays septen- " trionaux tiroient de l'Arabie heureuse, n'étoit pas du crû de cette province... " Actuellement on ne cultive que sur la côte sud-est d'Arabie, dans les environs " de *Keschín*, *Dafâr*, *Merbât*, *Hasek*, et surtout dans la province de *Schähhr*, " l'espèce seule d'encens nommée *libân* ou *olibán* par les Arabes; incense ou " frankincense par les Anglois; et cette espèce est très-mauvaise. Les Arabes " tirent beaucoup d'autres sortes d'encens de l'Habbesch, de Sumatra, Siam, " Java, &c. et parmi celles-là une qu'ils appellent *bachôr-java* (بخورجاو), et que " les Anglois nomment *benzoin*, est très-semblable à *l'olibán*. On en exporte en " grande quantité en Turquie par les golfes d'Arabie et de Perse, et la moindre " des trois espèces de *benzoin*, que les marchands vendent, est estimée meilleure " que l'*olibán* d'Arabie." P. 126. Its appellation of " incenso bianco " appears to be taken from the Arabic name of *laban* لبن properly signifying " milk;" and by this it is distinguished from the benzoin, which is mostly of a brown colour.

1475. " Olibanum. Sub cortice colligitur; dein sponte per eundem prorumpens. " Constat hæc gummi-resina ex granis variæ figuræ et magnitudinis, estque citrina " vel rufa, pellucida, fragilis, odoris grati, &c. Colligitur in Arabia utraque, un- " de Gieddam et inde per Mare Rubrum, in Ægyptum transfertur." Hasselquist, Resa, p. 452.

" One whose eyes
" Albeit unused to the melting mood,
" Drop tears as fast as the Arabian trees
" Their medicinal gum,"—*Shaksp. Othello.*

1476. This will be found to hold true of the coast of Yemen in general, although wheat may be raised in particular districts. " La plus grande partie " says Niebuhr " consiste en plaines, où l'on trouve de grandes contrées sablonneuses " et désertes. Cependant en certains endroits ses habitans ne manquent ni de " froment, ni de *durra* (millet d'Afrique), ni d'orge, ni de fêves, ni d'autres fruits " nécessaires à la vie." Descript. p. 239. " Je ne sache pas " he says in another place " que l'on cultive du ris...Cependant les François qui furent l'an 1772 à " *Mauahheb*, prétendent avoir vû des champs de ris dans l'Yemen." P. 133.

1477. The mode of obtaining a fermented and inebriating liquor from the infusion of dates in warm water, as practised by people inhabiting the coast of the Persian gulf, has been spoken of in Note 220. A spirit is also distilled from them.

1478. The varieties of the sheep kind are numerous, and some of them will be perceived, in our books of zoology, to differ from others by extraordinary peculiarities. This small breed, however, with diminutive horns, and without exterior ears, does not appear amongst them. The following words from the Latin version do not mark the singularity so strongly as the Italian text: "Ver- "veces qui in hac regione inveniuntur sunt statura parvi, auribus omnino caren- "tes; sed loco eorum cornua parva habent."

1479. This part of the coast of Arabia not having been visited by Niebuhr, our information respecting it is not so direct or circumstantial as it would otherwise have been; but the practice of drying fish in the sun (by no means an uncommon one), although unnoticed by him under the head of "Nourriture des Arabes," is sufficiently proved from other authorities. "Il n'y a point au monde, comme "je croi," says Chardin, "de mer si poissonneuse que le golphe de Perse." "On "apporte sur les côtes de ce golphe d'un poisson dont la chair est rouge, et qui "pèze deux à trois cens livres, qu'on prend sur la côte d'Arabie, et qu'on sale "comme le bœuf. On ne le sauroit garder long-tems, parce que le sel de ce "lieu-là est corrosif, et ronge fort. C'est qui fait qu'on seiche seulement au "soleil, ou à la fumée, le poisson qu'on veut garder: et qu'on ne le sale pas." Tom. ii, p. 33.

1480. "La mer" says Niebuhr, speaking of the coast of *Omán* "est si pois- "sonneuse que non seulement l'on nourrit de poisson les vaches, les ânes, et "d'autres animaux; mais qu'on s'en sert même pour engraisser les champs." P. 255. In Vincent's excellent translation of Arrian's Voyage of Nearchus, we find the following passages respecting the Ichthyophagi or Fish-eaters, who inhabit the coast between the Indus and the Gulf of Persia, where the physical circumstances bear a strong resemblance to those between that gulf and the Red sea. "The inhabitants, however, were hospitable; they brought down fish and "sheep; but the very mutton was fishy, like the flesh of sea-fowl, and the sheep "were fed upon fish: for grass there was none in the country." P. 40. "Their "very cattle likewise are fed with dried fish, for they have neither grass nor "pasture." P. 46.

1481. "The small (fish) and those of the softer kind they eat raw, as they "take them out of the water. The large and hard they dry in the sun, and, "when dry, reduce them to powder like meal, which they knead up into loaves, "or mix up in a liquid form like frumenty." P. 46. The thunny fish is repeatedly mentioned.

1482. The

1482. The importance of *Aden* with respect to the neighbouring countries has changed considerably, at different periods. In our author's time, and afterwards under the Turkish government, its influence extended to *Sheher*, *Keschîn*, and other places on the southern coast of Yemen and that of Hadramaut. In the seventeenth century Aden was subordinate to the *Imâm* of Yemen or of Mokha. In later times it has been independent and insignificant. "Les habitans" says Niebuhr "se choisirent un *Schech*, et renvoyèrent le *Dôla* (gouverneur) et ses "soldats." P. 221.

CHAPTER XLII.

Of the city of Dulfar.

Dulfar is a large and respectable city or town, at the distance of twenty miles from *Escier*, in a south-easterly direction.[1483] Its inhabitants are Mahometans, and its ruler also is a subject of the soldan of Aden.[1484] This place lies near the sea, and has a good port, frequented by many ships. Numbers of Arabian horses are collected here from the inland country, which the merchants buy up and carry to India, where they gain considerably by disposing of them. Frankincense is likewise produced here and purchased by the merchants.[1485] *Dulfar* has other towns and castles under its jurisdiction. We shall now speak of the gulf of Kalayati.

NOTES.

1483. The *Dulfar* of our text is the *Dafâr* of Niebuhr and of our charts. Its direction from the last mentioned place, conformably to that of the coast in general, is about north-east, and its distance considerably greater than what is here stated. "Upon this coast of Arabia" says Ovington "are variety of places "for traffick, the first of which that I shall here take notice of is *Dofar*, which "is situated towards the eastern part of this sea." Voyage, p. 452

1484. This town has in like manner shaken off the yoke of successive masters. "*Dafâr*," says the former writer, "a son *Schech* indépendant." P. 248. "The "king

BOOK III. CHAP. XLII. Notes.

" king of this place" Ovington adds " engages now and then in skirmishes and " martial disputes with his neighbouring princes, the kings of *Seer* (*Escier* or " *Sheher*) and Casseen (*Keschîn*)." P. 452.

1485. " *Dafâr*, ville connue et port de mer, d'où l'on exporte le meilleur " encens (*olibân* ou *libân*)." P. 218. " The country of *Dofar*" says Ovington " produces only some olibanum, &c." P. 453. With respect to the export of horses, see Notes 1279 and 1473.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Of the city of Kalayati.

CHAP. XLIII.

KALAYATI is a large town situated near a gulf which has the name of *Kalatu*, distant from *Dulfar* about fifty miles towards the south-east.[1486] The people are followers of the law of Mahomet,[1487] and are subjects to the *Melik* of Ormus,[1488] who when he is attacked and hard pressed by another power, has recourse to the protection afforded by this city, which is so strong in itself, and so advantageously situated, that it has never yet been taken by an enemy.[1489] The country around it not yielding any kind of grain, it is imported from other districts. Its harbour is good, and many trading ships arrive there from India, which sell their piece goods and spiceries to great advantage, the demand being considerable for the supply of towns and castles lying at a distance from the coast.[1490] These likewise carry away freights of horses, which they sell advantageously in India.

The fortress is so situated at the entrance of the gulf of *Kalatu*, that no vessel can come in or depart without its permission. Occasionally it happens that the *Melik* of this city, who is under certain engagements with, and is tributary to the king of *Kermain*, throws off his allegiance in consequence of the latter's imposing some unusual contribution. Upon his refusing to pay the demand, and an army being sent to compel him, he departs from Ormus, and makes his stand at *Kalayati*, where

where he has it in his power to prevent any ship from entering or sailing. By this obstruction of the trade the king of *Kermain* is deprived of his duties, and being thereby much injured in his revenue, is constrained to accommodate the dispute with the *Melik*. The strong castle at this place constitutes, as it were, the key, not only of the gulf, but also of the sea itself, as from thence the ships that pass can at all times be discovered.[1491] The inhabitants in general of this country subsist upon dates and upon fish, either fresh or salted, having constantly a large supply of both;[1492] but persons of rank, and those who can afford it, obtain corn for their use from other parts. Upon leaving *Kalayati* and proceeding three hundred miles towards the north-east, you reach the island of Ormus.

NOTES.

1486. *Kalayati* is obviously *Kalhât* on the coast of *Omân*, not far to the southward of *Maskát* or Muscat. In D'Anville's map the name is written "*Kalhat* ou "*Kalajate*." Niebuhr (p. 257) speaks of it as one of the most ancient towns on that coast. The distance and bearings in the text are, as too often happens, quite incorrect.

1487. It is almost superfluous to say, with Niebuhr: "Les habitans de cette "province sont des Mahométans. L'alcoran est par conséquent leur code, ou "leur livre de religion et de loix." Voyage, t. ii, p. 66. Ovington also speaks of the people in this part of Arabia as affecting to be "the only true professors of "the Mussulman law, and genuine followers of the Prophet." Voyage, p. 428.

1488. The title of *melik* ملك properly signifies "king," but is often applied to tributary princes and governors of provinces. The sultan or *melik* of Ormuz (noticed in B. i, ch. xv, and Notes 210 and 211) acknowledged himself to be tributary to, although he was often at war with, the king of *Kirman*. "Teixeira" says De Guignes "a rapporté une liste de ces princes; nous ne la croyons pas "des plus exactes." Tab. Chronol. p. 345.

1489. The name of *Kalhat*, by Niebuhr written in the Arabic character, قلهات, has so near an affinity to قلعت *kalàt* a castle or fortress, especially on the top of a rock, that we may consider this place as having derived its appellation from the circumstance, and to have been called (like many others in different parts) *the* castle,

castle, preeminently. It is mentioned by De Barros (Dec. i, liv. viii, fol. 172-2) by the name of *Calayate.*

Notes.

1490. From this account of the goodness of the harbour (an advantage that *Kalhat* itself is not supposed to possess), we may conjecture that the description was meant to include the celebrated port of Muskat, in its neighbourhood, and probably at that time under its dependence; which, being situated at the bottom of a bay or cove, our author terms the gulf of *Kalatu.* "*Maskát*" says Niebuhr "est la ville la plus considérable de l'*Oman* et la plus connue aux Européens. "Elle est située... au bout méridional d'un golfe... bordé de rochers escarpés, "dans l'enceinte desquels les plus grands vaisseaux sont à l'abri de tous les "vents." "*Maskát* est selon toute apparence la ville qu'*Arrien* nomme *Mosca.* "Elle étoit alors, comme aujourd'hui, *l'entrepôt* des marchandises qui viennent "d'Arabie, de Perse et des Indes." Description, &c. p. 256.

1491. By this must be understood that its prominent situation, affording shelter to vessels equipped for cruizing, and enabling its garrison to discern those which approached the coast, whilst it was itself secure from attack, gave the prince who possessed it the command of those seas, as well as of the great commercial port in its vicinity. That it is usual for ships to make this point is evident from Niebuhr's journal of his voyage from Bombay to *Maskát,* in which he says: "A "ce dernier jour (22 Décembre 1764) nous aperçûmes *Rás Kalhát,* un cap, ou "promontoire, sur la côte d'*Oman,* une province d'Arabie." "Le 28 nous "étions encore près du promontoire de *Kalhát.*" Voyage, t. ii, p. 65.

The kind of petty warfare spoken of in the text has always subsisted, and still subsists, in this quarter. It is particularly described by Niebuhr (as well as by De Barros), and the circumstances which relate to the restraint on commerce will be found to bear a striking analogy to what our author mentions of its influence on the political operations in his days. "Après cela," says Niebuhr's account, "*Seif ben Sultán* se rendit à *Maskát,* où il avoit quatre grands vaisseaux de "guerre, outre nombre d'autres plus petits... Le *Sultán ben Mursched* qui, "excepté *Maskát,* possédoit tout la côte, ne put l'en chasser; car bien qu'il "empêchoit le commerce par terre, il ne pouvoit pas défendre aux nations étran- "gères d'amener leurs marchandises à *Maskát* et d'en ressortir avec leurs vaisseaux "chargés, et les droits d'entrée et de sortie faisoient seuls un revenu considéra- "ble. *Sultán ben Mursched* ne pouvant pas avec toutes ses forces réduire son "ennemi, résolut de faire de la petite ville de *Mattrahh,* une ville commerçante, "et de ruiner par-là le commerce de *Maskát.*" Description de l'Arabie, p. 259.

1492. "Des productions qui sortent d'*Omán*" says Niebuhr "la principale "c'est les dattes." Voy. t. ii, p. 70. "The staple commodity of the country" says

says Ovington "is dates, of which there are whole orchards for some miles toge- "ther." "The dates are so plentiful, so pleasant and admired, that they mix "them with all their other food, and eat them instead of bread, through all these "parts of Arabia, both with their fish and flesh." Voyage to Surat, p. 423–427.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Of Ormus.

Upon the island of Ormus there is a handsome and large city, built close to the sea.[1493] It is governed by a *Melik*, which is a title equivalent to that of Lord of the Marches, with us, and he has many towns and castles under his authority.[1494] The inhabitants are Saracens, all of them professing the faith of Mahomet. The heat that reigns here is extreme, but in every house they are provided with ventilators, by means of which they introduce air to the different floors and into every apartment, at pleasure. Without this resource it would be impossible to live in the place.[1495] We shall not now say more of this city, as in a former Book, we have given an account of (it, together with) *Kisi* and *Kermain*.[1496]

Having thus treated sufficiently at length of those provinces and cities of the Greater India, which are situated near the sea-coast, as well as of some of the countries of Ethiopia, termed the MiddleIndia,[1497] I shall now, before I bring the work to a conclusion, step back, in order to notice some regions lying towards the north, which I omitted to speak of in the preceding Books.[1498]

It should be known, therefore, that in the northern parts of the world there dwell many Tartars, under a chief of the name of *Kaidu*, who is of the race of *Jengiz-khan*, and nearly related to *Kublaï*, the Grand *khan*.[1499] He is not the subject of any other prince.[1500] The people observe the usages and manners of their ancestors, and are regarded as genuine Tartars.[1501] Their king and his armies do not shut themselves up in castles or strong places, nor even in towns, but at all times remain

in the open plains, the vallies, or the woods, with which this region abounds. They have no corn of any kind, but subsist upon flesh and milk, and live amongst each other in perfect harmony; their king, to whom they all pay implicit obedience, having no object dearer to him than that of preserving peace and union amongst his subjects, which is the essential duty of a sovereign.[1502] They possess vast herds of horses, cows, sheep, and other domestic animals.[1503] In these northern districts are found bears of a white colour and of prodigious size, being for the most part about twenty spans in length.[1504] There are foxes also whose furs are entirely black,[1505] wild asses in great numbers, and certain small animals named *rondes*, which have most delicate furs, and by our people are called Zibelines or sables.[1506] Besides these there are various small beasts of the marten or weasel kind, and those which bear the name of Pharaoh's mice. The swarms of the latter are incredible, but the Tartars employ such ingenious contrivances for catching them, that none can escape their hands.[1507]

In order to reach the country inhabited by these people, it is necessary to perform a journey of fourteen days across a wide plain, entirely uninhabited and desert; a state that is occasioned by innumerable collections of water and springs, that render it an entire marsh.[1508] This, in consequence of the long duration of the cold season, is frozen over, excepting for a few months of the year, when the sun dissolves the ice, and turns the soil to mud, over which it is more difficult and fatiguing to travel, than when the whole is frozen. For the purpose, however, of enabling the merchants to frequent their country, and purchase their furs, in which all their trade consists, these people have exerted themselves to render the marshy desert passable for travellers, by erecting at the end of each day's stage a wooden house, raised some height above the ground, where persons are stationed, whose business it is to receive and accommodate the merchants, and on the following day to conduct them to the next station of this kind; and thus they proceed from stage to stage, until they have effected the passage of the desert.[1509] In order to travel over the frozen surface of the ground, they construct a sort of vehicle not unlike that made use of by the natives of the steep and almost inaccessible mountains in the vicinity of our own country, and which

which is termed a *tragula* or sledge. It is without wheels, is flat at bottom, but rises with a semicircular curve in front; by which construction it is fitted for running easily upon the ice.[1510] For drawing these small carriages they keep in readiness certain animals resembling dogs, and which may be called such, although they approach to the size of asses. They are very strong and inured to the draught.[1511] Six of them, in couples, are harnessed to each carriage, which contains only the driver who manages the dogs, and one merchant, with his package of goods.[1512] When the day's journey has been performed, he quits it, together with that set of dogs, and thus changing both, from day to day, he at length accomplishes his journey across the desert,[1513] and afterwards carries with him (in his return) the furs that find their way, for sale, to our part of the world.

NOTES.

1493. The city of Ormuz having been already described in Book i, ch. xv, what is here said of it is little more than a repetition: but although this may be regarded as exposing a want of method or a confusion in the plan of the work, it is on the other hand a proof of its genuineness, and even of its consistency; for if may be perceived that this distinguished city, at which our author seems to have made some stay, constitutes a sort of resting-place in his description, from whence he had proceeded to trace the several inland countries and principal towns, intermediate between the shores of the Persian gulf and the empire of China, and to which, in a circuit through the Chinese, Indian, Ethiopic, and Arabian seas, he finally conducts his readers. In this view of the subject, the circumstance of his adding a few particulars to his former account of Ormuz, or even his repeating some that were already noticed, will not be thought extraordinary, nor very objectionable, but, on the contrary, will serve to shew that more attention was paid to the conveyance of the information he had accumulated, than to the regularity of composition. See Note 208.

1494. It is stated in Note 1488, that the title of *melik*, which originally implied a king, was often bestowed on persons who possessed only a delegated authority. It might therefore belong, in some instances, as here explained, to powerful vassals who had the charge of protecting the borders. By all the family of the great *Saladin* it seems to have been particularly affected.

1495. "Comme

1495. " Comme pendant le solstice d'Eté, le soléil est presque perpendicu-
" lairement au dessus de l'Arabie, il y fait en général si chaud en Juillet et en
" Août, que sans un cas de nécessité pressante, personne ne se met en route
" depuis les 11 heures du matin jusques à 3 heures de l'après-midi. Les Arabes
" travaillent rarement pendant ce temps-là ; pour l'ordinaire ils l'employent à
" dormir dans un souterrain *où le vent vient d'enhaut par un tuyau pour faire
" circuler l'air* : ce que se pratique à *Bagdad*, dans l'isle de *Charedsj*, et peut-être
" en d'autres villes de ce pays." Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 6. " Mr. Callander "
says Major Rennell " described to me the ventilators used at *Tatta* in *Sindi*,
" which were pipes or tubes fixed in the walls, and open to somewhat cooler air ;
" answering the same purpose as wind-sails in ships." The notice of this peculiar mode of introducing fresh air to the lower apartments of the houses, will be deemed no common proof of our author's fidelity of observation.

1496. Respecting *Kisi* or *Kis*, an island of the Persian gulf, to which the commerce of *Siraf* was transferred, see Note 136, and on the subject of the kingdom or province of *Kermain* or *Kirmán*, Notes 180 and 211.

1497. It is proper to remark here, that neither in the Latin editions, in which the text appears to have been compressed and abbreviated, nor in the early Italian, which are mere epitomes, do we find any mention of places on the Arabian coast, to the eastward of *Aden*, where the description of what our author has termed Middle India, is made to terminate ; and it is in the edition of Ramusio alone that we meet with the names of *Escier*, *Dulfar*, *Kalayati*, and the second notice of Ormuz.

1498. To persons who have been used to composition, or to consider the operation of the mind in any literary performance, it will be evident that this necessity for gleaning what had been accidentally neglected in its proper place, and subsequently adding it to the stock, does not belong to the character of a factitious work. In such, the degree of art which suggested, and was requisite to accomplish the undertaking, would enable the compiler to avoid so defective an arrangement, and whatever might be the ignorance of the subject or the contradictions displayed, the piece would have the appearance at least of regularity in its commencement and conclusion. In the case before us it is plain that this arrear of matter respecting the northern Tartars, of whom so much had already been related, must have arisen from the number and probably the undigested state of our author's original notes, from which, with the aid of his memory, the book was composed, under circumstances of peculiar disadvantage. When the multifarious information they contained had been distributed under the several heads, and formed into chapters, it was found that some memorandums, on a favourite topic,

topic, had still been overlooked, and that they might not be lost, it was thought expedient to subjoin them as a kind of postscript to the work.

1499. In the first chapter of Book ii, we were furnished with a detailed account of the formidable rebellion which *Nayan*, in concert with *Kaidu*, another powerful Tartar prince, raised against *Kublaï*, their kinsman as well as their paramount Lord; and of its suppression by the defeat of the combined princes and the death of the former. To that chapter, together with Notes 495 and 504, the reader is referred. It appears, however, from the Chinese historians, that *Kaidu* (by them named *Haitu*, consistently with the usual change of literal sounds) was not driven to submission by this failure, but continued in a state of hostility, more or less active, during the remainder of *Kublaï*'s reign, and a part of that of his grandson and successor *Timur-kaan*, when his (*Kaidu*'s) army being entirely routed on the banks of the Irtish, he relinquished the struggle, and died soon after of vexation and despair. The circumstances are thus related in L'Hist. gén. des Huns: "La révolte, cependant, n'étoit pas encore appaisée "(1289); après le départ de Timour, Caïdou fit soulever les hordes qui sont au "nord et au nord-ouest de Caracorom." Livre xvi, p. 183. "La Tartarie tou-"jours exposée aux incursions de Caïdou, attira dans le même tems (1297) "l'attention de ce prince (Timour-khan)...Tchohangour obligea les rebelles de "se retirer plus avant dans le nord (1298), et l'année suivante il remporta une "grande victoire auprès de la rivière Irtisch." P. 191. "Pendant tout le regne "de ce prince il n'y eut presque d'autre guerre que celle de Tartarie, où le prince "Caïdou disputoit depuis trente ans l'empire qu'il prétendoit que Kublaï avoit "usurpé. Timour étoit obligé d'avoir toujours dans ce pays de nombreuses "armées. Son neveu Caïchan...livra plusieurs sanglans combats aux rebelles "entre Caracorom et la rivière de Tamir (1301). Caïdou, après avoir perdu toute "son armée, mourut de chagrin, et Tououa (son frère) blessé dangereusement, "prit le parti de se soumettre, et mit fin par-là à cette longue guerre." P. 194. See also l'Hist. gén. de la Chine, where it is, in like manner, said, "Cet échec "fut si sensible à *Haïtou*, que peu après sa retraite dans les montagnes il en "mourut de chagrin." T. ix, p. 469-479.

1500. When our author left the court of Peking, about the year 1291, *Kaidu*, however nominally the vassal of *Kublaï*, was actually independent, and, notwithstanding some checks, was still a powerful prince. It would seem that from the period of the latter's effecting the entire conquest of China, and instead of holding it as a province, placing himself on the throne, and identifying himself with its line of monarchs, the other princes of the family of *Jengiz-khan* considered him as having virtually abandoned the Mungal-Tartar empire, founded by their common ancestor, and assumed, or attempted to assume, as sovereignties, those vast

BOOK III. vast dominions which they held only as fiefs. Such will appear to have been the state of things in Persia, and in Western as well as in Northern Tartary.

CHAP. XLIV.

Notes.

1501. By this description it is meant to contrast the northern Tartars, whose manners had continued unchanged, with those of the same race, who, under different princes of the house of *Jengiz-khan*, having conquered Khorasmia, Persia, and China, had intermixed with the polished natives of those countries, and lost the genuineness of their own character.

1502. This remarkable sentence, which describes in few but expressive terms, the first duty of a good king, and at the same time applies the character to one who was in a state of constant hostility to the emperor of China, is highly to the credit of our author's moral feeling and liberality of sentiment; but which, indeed, we may observe to pervade the whole of his work.

1503. The wandering and pastoral habits of the Tartar tribes are generally known, and have already been adverted to in the Notes to the forty-sixth and following chapters of Book i.

1504. "The polar or great white bear, *ursus albus*, Lin., differs greatly" says the History of Quadrupeds "from the common bear, in the length of the head and "neck, and grows to above twice the size. Some of them are thirteen feet long." The Italian dictionaries leave us in an uncertainty with regard to the measure expressed by the word "*palmo*," some of them rendering it by the French "*empan*" a span, and others, by "*pied*" a foot. According to the former acceptation, which is more consistent with propriety, and reckoning the span of a middle-sized man at eight inches, the two measurements would coincide within a trifle, twenty spans being equal to thirteen feet and four inches.

1505. "The black fox" says the same work "is most valuable for its fur, which "is esteemed in Russia superior to that of the finest sable. A single skin will sell "for four hundred rubles." "Their fur" says Bell "is reckoned the most "beautiful of any kind; it is even preferred to the sable, with respect to lightness "and warmness." Vol. i, p. 222.

1506. "The sable, *mustela zibellina*, Lin. so highly esteemed for its skin, is a "native of the snowy regions of the north: it is found chiefly in Siberia...The "darkest furs are the most valuable. A single skin, though not above four inches "broad, is sometimes valued as high as fifteen pounds. The sable differs from "all other furs in this, that the hair turns with equal ease to either side." Hist. of Quadrupeds. The name of *rondes*, supposed to be a *Mungal* word, had already

already occurred in B. ii, chap. xvi. but was not there explained to mean the sable. See Note 659.

1507. It will be seen in Note 389, that what is said in the text regarding the animals termed *sorzi di Faraon*, answers best to Bell's description of the marmot, *mus marmota* of Lin. or *tael-pi* of the Chinese, as described by Du Halde. "The "marmot" says the Hist. of Quadrupeds "has been placed by naturalists in the "same class with the hare and the rat; and on examining its parts, we find a "partial agreement with both those animals." "The marmot inhabits the "highest regions of the Alps; and is likewise found in Poland, Ukraine, and "Chinese Tartary." Niebuhr, it is true, identifies them with the *jerboa* or *mus jaculatus* of Lin. where he says: "On trouve le *jarboá* ou *rat de Pharaon*, en "Egypte, dans le *Nedsjed*, aux deux côtés du golfe persique, dans le désert "entre *Básra* et *Háleb* et en d'autres lieux." Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 147. It is evident, however, that the Tartarian animal, in the account of which both Du Halde and Bell entirely agree with our author, is not the *jerboa*, so particularly described and well figured by Bruce (Appendix, p. 121), who asserts it not to be gregarious.

1508. It will be seen by inspection of the map, that a number of great rivers which discharge themselves towards the north and the east, have their sources in the high plains between the latitudes of 45° and 55°, the original haunts of these wandering hordes, and where, consequently, we may look for a country of waters, such as our text describes. "Baraba (between the Irtish and the Oby) "is really what its name signifies, an extensive marshy plain. It is generally "full of lakes and marshy grounds, overgrown with tall woods of aspin, alder, "willows, and other aquatics." Bell's Travels, vol. i, p. 205.

1509. These halting places, however insignificant in respect to buildings or inhabitants, are such as in the language of the Russians, whose empire embraces the country here described, would be termed *ostrogs* or villages, and the houses answer to those which travellers to and from *Kamchatka* name *balagan*, rather than to the *isba* or log-house. "The *balagans*" says Lesseps "are elevated "above the ground upon a number of posts, placed at equal distances, and about "twelve or thirteen feet high. This rough sort of colonnade supports a platform "...overspread with clay. This platform serves as a floor to the whole building, "which consits of a roof in the shape of a cone, covered with a kind of thatch or "dried grass, placed upon long poles fastened together at the top... This is at "once the first and last story; for it forms the whole apartment or rather cham-"ber." "The *isbas* are built of wood; that is to say, the walls are formed by "placing long trees horizontally upon one another, and filling up the interstices "with

" with clay. The roof stands like our thatched houses, and is covered with " coarse grass or rushes, and frequently with planks." Travels in Kamtschatka (transl.) vol. i, p. 25–29.

1510. " The body of the sledges " says Captain King " is about four feet and a " half long, and a foot wide, made in the form of a crescent, of light tough " wood, strongly bound together with wicker-work... It is supported by four " legs, about two feet high, which rest on two long flat pieces of wood, five or " six inches broad, extending a foot at each end beyond the body of the sledge. " These are *turned up before*, in the manner of a skate, and shod with the bone " of some sea animal." Cook's third Voyage, Continuation, vol. iii, p. 202.

1511. It is now well known that dogs are employed for the purposes of draught in the north-eastern parts of Tartary, although Purchas, in a note to this part of his translation or abridgement, shews that he doubted the fact, by saying: " Perhaps these are a kind of deer." In respect to their size, indeed, there appears to be some exaggeration; although it is possible that in the course of five hundred years the breed may have degenerated. " These dogs " says Capt. King " are, in shape, somewhat like the Pomeranian breed, but considerably larger." P. 204. " They make use of them " says Lesseps " when they travel, when they " go to the forests to cut wood, and for the conveyance of their effects and " provisions, as well as their persons. In short, these dogs conduct travellers " from place to place, and horses could not in reality be more serviceable." P. 116.

1512. " The sledges " says the Captain " are seldom used to carry more than " one person at a time, who sits aside, resting his feet on the lower part of the " sledge, and carrying his provisions and other necessaries, wrapped up in a " bundle behind him. The dogs are usually five in number, yoked two and two, " with a leader." " The accounts that were given us of the speed of these dogs, " and of their extraordinary patience of hunger and fatigue, were scarcely " credible, if they had not been supported by the best authority." " As we " did not choose to trust to our own skill, *we had each of us a man to drive* and " guide the sledge, which, from the state the roads were now in, proved a very " laborious business... as the thaw had advanced very considerably." P. 203—205. " The number of dogs that it is necessary to harness " says Lesseps " depends upon the load; when it is little more than the weight of the person " who mounts the sledge... the team consists of four or five dogs... The sledges " for baggage are drawn by ten dogs. P. 118.

1513. The change of dogs at the end of the stage is matter of course, but in some instances the failure of a relay is experienced. " The distance from " Apatchin "

"Apatchin" says Lesseps "is sixty-four wersts, and having no change of dogs, "we were obliged to stop, to give them time to rest." P. 159. "I left Ouch-"koff early in the morning, and at noon had travelled forty-four wersts... The "first village I came to was Krestoff. It was a little larger than the preceding "ostrog... I only stayed to change my dogs." P. 197. It should be observed that the sledge was his own property.

CHAPTER XLV.

Of those countries which are termed the region of Darkness.

BEYOND the most distant part of the territory of those Tartars from whence the skins that have been spoken of are procured, there is another region which extends to the utmost bounds of the north, and is called the region of Darkness, because during most part of the winter months the sun is invisible, and the atmosphere is obscured to the same degree as that in which we find it, just about the dawn of day, when we may be said to see and not to see.[1514] The men of this country are well made and tall, but of a very pallid complexion. They are not united under the government of a king or prince, and they live without any established laws or usages, in the manner of the brute creation. Their intellects also are dull, and they have an air of stupidity.[1515] The Tartars often proceed on plundering expeditions against these people, to rob them of their cattle and goods. For this purpose they avail themselves of those months in which the darkness prevails, in order that their approach may be unobserved; but being unable to ascertain the direction in which they should return homeward, with their booty, they provide against the chance of going astray, by riding mares that have young foals at the time, which latter they suffer to accompany the dams, as far as the confines of their own territory, but leave them, under proper care, at the commencement of the gloomy region. When their works of darkness have been accomplished, and they are desirous of revisiting the region of light, they lay the bridles on the necks of their mares, and suffer them freely to take their

own course. Guided by maternal instinct, they make their way directly to the spot where they had quitted their foals; and by these means the riders are enabled to regain, in safety, the places of their residence.[1516]

The inhabitants of this (polar) region take advantage of the summer season, when they enjoy continual daylight, to catch vast multitudes of ermines, martens, arcolini,[1517] foxes, and other animals of that kind, the furs of which are more delicate, and consequently more valuable, than those found in the districts inhabited by the Tartars, who, on that account, are induced to undertake the plundering expeditions that have been described.[1518] During the summer also, these people carry their furs to the neighbouring countries, where they dispose of them in a manner highly advantageous; and according to what I have been told, some of them are transported even as far as to the country of Russia;[1519] of which we shall proceed to speak, in this the concluding part of our work.

NOTES.

1514. This is a correct description of the phenomena observed about the arctic circle and polar regions, where, during the winter, or season when the sun is below the horizon during the whole of the earth's diurnal revolution, the strength of the twilight prevents, notwithstanding, an entire darkness.

1515. The people here mentioned appear to be the *Tongusi*, or their neighbours the *Samoyeds*, on the one side, or, on the other, the *Yakûts*, who inhabit the country near the river Lena. "The *Tongusy*" says Bell "so called from the "name of the river (Tonguska), who live along its banks, are the posterity of "the ancient inhabitants of Siberia, and differ in language, manners, and dress, "and even in their persons and stature, from all the other tribes of these people "I have had occasion to see. They have no houses, where they remain for any "time, but range through the woods or along rivers at pleasure." "The men "are tall and able-bodied, brave, and very honest." Vol. i, p. 225. "It is to "be observed, that, from this river northward to the frozen ocean, there are no "inhabitants, except a few Tongusians on the banks of the great rivers; the "whole of this most extensive country being overgrown with dark impenetrable "woods." P. 231. "Before I leave Elimsky," says the same traveller, "I shall "give

" give a short account of some of the places adjacent; particularly those to the " north-east, towards the river Lena, and Yakutsky, according as I have been " informed by travellers, on whose veracity I could entirely depend. The people " who travel in winter from hence to these places, generally do it in January or " February. It is a very long and difficult journey; and which none but " Tongusians, or such hardy people, have abilities to perform." P. 234. " The " *Yakuty* differ little from the Tongusians, either in their persons or way of life. " Their occupation, like that of the other natives, is fishing and hunting." P. 240.

1516. With this story our author may be thought to have been amused by his Tartar friends at the court of Peking, who were not unlikely to boast of the predatory exploits of their countrymen, nor to embellish their narrative with uncommon circumstances; but at the same time it will not be questioned, that mares separated from their foals (as well as the females of some other animals) would find the shortest way homeward, whether across an unfrequented plain, or through a cultivated and inclosed country. This faculty, which we term instinct, may perhaps be only the result of an acute perception or strong excercise of the senses of sight and smell, aided by a sort of memory, common to them with the human race, that I should denominate the memory of sense, as distinguished from the memory of intellect.

An objection may be raised to the probability of these twilight expeditions, from a doubt whether horses could traverse so cold a region, where dogs and rein-deer are the common beasts of draught; to which it may be answered, that there is a difference between the habitual employment of certain cattle, and their being made to serve for occasional, short irruptions; but it happens not to be necessary to insist upon this distinction, as it appears from the journal of M. Lesseps, that horses abound in the country of the *Yakûts*. Speaking of a chief of those people, he says: " Independently of various other cattle, he had a stud of " two thousand horses in very good condition, though he had lost a considerable " number by the conveyances occasioned by M. Billing's expedition." Vol. ii, p. 301. And again: " They pretend to ride better than any other nation in the " world." P. 313. From this account of the *Yakûts*, near Yakutski, on the Lena, we are led to conclude that *they* must have been the invading people, and that those on whom the depredations were committed, lay further to the north. It may be suspected, indeed, that the modern inhabitants are a colony of Mungals, Kalmuks, or Manchûs; and especially as he says: " They resemble the Tartars " in the cast of their features, and there is said also to be a great similarity in the " idioms of these two people." P. 362.

1517. The names of the animals which, in Ramusio's text, follow " *armellini* " or ermines, are, " *vari, arcolini*." The former of these are the " vares seu varii " of the

BOOK III. CHAP. XLV. Notes.

Latin glossaries, and the French "vairs," denoting a species of marten or weasel, of a whitish grey colour. The latter, which in the Basle edition are "herculini" and "erculini," I am unable to trace either in dictionaries or books of natural history; but in the copious list of furs enumerated by Professor Pallas, as constituting a principal part of the Chinese trade with the Russians on the borders, mention is made of the skin of a small animal named by the Germans, *vielfrass*, by the French, *goulu* or *glouton*, and by the Italians, *arcigoloso*; which latter word may perhaps have been corrupted to *arcolino*. Bell notices the same animal in the Mungal country.

1518. It is well known to those who deal in furs, that the richest are procured from the coldest climates; agreeably to the usual economy of nature.

1519. It is probable that at the period when Siberia was independent, the furs intended for the European market were all conveyed to a place named *Verchaturia*, on the Russian side of Tobolsky, and near the chain of mountains called Verchatursky-gori. "These mountains" says Bell "divide Russia from Siberia. They "run in a ridge from north to south." "What makes Verchaturia considerable, "is its being a frontier town, and commanding the *only entry* from Russia into "Siberia." Vol. i, p. 172. It did not enter into our author's contemplation that this latter region was one day to become a province of the former, and that China should be supplied with its finest furs by the subjects of the Russian empire.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Of the Province of Russia.[1520]

CHAP. XLVI. The province of Russia is of vast extent, is divided into many parts,[1521] and borders upon that northern tract which has been described as the region of Darkness.[1522] Its inhabitants are Christians, and follow the Greek ritual in the offices of their Church.[1523] The men are extremely well-favoured, tall, and of fair complexions; the women are also fair and of a good size, with light hair, which they are accustomed to wear long.[1524] The country pays tribute to the king of the Western Tartars, with whose dominions it comes in contact on its eastern border.[1525] Within it are collected in great abundance the furs of ermines, arcolini,

arcolini, sables, martens, foxes, and other animals of that tribe; together with much wax.[1526] It contains several mines, from whence a large quantity of silver is procured.[1527] Russia is an exceedingly cold region, and I have been assured that it extends even as far as the Northern ocean,[1528] where, as has been mentioned in a preceding part of the work, jerfalcons and peregrine falcons are taken in vast numbers, and from thence are carried to various parts of the world.[1529]

NOTES.

1520. Russia is here termed a province, because it had been overrun and subdued, together with a considerable portion of the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary, by the Tartars, under the command of *Batu*, the grandson of *Jengiz-khan*, about the year 1240, and continued till the time when our author wrote, and for many years after, to groan under the yoke of these barbarians.

1521. "Russia proper" says Strahlenberg "consists of five parts, the Greater, "Lesser, White, Red, and Black Russia, the three first of which are under "the subjection of the Russian, and the two latter under that of the Polish sceptre. They are divided into principalities, and these subdivided into districts." P. 187. But whether these were the distinctions that actually existed in the thirteenth century is uncertain; for, as Pinkerton remarks, "No country in Europe "has undergone so many alterations in regard to its politico-geographical division "as Russia." Modern Geogr., vol. i, p. 208. The division of the empire into governments took place in the reign of Peter I.

1522. This applies directly to the country of the *Samoyeds*, who, as Pinkerton observes, "first appear beyond the river Mezen, about three hundred miles "to the east of Archangel, and extend to the straits of Weygatz, far within the "polar circle.

1523. It would be unnecessary to notice the well known fact, that the established religion of Russia is that of the Greek church, further than as an instance of correct information obtained by our author, although perhaps from the Georgians or Armenians. His communication of it serves to shew how little his countrymen were presumed to be acquainted with the northern parts of Europe.

This opportunity is taken of directing the reader's attention to an oversight in Note 19, p. 11. where it is said that "the geographical distinctions of Europe, "Asia, or Africa have not been adverted to by him;" whereas the name of Europe

Europe occurs in p. 29, and that of Asia in p. 41. But the observation, however exceptionable, is not so wrong as it appears to be; for with respect to the former, the expression inadvertently translated "Europe," is in Ramusio, "*terra di Christiani*" or Christendom; and although the word "Asia" does actually stand in his text, it is peculiar to that version, and not found either in the Latin editions or the Italian epitomes: from whence we might venture to infer (incidental as it is) that it was not originally employed.

1524. So extensive and various is the population of Russia, that almost every difference of complexion and physical quality is to be met with amongst its inhabitants. "The Slavonic Russians, who constitute the chief mass and soul of "this empire," as remarked by Pinkerton, "are generally middle-sized and "vigorous: the tallness and grace of the Polish Slavons seem to arise from supe- "rior climate and soil. The general physiognomy consists of a small mouth, "thin lips, white teeth, small eyes, a low forehead, the nose commonly small "and turned upwards, beard very bushy, hair generally reddish." Modern Geography, vol i. p. 219. It is supposed by Strahlenberg, and with some probability, although he is for the most part but a fanciful etymologist, that their name of "*Russ*" is derived from the word which in many languages signifies "red."

1525. By Western Tartars are here meant the subjects of *Batu* and his descendants, who inherited as his portion of the dominions of *Jengiz-khan*, the countries of "Kapchak, Allan, Russ, and Bulgar." As distinguished from these, the denomination of Eastern Tartars is elsewhere applied to the followers of *Hulagu* and his descendants, who settled in Khorasan and Persia.

Of the subjugation of Russia and the countries bordering on it, we have a detailed account, collected by the learned and indefatigable author of l'Hist. gén. des Huns, from the historians of Asia and Europe. "La paix" he observes "qui régnoit en apparence dans le fond de l'Orient depuis la destruction des Niu- "tché (who ruled in the Northern part of China), devint funeste à l'Europe; "c'est de ce côté que les Mogols portèrent leurs plus grandes forces. Oktai "ordonna à Batou, fils aîné de Tuschi, à Mangou, fils de Touli, à Baïdar, fils "de Zagatai, à son propre fils Gaïouk et à Sudai-bahadour, d'aller porter le "ravage dans les pays qui sont au nord et au nord-ouest de la mer Caspienne; "leur donna une armée de trois cens mille hommes. Ces Mogols pénétrèrent "cette fois jusques dans la Russie qu'ils désolèrent. Ils soumirent d'abord les "Circasses &c... De-là les Mogols passèrent dans le pays des Baschkirs, ensuite "dans les royaumes de Cazan et de Bulgarie; et parvinrent jusqu'à Moscou qui "se rendit par capitulation... Ils défirent et tuèrent le Grand-Duc Georges,

"et

" et emmenèrent prisonnier Basile. Depuis ce tems-là les Grands-Ducs de Rus-
" sie ont été tributaires des Mogols." Liv. xv. p. 95.

1526. The number of wild animals whose furs constitute articles of trade, was of course much greater in Russia, when the country was less populous and cultivated than it is at present. The most numerous, as well as the most valuable of the furs now exported, are the produce of her Siberian territories, and are partly collected as tribute or revenue; but even before the discovery and conquest of that country, they were procured at a moderate price, by barter on the frontier. Wax is exported in large quantities, and chiefly to England.

1527. It does not appear in any modern account of the country, that silver mines are now worked in European Russia; but such may have formerly existed and been exhausted. In the Siberian provinces both gold and silver are found.

1528. In this information he was not deceived, as the White sea, upon which Archangel and other Russian ports are situated, is no other than a part of the Arctic ocean.

1529. Occasions have frequently presented themselves for remarking that a love of field-sports, and especially of falconry, was the predominant passion of our author, and we here find it the subject of the concluding sentence of his work. A taste for the pleasures of the chase he naturally imbibed with his Tartar education, and it is not unlikely that his excelling in this manly exercise may have contributed to recommend him to the favour he experienced from his royal master.

ADDITIONS TO NOTES.

Note 38, p. 21 (end of first paragraph).—" On the 4th July 1274... arrived at " Lions ambassadors (to the Pope) from *Abagha*, king of the Eastern Tartars. " They were not sent about matters of religion, but only to conclude an alliance " with the Christians... During their stay at Lions one of them, with two of his " attendants, embraced the Christian religion, and was on the 16th July baptized " with great solemnity." Bower's Hist. of the Popes, vol. vi. p. 236. (End of second paragraph).—In the Nürnburg ed. of 1477 it is said, that our travellers obtained letters (of safe conduct) from the *Soldan*.

39, p. 22.—Gerhard Mercator mentions William of Tripoli as one of the Dominicans who travelled into Armenia with the uncle and father of MARCO POLO, and gave

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gave some account of the affairs of Tartary. Valentyn also (iv. deel, p. 68) speaks of "Hieronymus of St. Stephen, who accompanied Nicolaus Paulus, Venetus, "father of Marcus Paulus, in his journey of the year 1269." This being the year in which the two brothers arrived at Acre from their first expedition it is difficult to say to which journey it is intended to refer. What Valentyn mentions of his travels is to little purpose.

113, p. 56.—The Nürnberg ed. says only, that in former times a certain king bore an eagle on his right arm, as a mark of dignity.

156, p. 76 (end of first paragraph).—This account of the origin of fireworship in Persia is found also in the Nürnberg edition.

181, p. 83.—"In these mountains" says Malcolm, speaking of *Nishapore*, the "*Ferouzah* or Turquoise stone is found." Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 220, note.

202, p. 92.—Should it be urged that the place here spoken of is not meant for the capital of Hindustan, but for the place called *Dely* or *Dilla*, on the coast of the peninsula, it may be answered that the latter is not the name of a city, and that the circumstance of passing through *Badakhshan* and *Kashmir* is quite inconsistent with any operations towards the coast of Malabar.

294, p. 144.—A person who lately ascended Adam's peak, in Ceylon, observes, that on its summit (about six thousand feet) water boils at 194°, or 18° below the boiling point.

304, p. 151.—"Within the last three years" says Moorcroft "their value "(that of coral beads) has fallen greatly (at *Latákh*) from the great numbers "which have come through *Yarkund*. These have been brought by the *(Ooroos)* "Russians (*Rús*), who have long been in the habit of trading with that country, "and in the course of the last three years have pushed on a lively traffic into "*Cashmír* through agents." Asiat. Res. vol. xii, p. 449.

313, p. 157.—In the German version of 1477 also it is *Cathay*.

341.—It may be doubted whether *Chinchitalas* is not the *Cialis* or *Chialis* of B. Goez, which he describes as a place dependent upon the king of *Kashgar* and not far distant from *Turfan* and *Kamul*.

360, p. 188.—The wild ass or *onager* is the *equus asinus* of Linn. and the animal denominated the wild mule is the *equus hemionus*.

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Additions to Notes.

363, p. 190.—According to Klaproth the name by which the *Manchu* people (whom he considers to be the same race with the *Tungusi*) are known to the Tartars, is *Churchur* or *Jurjur*, by Abu'lghazi written *Jurjât*. These seem to be the *Jorza* tribes of our author; and the island of *Zorza* (to which criminals were banished) mentioned at p. 571, note 1145, may be that which lies off the mouth of the *Sagalien-ula* or river *Amûr*.

430, p. 223.—The words of the German edition of 1477 suggest a different explanation of this obscure passage. It is there said, in speaking of the northern ocean: "At its extremity the star of our Italian navigators, which we term the "tramontana or North star, is lost." This may mean that when you approach the pole, and consequently have that star over your head, it is lost for the purposes of navigation, and can be no longer the seaman's guide. At the pole every bearing is south.

471, p. 256.—It will not admit of a doubt that the eminent Tartar family here named *Boriat*, is that of which Malcolm speaks in his History of Persia, where he says: "The powerful tribe of *Byât* came originally from Tartary with *Chinghiz-* "*khan*. They were long settled in Asia-minor; and a number of them fought in "the army of *Bajazet* against *Timour*." Vol. ii, p. 218, note. The conviction of genuineness arising from these minute coincidences is more forcible than that produced by arguments drawn from facts of greater importance and notoriety.

560, p. 305.—An idea of the ancient magnitude of Chinese cities may be formed from the following passage in Mr. Ellis's Journal: "Nankin (now called *Kian-ning-* "*foo*) is rapidly decaying. The inhabited part of the town is twenty *lees* from the "gate through which we entered." P. 300. Twenty *li* are about seven English miles.

710, p. 374.—It is stated that the discovery of pit or fossil coals, at Newcastle, took place in 1234, and that the use of them was forbidden in London, by Edward I, in 1306.

728.—The expression of "eating their victuals with particular cleanliness" probably alludes to the Chinese custom of using *chop-sticks*, instead of lifting the victuals with their fingers, as is commonly practised throughout Asia.

799. p. 416.—The word "caravan" will be found to have occurred in p. 354.

808. p. 418.—In the German version the division into eight kingdoms is here, with evident impropriety, applied to *Manji* instead of *Tibet*.

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842, p. 432.—In the German version it is observed that the gold found in the rivers was of inferior quality or touch to that obtained from mines in the high ground.

857, (end of first paragraph) p. 439.—" The houses of both *Puan-ke-qua* and " *How-qua*, contained halls of their ancestors with tablets dedicated to their im- " mediate progenitors." Journal of Embassy, p. 417.

866, p. 445.—The number of men upon each elephant is said in the German version of 1477, to be seven only.

896, p. 460.—In the German edition the names mentioned in succession at this place, after *Tholoman*, are *Ginghui*, *Chatausu*, *Zianglu* of Kataia, *Chaam*, and *Tandiffa*, elsewhere called *Sin-di-fu*, and supposed to be *Ching-tu-fu*, the capital of *Se-chuen*.

923, p. 470.—" This junction " says Mr. Ellis " is said to be the most eleva- " ted point of the canal, the stream taking opposite directions. . .The banks of " the *Wun*, near the junction, bore evident marks of being artificially formed, " and I have no doubt that its course had been altered. The opposite bank of " the canal was strongly faced with stone, to resist the force of the waters; in " the middle the current was scarcely to be perceived, but near both banks it " was to be seen in contrary directions." P. 256.

924, p. 471.—" I should say, that next to the exuberance of population " says Mr. Ellis " the amount of vessels employed on the rivers is the most striking " circumstance hitherto observed, belonging to the Chinese empire." Journal of an Embassy, &c. p. 109.

980, p. 497.—" Even the *ropes* " says Mr. Ellis " by which the buckets were " attached to the wheel, were of *bamboo*." Journal &c. p. 383.

998, p. 507.—It is evident that a mistake has here been made, not imputable to translators or transcribers, but in the arrangement of our author's original notes. What is said of the growth of rhubarb in the neighbourhood of this *Sin-gui* or *Su-cheu*, in the eastern province of *Kiang-nan*, was undoubtedly meant to apply to another *Singui* or *Si-ning*, a well known place of trade in the western province of *Shen-si*, and on the road to Tibet. The commerce in that article particularly belongs to the latter place, and the Russians, as Pallas informs us, make their contracts for it with Bucharian merchants settled there. It is not only in itself improbable that two places of the same name, in opposite extremes of China, should boast of this production, but the fact of its being found in any one of the eastern provinces is entirely unsupported. See also Notes 347 and 433.

1017,

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1017, p. 517.—Mr. Henry Browne, who for many years filled the situation of Chief of the Company's Factory at Canton, assures me that he has seen pears, supposed to have been produced in the province of *Fo-kien*, the bulk of which equalled that of a moderate sized wine decanter.

1053, p. 536.—The name of *Manji* or *Mangi* is asserted by P. Magalhanes, but with very little probability, to be a vicious pronunciaton of the word *Mantzu* or *Manchu*, which he says the northern people or Kataians apply in derision to those of the southern provinces. Nouv. Relat. de la Chine, p. 7. If it be a corrupted word, although it appears without variation in all the editions, it may have been originally intended for *Machin*, which is well known to be, as well as *Chin*, a Persian appellation of China.

1074, p. 544.—The practice is adverted to by Mr. Ellis, who says: "The "municipal regulation existing throughout China, which requires that every "householder should affix on the outside of his house a list of the number and "description of persons dwelling under his roof, ought to afford most accurate "data in forming a census of the population." P. 432.

1082, p. 548.—The *Ho-cheu* here mentioned, a city of the first class, in the province of *Che-kiang*, situated on the southern border of the *Tai* lake, and celebrated for its manufactures and particularly that of writing-pencils, must not be confounded with the *Ho-chow* noticed by Mr. Ellis, p. 309-311, a city of the second class, in the province of *Kiang-nan*, only a few miles from *Tai-ping-foo*, on the opposite or northern side of the river Kiang.

1091, p. 552.—The production of ginger in a southern province of China is noticed by Mr. Ellis, p. 323.

1104, p. 557.—It was reasonable to suppose that by Babylonia should be understood that country of which *Baghdad* has been the modern capital; but wherever the name occurs, the context shews that not Assyria but Egypt is meant. The latter was so much celebrated for its manufacture of sugar, that the word *misri*, Egyptian, signifies sugar also throughout a great part of Asia.

1106, p. 558.—It is evident that the *Kan-giu* of our author is the *Can-su* described by the Arabian travellers, and this latter is proved by the historical events to have been *Kuang-cheu* or Canton.

1155, p. 582.—It is remarkable that this name, although here given to the China sea, does not occur in the work as applied to the country. This arises from

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the appellation being a foreign one, familiar to the Indian and Malayan navigators, but unknown to the natives or the Tartars.

1224, p. 612.—In the Germán (Nürnberg) ed. of 1477 this kingdom or district is named *Jambu*, which approaches nearly to the name of *Jambi*.

1353, p. 671.—This remarkable mountain has lately been ascended by Dr. John Davy, an eminent naturalist, who describes the appearance of what is termed the impression of a *foot* on its summit, the great number of pilgrims by whom it is visited, and the difficulties of the ascent, which require the assistance of *iron chains*. His letter on the subject, addressed to his brother, Sir Humphrey Davy, was read at a meeting of the Royal Society on the 18th December 1817, and will probably appear in the Philosoph. Transactions for the year 1818.

1404, p. 93.—It may be doubted whether the place which is the subject of this Note, called *Tana* in the Basle edition and *Toma* in the epitomes, was not meant for *Tatta*, a celebrated commercial city at the head of the delta of the Indus, rather than for *Tanah* of Salsette, so much to the south of Guzerat.

1415, p. 698.—" J'aimerois mieux croire " says Silvestre de Sacy " que ces " peuples (les Boloutches) descendroient des *Arabitæ* de Néarque, dont le pays " répondoit à une portion des provinces de *Kidg* et *Mecran*." Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé : The oriental geography of *Ebn-Haukal*, p. 104.

1418, p. 700.—In Fra. Mauro's map these islands are named *Mangla* and *Nebila*.

1438, p. 710.—Nearly the whole of what is said of *Magastar* is plainly information given to our author by Arabian navigators respecting the southern coast of Africa, and introduced, from his notes, in the wrong place.

1495, p. 70.—On the subject of these ventilators see also Relation de l'Egypte par *Abd-allatif*, traduit par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 295, 301.

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705	6	*for* Baghdad *r.* Mosul.
734	26	*after Kermain* add *or Kiermun.*
737	17	ditto ditto ditto.

Addition to Note 886.—The assertion in Chap. XLV. of Book II. on the subject of *Bangala*, that *eunuchs* were purchased there, as an article of traffic, has been considered by many persons who have resided in the country, as extremely improbable; but in the *Ayin Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 13, where the *Soobah* or province of Bengal is treated of, we find this passage; "*Sircar Silhet* is very mountainous. "It furnishes many *eunuch slaves* for the *seraïs* (or seraglios)." *Silhet*, it should be observed, is on the eastern side of Bengal, adjoining to the countries previously spoken of by Marco Polo.

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